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Samuel Thuermer

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'ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ 'ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΗΣΣΕΩΣ 'ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Α—Β (1)

THE CLIO AND EUTERPE OF  
HERODOTUS

Chiefly after the Text of Gaister

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY THE REV. T. H. L. LEARY, D.C.L.

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TO  
HIS GRACE  
THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, K.G. D.C.L. F.R.S.

&c. &c. &c.

WHO AMIDST THE CARES AND DISTINCTIONS  
THAT WAIT ON HIS RANK  
HAS PROVED HIMSELF  
A SUCCESSFUL CULTIVATOR OF LEARNING,  
AS WELL AS  
A RIGHT-MINDED PATRON OF THOSE WHO SEEK  
TO EXTEND ITS BOUNDARIES AND ITS USEFULNESS,

THIS EDITION OF  
HERODOTUS  
IS INSCRIBED, WITH PERMISSION,  
BY HIS GRACE'S HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.



## PREFACE.

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THIS edition of Herodotus aims at furnishing the young Student with the information requisite to the right understanding of the language as well as the subject-matter of the Historian; and will be found, it is hoped, of some service to the advanced Scholar who wishes for a solution, or at all events, for a fair estimate of the difficulties presented to him.

The text adopted is that of Gaisford, printed at the Oxford University Press: the deviations therefrom are rare, and made only after the most mature consideration, and a deference to some authority, of more weight, at least in that particular point.

The Introduction and Appendices have been drawn up for the *information* of the Student, not to satisfy an unprofitable curiosity respecting questions of hopeless perplexity and obscurity.

In the Notes, which are mainly his own, the Editor is under some obligations to the excellent editions of Rawlinson and Blakesley. It may not be out of place perhaps to observe here, that had those editions dealt out the same measure of critical ability to the *language* of Herodotus which they have devoted to the *subject-matter*, the literary gleaners that traverse the same field would have found, it seems, but little to reward their diligence, after the harvesting of such men. Grote, Thirlwall, Bähr, Dahlmann, Turner, and the incomparable

Dictionaries edited by Dr William Smith, have been much consulted, and always with advantage.

It will, on examination, be found that the distinguishing feature of this edition, is the attempt made to encourage, by examples, that rigid *accuracy* of translation, which is the only safe foundation of sound and elegant scholarship. It is almost unaccountable to find in English editions such scanty justice done to the language of this author; and the more especially when we reflect that more than in most others we find *language* to be rather the body in which Herodotus has incorporated his thoughts, than the dress in which he has presented them; and that here indeed the thought and the form of thought seem to have been born and bred together; and to such a degree are they intermingled that we cannot distort a limb, or dislocate a joint, without doing real injury to the inner life of the historian. Probably too, the most striking peculiarity about "The Halicarnassian" is this, as far as *language* goes, that with Dorian blood in his veins, and the Doric dialect on his tongue, as a vehicle for his history, he does not adopt the speech of his mother, and his country, nor yet the pure Ionic of the logographers, nor yet the Attic tongue of Athens, his pride and darling among all the cities of victorious Hellas, but rather a strong and luminous *compound* of all three—probably the language of Thurium, at which he had settled and, where he wrote, it is said, the great bulk of his history, or at all events gave it its finishing touches. This will explain, too, why Aristotle, speaking of *style* (λίξις), quotes Herodotus as the Thurian (*Rhet.* III. 9). Now from Diodorus (XII. 11) we learn that the Thuriens were a mixed race of Ionians, Athenians, Dorians, and other Greeks who gave their respective names to the tribes which they formed. Beyond question the Ionic is the main ingredient in this composite dialect of Herodotus. Still, to say, with some, that he chose the Ionic

because it was the language of Samos, in which he had settled for a time, is utterly untenable, as we happen to learn from the historian's own words not only that the language of Samos was *not* Ionic, but also the very cause of its not being so (see Book I. 142; III. 147, 149).

It cannot be denied that the chief duty of an annotator on Herodotus is to dwell upon the historical phenomena before him; and yet it is possible to do this without practically ignoring the fact that the language of Greece has a history, as much as the Persian War, and a very important one too, in its bearing on the development of the Grecian mind—a fact all the more cogent here, because it is in *this author* especially the Greek tongue appears to us in its *transition* state,—deeply impressed with the corresponding phenomena as it passed onwards from its old Homeric form to the matured and softened Attic of the elegant Sophocles. Surely Herodotus is not put into the hands of the student, mainly or exclusively, to teach him a certain quantum of Ancient History, but rather along with it, and beyond it, a particular phase in the development of the Greek tongue.

It may be fairly stated that even if the subject-matter of an historian were the *exclusive* province of the annotator, he would certainly be more likely to bring it the more completely under his own dominion, by concentrating every ray of grammatical and philological light, to bring the sense of the author more fully before the mental eye, as Bähr has so creditably endeavoured to do among the German critics. The practical question, what *has* the historian *said*, and with *what modifications*? must of necessity be prior to all discussion of the subject-matter—the question is *in limine*, and ought not to be evaded.

To encourage a rigid and literal accuracy of translation by example, an attempt is made in the notes to render into

English neither more nor less than what the Greek expresses. The shades of signification belonging to particles, to verbs according to their tense and form to synonyms falsely so called, will be found, it is hoped, fairly provided for. A school-master finds by experience that the proverb, "take care of the pence, for the pounds will take care of themselves," has a most happy and appropriate signification when applied to translation from one language to another; for the pupil who takes good care of his *single* words, however small and apparently trivial, is more likely to make the wealth of the sentence his own, which after all is but a series of single words, than the careless, slovenly construer who gives what is most erroneously called "the *spirit* of the author," in a general loose sort of way, which like most other *general* information, on close inspection, turns out to be *ignorance of details, disguised as knowledge*, and *setting up for it*. Such execution done upon an author, may well reduce him to "a spirit," and banish all chance of sound and correct scholarship.

In conclusion, the Editor, fully conscious of his own shortcomings in the present work, wishes to state that any correction of his errors, from any quarter, will be thankfully received; and begs to subjoin the following excellent remarks on the subject of translation, to be found in the preface of a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, by the Rev. W. Sewell, of Exeter College, Oxford:—

"As an exercise for the mind, the value of such a translation is inestimable. It compels, first, a strict attention to minute details of inflexions, tenses, order, and etymology, to the genealogies of significations in words, to slight varieties of accentuation, and to all the other subtleties of a metaphysical grammar. A grammatical scholar, critically instructed, becomes lynx-eyed in observing discrepancies amidst apparent resemblances; and a philosophical scholar, philosophically instructed, becomes equally acute in detecting

analogies and affinities, even in the most dissimilar forms. He cannot exchange a Greek word for an English until he has ascertained its precise value; and the keen, sensitive, quick-sighted Greek marked so many most important distinctions, and conveyed so many comprehensive ideas by almost imperceptible symbols of letters or accents, that a superficial hasty observer is incapable of understanding him: he must place himself at every step as a banker's clerk examining the secret signatures of checks in order to detect forgery, and to save himself from cheating or being cheated. In the second place, in giving change for his Greek words, he must take care not to give an idea less or an idea more than he receives. He is therefore acting perpetually under the sense of a strict external law; there is an outward standard to which he must rigidly conform, a model which he must exactly copy in all its lineaments and colours. The very sense of this, still more the habit of acting on it, is one of the most important elements in a rightly-constituted mind. The observance of an external law is man's chief virtue and chief happiness; and the boy who has been rightly trained to it, in translating a dead language, may be easily led on to apply it to other higher duties and objects. To live under constraint will be no new idea, and to fulfil external obligations no new task. Thirdly, (let us pause to remind the reader who may think these effects and influences to be farfetched and unreal, that the laws and habits of mind are the same, to whatever subjects they are applied, and that Nature has framed us to acquire in the use of meanest things the power of using greatest,) a schoolboy, in translating, is exercised in one of the highest, the most difficult and the most common task of the human intellect, the task of exact adjustment between shifting and uncertain quantities. The great question in morals is, how to bring the variable amount of our own actions into a conformity,

as close as possible, with the unknown amount of our duty: the great question of practical prudence is to realize an exact identity between the unknown events of the future, as laid down in the Divine dispensations, and the vague calculations of our own expectations. So commerce is the bringing into an equitable balance two indefinite terms of value. \* \* \*

"In this task of adjustment, he is called on also to exercise a quick and sensitive taste, discriminating not only the actual logical value of words, but their value in the imagination, as calling up ideas and associations. He must learn to appreciate the nice influences of mere sound, to place himself in the position both of his foreign author and the reader of the translation, and to judge what new development, or altered form, must be given to a metaphor, or figure, or expression, so that the same idea may be conveyed to the one which was intended by the other. Sometimes he will touch a figurative word with an Ithuriel's spear, and make it spring up in a full-formed metaphor. Sometimes he will soften and mellow down, or throw into shade, an idea more harsh or prominent in its modern form, than it would have appeared in the ancient. Sometimes, but rarely, he will venture on suppression, or on the substitution of an analogy for an exact copy. But throughout, he will guard against the temptation to supplant the original by a translation, or to abandon his first duty of rigidly conforming to the model before him."

## INTRODUCTION.

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### LIFE AND WORKS OF HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS is generally supposed to have been born B.C. 484, in Halicarnassus, a Doric colony in Caria. His family, illustrious in lineage and position, is probably alluded to in Book VIII. 132. His acquaintanceship with an eye-witness of the Persian War may be inferred from Book IX. 16; and his being contemporary with many events of the Peloponnesian War from v. 93, VII. 137, 233, and IX. 73.

We have no trustworthy information touching his early career and education beyond the *internal* evidences of his own work, and this shows him to have been thoroughly imbued with the best and earliest Greek literature. It is impossible to read his *Muses* without hearing the echo of the grand Epic tone of Homer: with the logographers, as well as with the poetry of Hesiod, Alcæus, Sappho, Simonides, Æschylus, and Pindar, he seems most familiar. According to Suidas he was the son of Lyxes and Dryo, and being unable to bear the tyranny of Lygdamis, he left his native city for Samos, where he settled for a time, making himself fully acquainted with the history of that island, as is evident from his interesting details respecting it. All authorities agree in maintaining the fact of his settlement at Thurii, in Italy (see Preface to this Work), still it seems clear

from Book v. 77, that he must have visited Athens in B.C. 431, the year in which the Peloponnesian war broke out.

The romantic story told by Lucian (who was, we may observe at the same time, the most credulous and incredulous of the ancients), how Herodotus read his work to the assemblage at Olympia, is utterly without foundation, and is in the highest degree improbable and inconsistent with itself (see Dahlmann's *Herodotus*).

Considering the difficulties and dangers of locomotion in those early days, the extent to which Herodotus travelled is an absolute wonder. Though undoubtedly he seems to have been most at home with the coasts of Asia Minor and with Greece Proper, yet his deep religious feelings moved him to linger with touching veneration and intense love of detail upon Egypt; and with the same spirit of reverential awe, though in a somewhat less degree, he dwells upon the holy seats of Dodona, Delphi, Abœ, Delos, Babylon, Corinth, and Athens: and his professed motive for visiting the queenly Tyre, was merely to gain all the information possible respecting its God Hercules.

The date of his visit to Egypt may be very fairly fixed somewhere about 450 B.C. after the defeat of Inarus by the Persian general Megabyzus, B.C. 456; since we learn from Book III. 12, that he saw the battle-field still covered with the bones and skulls of the slaughtered.

His knowledge of Western Europe seems to have been very incomplete, if it is right to judge from his *silence* on many *obvious* and *important* points, to which he might naturally have alluded; while his making Sardinia the *largest* of all islands (see Bk. I. 170, v. 106, vi. 2) is perfectly unaccountable.

Though "the Thurian" is generally classed with the *historians*, he has equal, if not greater, claims to our

admiration and gratitude as a logographer, antiquarian, geographer, moralist, traveller, story-teller, and in some degree as a naturalist. The extent as well as the miscellaneous diversity of his work, set in the clear crystal of the clearest language ever uttered by man, reminds us more of the Crystal Palace at Sydenham than of anything else we can conceive. Turn where we will, amidst the *ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θωρηκαστά* before us, the eye, though startled and perhaps at first bewildered, reposes with serene delight upon the treasured memorials of lands, languages, epochs, religions and races, so distant and different from each other. Here, as there, we glide on a few steps, and without weariness, from the gloom and grandeur of superstitious Egypt to the bright and beautiful creations of intellectual Hellas; from the slumbrous magnificence of the despotic East, to the court that breathes of the simple and earnest inspirations of the heroic West. Here, as there, we love to recognize many of the same familiar faces of the greatest amongst the children of men; and we read, as in epitome, for the most part the same records of the fluctuating progress of our common humanity, and its marvellous achievements in arts and in arms: at times, too, our ears drink in with thrilling interest the strains of martial music that animate the scene, while at other times we are summoned on the same premises to the quiet lecture, provided for our special instruction and gratification by the respective proprietors. The genius of the Thurian architect rises all the more wonderful from the fact that it called into being not only such a consummate arrangement of materials, but it created most of the very materials themselves by dint of personal inquiry and personal investigation, absolutely inconceivable at that period and with such facilities.

No uninspired historian of the ancient world more clearly sees the finger of God visible in all the scenes

enacted on this earthly theatre than Herodotus; whether he describes the great who have become little, or the little who have become great, his grand aim seems to be to justify the ways of Providence to man: and no wonder, for his whole soul was thoroughly interpenetrated with a profound conviction of the direct and personal intervention of the Deity, and it consequently overflowed with the warmest and purest religious feelings, which he felt it his solemn duty to express. Even the Christian may learn a lesson from the striking contrast which marks his gossiping and open-hearted unreserve and jaunty abandon on all subjects purely *human*, and the delicate, shrinking, thoughtful reserve, with which he seals those pious lips, *that breathe nothing but awe and reverence*, whenever there is a *ἰπὸς λόγος*, which the world at large was not worthy to hear, or he was not worthy or authorized to breathe into its ear.

As a narrator Herodotus is ever simple, lively, homely, without being either silly, bombastic, dull or vulgar. The great tale he tells, with digression after digression, has all the fascination of the Arabian Nights, though intensely deepened with human passions and interests, and intensely exalted by the majestic triumph of Hellenic heroism over the brute force of imperious Persia.

Diligence, honesty, candour, impartiality<sup>1</sup>, modesty, naïveté, love of truth, are all marked virtues of his historic spirit; his political views are always moderate, and never narrow; while his thoroughly catholic regard for his fellow-men led him to feel an interest in the barbarous Scythian, in the polished Memphian, and in the reverses of an Adrastus

<sup>1</sup> The charge of unduly favouring Athens is far from being fairly made out against Herodotus, all that seems clear is that he regards (and with good reason too) Athens as the saviour of Greece from the Persian yoke, and as such he almost always speaks of her in the highest terms.

which spoke a lesson, inspired by Nemesis, not less human in its teachings than the stupendous catastrophe of a Xerxes.

It is true that *organic* regularity is often wanting in his multifarious matter, and perhaps this could not well be otherwise under the circumstances. Much, too, of his geographical and chronological information is inaccurate, yet we must be careful how far we condemn him for his deficiency in that exact measurement of *time* and *space* that his own age did not, and could not, in many cases adequately supply: perhaps, too, his *Cyclopian* style of building necessarily required the *Lesbian* rule.

It is here that we first trace in Greek literature the germs of that *critical* acumen, which Aristotle carried to the highest perfection amongst the Greeks. Herodotus not only discriminates between "the possible" and "the probable," he goes farther, and generally stamps his assertions with the image of the authority from which they emanated, that they may be taken exactly for what they are worth. He distinguishes what he *knew* himself to be true from what *seemed to him* true; the whole statements which rest on the authority of *others*, are marked by such terms as λέγουσι, φασί, κ. τ. λ. Again, when the myth he narrates is too great a task on his credulity, he begins to rationalize it into the limits of the possible and the probable (see especially Book II. 45, and I. 60, II. 49, 55, 57, IV. 95). Owing to a disregard of such pervading distinctions, our author has been grossly misrepresented as extravagant, and given to fabulous exaggeration.

In *Rhet.* III. 9, Aristotle speaks of the style of Herodotus as *unperiodic* (λίξις εἰρημένη): it is the farthest remove from a *written*, elaborated style, and most resembles word-of-mouth discourse, being made up of sentences thrown

together loosely, with phrases for the introduction or repetition of the subject.

We cannot better close these remarks than by the following eloquent quotation from Dahlmann, a most distinguished writer on this subject. "That which charms the readers of Herodotus is that child-like simplicity of heart which is ever the companion of an incorruptible love of truth, and that happy and winning style which cannot be attained by any art or pathetic excitement, and is found only where manners are true to nature: for while other pleasing discourses of men roll along like torrents, and noisily hurry through their short existence, the silver stream of his words flows on without concern, sure of its immortal source, everywhere pure and transparent, whether it be shallow or deep; and the fear of ridicule, which sways the whole world, affects not the sublime simplicity of his mind."

# ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗ.

ΚΛΕΙΩ.

‘ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ’ Αλικαρνησσηος ιστορίας απόδεξις ἦδε·  
ὥς μήτε τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων τῷ χρόνῳ ἐξίτηλα  
γένηται, μήτε ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θυμαστά, τὰ μὲν  
Ἕλλησι, τὰ δὲ βαρβάροις ἀποδεχθέντα, ἀκλεᾶ γένηται·  
τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ δι’ ἣν αἰτίην ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοισι.

Περσέων μὲν νῦν οἱ λόγιοι Φοίνικας αἰτίους φασὶ 1  
γενέσθαι τῆς διαφορῆς. τούτους γὰρ, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς  
καλομένης θαλάσσης ἀπικομένους ἐπὶ τήνδε τὴν θάλασ-  
σαν, καὶ οἰκήσαντας τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν καὶ νῦν οἰ-  
κέουσι, αὐτίκα ναυτιλίῃσι μακρῇσι ἐπιθέσθαι ἀπαγινέον-  
τας δὲ φορτία Αἰγύπτια τε καὶ Ἀσσύρια, τῇ τε ἄλλῃ  
[χώρῃ] ἐσαπικνέεσθαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Ἀργος· τὸ δὲ Ἀργος  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον προεῖχε ἅπασι τῶν ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι  
καλομένη χώρῃ ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Φοίνικας ἐς δὴ τὸ  
Ἀργος τοῦτο, διατρίβεσθαι τὸν φόρτον. πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἕκτη  
ἡμέρῃ ἀπ’ ἧς ἀπίκοντο, ἐξεμπολημένων σφι σχεδὸν πάν-  
των, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν γυναῖκας, ἄλλας τε πολλὰς,  
καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ οἱ οὐνομα εἶναι,  
κατὰ τῶντὸ τὸ καὶ Ἕλληνες λεγουσι, Ἰοῦν τὴν Ἰνάχου.  
ταύτας στάσας κατὰ πρύμνην τῆς νεὸς, ὠνέεσθαι τῶν  
φορτίων, τῶν σφι ἦν θυμὸς μάλιστα καὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας  
διακελευσαμένους ὁρμήσαι ἐπ’ αὐτάς· τὰς μὲν δὴ πλεῖνας  
τῶν γυναικῶν ἀποφυγέειν, τὴν δὲ Ἰοῦν σὺν ἄλλῃσι ἀρ-  
πασθῆναι. ἐσβαλομένους δὲ ἐς τὴν νέα, οἴχεσθαι ἀπο-  
πλέοντας ἐπ’ Αἰγύπτου. Οὕτω μὲν Ἰοῦν ἐς Αἶγυπτον 2  
ἀπικέσθαι λεγουσι Πέρσαι, οὐκ ὥς Φοινι ἐς καὶ τῶν  
ἀδικημάτων τοῦτο ἄρξαι πρῶτον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Ἑλλή-

HEROD. I.

1

- ἦσαν ἀπόγονοι Λυδοῦ τοῦ Ἄττος· ἀπ' οὗτος ὁ δῆμος Λυδίας ἐκλήθη ὁ πῦς οὗτος, πρότερον Μήων καλεόμενος. παρὰ τούτων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐπιτραφθέντες ἔσχον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ θεοπροπίου, ἐκ δούλης τε τῆς Ἰαρδάνου γενομένης καὶ Ἡρακλῆος, ἄρξαντες μὲν ἐπὶ δύο τε καὶ εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν, ἕτα πέντε τε καὶ πεντακόσια, καὶ παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος τὴν ἀρχὴν, μέχρι Κανδαύλεω τοῦ Μύρσου.
- 8 Οὗτος δὴ ὢν ὁ Κανδαύλης ἠράσθη τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς ἔρασθεὶς δέ, ἐνόμιξέ οἱ εἶναι γυναῖκα πολλὸν παρῶν καλλίστην. ὥστε δὲ ταῦτα νυμίζων ἦν γὰρ οἱ τῶν αἰχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα· τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμάτων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ εἶδος τῆς γυναικὸς ὑπέρεπαίνεον. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, (χρὴν γὰρ Κανδαύλῃ γενέσθαι κακῶς,) ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν Γύγην τοιαύδε· “Γύγῃ, οὐ γὰρ σε δοκῶ πείθεσθαι μοι λέγοντι περὶ τοῦ εἶδους τῆς γυναικὸς (ὥτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἔοντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν) ποίει ὅπως ἐκείνην θεήσῃαι γυμνὴν.” Ὁ δὲ μέγα ἀμβώσας, εἶπε· “Δέσποτα, τίνα λέγεις λόγον οὐκ ὑγίεια, κελεύων με δέσποιναν τὴν ἐμὴν θεήσασθαι γυμνὴν; ἅμα δὲ κιθῶνι ἐκδυομένῳ συνεκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ γυνή. πάσαι δὲ τὰ καλὰ ἀνθρώποισι ἐξεύρηται, ἐκ τῶν μαυθάνειν δεῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἐν τόδῃ ἐστὶ, σκοπέειν τινὰ τὰ ἐωυτοῦ. ἐγὼ δὲ πείθομαι ἐκείνην εἶναι παρῶν γυναικῶν καλλίστην καὶ σεο δέομαι μὴ δέεσθαι ἀνόμων.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ, λέγων τοιαῦτα, ἀπεμάχετο, ἀρρωδέων μὴ τι οἱ ἐξ αὐτέων γένηται κακόν. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε· “Θάρσει Γύγῃ καὶ μὴ φοβεῦ μήτε ἐμὲ, ὥς σεο πειρώμενον λόγον τόνδε· μήτε γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμὴν, μὴ τι τοι ἐξ αὐτῆς γένηται βλάβος. ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγὼ μηχανήσομαι οὕτω, ὥστε μηδὲ μαθεῖν μιν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ σεῦ. ἐγὼ γὰρ σε ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐν τῷ κοιμώμεθα, ὅπισθε τῆς ἀνουγομένης θύρης στήσω· μετὰ δ' ἐμὲ ἐσελθόντα παρέσται καὶ ἡ γυνή ἢ ἐμὴ ἐς κοῖτον. κεῖται δὲ ἀγχοῦ τῆς ἐσόδου θρόνος· ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν ἱματίων κατὰ ἐν ἑκάστον ἐκδύνουσα θήσῃ· καὶ κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλὴν παρέξει τοι θεήσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου στείχῃ ἐπὶ τὴν εὐνὴν, κατὰ νώτου τε αὐτῆς γένη, σοὶ μελέτω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ὅπως μὴ σε ὄψεται.

“ἴοντα διὰ θυρέων.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ, ὥς οὐκ ἐδύνατο διαφυγέειν, 10  
 ἦν ἐτοιμός. ὁ δὲ Κανδαύλης, ἐπεὶ ἐδόκεε ὥρῃ τῆς κοίτης  
 εἶναι, ἤγαγε τὸν Γύγεα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 αὐτίκα παρῆν καὶ ἡ γυνή. ἐσελθούσας δὲ καὶ τιθείσας  
 τὰ εἴματα ἐθηῖτο ὁ Γύγης. ὥς δὲ κατὰ ἰώτου ἐγένετο,  
 ἰούσης τῆς γυναικὸς ἐς τὴν κοίτην, ὑπεκδὺς ἐχώρεε ἔξω.  
 καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἐπορᾷ μιν ἐξιόντα. μαθούσα δὲ τὸ ποιηθὲν ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, οὔτε ἀνέβωσεν αἰσχυνθεῖσα, οὔτε ἔδοξε μαθέειν,  
 ἐν νόῳ ἔχουσα τίσεσθαι τὸν Κανδαύλεα. παρὰ γὰρ τοῖσι  
 Λυδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροισι,  
 καὶ ἄνδρα ὀφθῆναι γυμνόν, ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει.  
 Τότε μὲν δὴ οὕτως, οὐδὲν δηλώσασα, ἡσυχίην εἶχε ὥς δὲ 11  
 ἡμέρη τάχιστα ἐγεγόνεε, τῶν οἰκετέων τοὺς μάλιστα ὥρα  
 πιστοὺς εἶντας ἑωυτῇ, ἐτοιμοὺς ποιησαμένῃ, ἐκάλεε τὸν  
 Γύγεα. Ὁ δὲ, οὐδὲν δοκέων αὐτὴν τῶν πρηχθέντων ἐπί-  
 ρτασθαι, ἦλθε καλεόμενος· ἑώθεε γὰρ καὶ πρόσθε, ὅπως  
 ἡ βασιλεία καλέοι, φοιτᾷν. ὥς δὲ ὁ Γύγης ἀπῆκετο,  
 ἔλεγεν ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Νῦν τοι δυοῖν ὁδοῖν παρουνσέων,  
 “Γύγη, δίδωμι αἵρεσιν, ὁκοτέρῃν βούλει τραπέσθαι ἢ  
 “γὰρ Κανδαύλεα ἀποκτείνας, ἐμέ τε καὶ τὴν βασιλῆην  
 “ἔχε τὴν Λυδῶν, ἢ αὐτὸν σὲ αὐτίκα οὕτω ἀποθνήσκειν  
 “δεῖ· ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος Κανδαύλῃ, τοῦ λοιποῦ  
 “ἰδῇς τὰ μὴ σε δεῖ. ἀλλ’ ἦτοι κεῖνόν γε τὸν ταῦτα βου-  
 “λεύσαντα δεῖ ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἢ σέ, τὸν ἐμὲ γυμνὴν θη-  
 “σάμενον, καὶ ποιήσαντα οὐ νομιζόμενα.” Ὁ δὲ Γύγης  
 τέως μὲν ἀπεθώνυμαζε τὰ λεγόμενα· μετὰ δὲ, ἰκέτευε μὴ  
 μιν ἀναγκαίῃ ἐνδεῖν διακρίναι τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν. οὐκ ὡς δὴ  
 ἔπειθε, ἀλλ’ ὥρα ἀναγκαίην ἀληθέως προκειμένην, ἢ τὸν  
 δεσπότηα ἀπολλύναι, ἢ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἀπόλλυσθαι,  
 αἰρέεται αὐτὸς περιεῖναι. ἐπειρώτα δὴ λέγων τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ  
 “με ἀναγκάζεις δεσπότηα τὸν ἐμὸν κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐθέλου-  
 “τα, φέρε ἀκούσω τέω καὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιχειρήσομεν αὐτῷ.”  
 Ἡ δὲ ὑπολαβούσα ἔφη, “Ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μιν χωρίου ἢ  
 “ὁρμὴ ἔσται, ὅθεν περ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐμὲ ἐπεδίδεξάτο γυμνὴν  
 “ὑπνωμένῳ δὲ ἢ ἐπιχειρήσεις ἔσται.” Ὡς δὲ ἤρτυσαν 12  
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, νυκτὸς γινομένης, (οὐ γὰρ μετίετο ὁ  
 Γύγης, οὐδέ οἱ ἦν ἀπαλλαγὴ οὐδεμία, ἀλλὰ ἔδεε ἢ αὐτὸν  
 ἀπολωλέναι, ἢ Κανδαύλεα,) εἶπετο ἐς τὸν θάλαμον τῇ

- (ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται) παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μῦνοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον· καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι
- 19 τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει λητοῦ ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηνείχθη τι τοιόνδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὡς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα τὸ λήϊον ἀνέμφ βιώμενον, ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης. ἀφθείς δὲ ὁ νηὸς, κατακαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γενομένης τῆς νούσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσάντος τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νούσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσουσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν
- 20 χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε προστιθεῖσι τοῖτοισι· Περρίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου, ὄντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μιλήτου τυραννεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἀγγελὸν κατεῖπειν, ὅπως ἂν τι προεῖδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῆται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι
- 21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἐωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνη, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας
- 22 καὶ κόμῳ χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησε τε καὶ προσγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς, ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ὄντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὡς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ

κέρυξ, καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἡ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδητὴν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρῦσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δέ, ἢ τε διαλλαγή σφι ἐγένετο, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμαχοὺς. καὶ δύο τε αὐτὶ ἐνὸς νηὸς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ ᾠκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῷ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη ὧδε ἔσχε.

Περιάνδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυ- 23  
βούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περιάνδρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐξενηχθέντα ἐπὶ Ταίναρον, ἔοντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἔοντων οὐδενὸς δευτέρου, καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου δια- 24  
τρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰταλίην τε καὶ Σικελίην ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα, θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ Κορινθίοισι, μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων. τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλευεῖν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβαλόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δέ, συνέντα τοῦτο, λίσσεσθαι, χρήματα μὲν σφι προΐεντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτούμενον. οὐκ ὄντι δὴ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρᾶσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπειληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι, ἐπειδὴ σφι οὕτω δοκέοι, περιυδέειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πάσῃ στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἔδωλλοισι, αἰεῖσαι· αἰέσας δὲ, ὑπεδέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπων ἀοιδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νῆα. τὸν

γυναικί. καὶ μιν ἐκείνη, ἐγχειρίδιον δοῦσα, κατακρύπτει ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἀναπαυομένου Κανδαύλεω, ὑπεισδύς τε καὶ ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν, ἔσχε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν βασιλητὴν Γύγης· τοῦ καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος ὁ Πάριος, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον γεγόμενος, ἐν

- 13 **ἰάμβω** τριμέτρῳ ἐπεμνήσθη. Ἔσχε δὲ τὴν βασιλητὴν, καὶ ἐκρατύνθη, ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστήριου. ὥς γὰρ δὴ οἱ Λυδοὶ δεινὸν ἐποιεῦντο τὸ Κανδαύλεω πάθος, καὶ ἐν ὅπλοισι ἦσαν, συνέβησαν ἐς τῶντ' ὅτι τε τοῦ Γύγεω στασιῶται καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Λυδοί, ἣν μὲν δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀνέλῃ μιν βασιλέα εἶναι Λυδῶν, τόνδε βασιλεύειν ἣν δὲ μὴ, ἀποδοῦναι ὀπίσω ἐς Ἡρακλείδας τὴν ἀρχήν. ἀνείλε τε δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν οὕτω Γύγης. τοσόνδε μέντοι εἶπε ἡ Πυθίη, ὥς Ἡρακλείδῃσι τίσις ἦξει ἐς τὸν πέμπτον ἀπόγονον Γύγεω. τούτου τοῦ ἔπεος
- \* Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν λόγον οὐδένα ἐποιεῦντο, πρὶν δὴ ἐπετελεσθῇ.

- 14 Τὴν μὲν δὴ τυραννίδα οὕτω ἔσχον οἱ Μερμνάδαι, τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας ἀπελόμενοι. Γύγης δὲ τυραννεύσας ἀπέπεμψε ἀναθήματα ἐς Δελφούς οὐκ ὀλίγα. ἀλλ' ὅσα μὲν ἀργύρου ἀναθήματα ἔστι οἱ πλείστα ἐν Δελφοῖσι· πᾶρεξ δὲ τοῦ ἀργύρου, χρυσὸν ἄπλετον ἀνέθηκεν, ἄλλον τε, καὶ τοῦ μάλιστα μνήμην ἄξιον ἔχειν ἔστι, κρητῆρές οἱ ἀριθμὸν ἑξ χρύσειοι ἀνακέαται. ἐστᾶσι δὲ οὗτοι ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, σταθμὸν ἔχοντες τριήκοντα τάλαντα· ἀληθεῖ δὲ λόγῳ χρεωμένῳ, οὐ Κορινθίων τοῦ δημοσίου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρός, ἀλλ' ἡ Κυψέλου τοῦ Ἡετίωνος. Οὗτος δὲ ὁ Γύγης, πρῶτος βαρβάρων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, ἐς Δελφούς ἀνέθηκε ἀναθήματα, μετὰ Μίδην τὸν Γορδίου, Φρυγίης βασιλέα. ἀνέθηκε γὰρ δὴ καὶ Μίδης τὸν βασιλῆιον θρόνον, ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασε, εὐντα ἀξιοθέητον. κεῖται δὲ ὁ θρόνος οὗτος ἔνθα περ οἱ τοῦ Γύγεω κρητῆρες. ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἀργυρος, τὸν ὁ Γύγης ἀνέθηκε, ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλέεται Γυγάδας ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην. Ἐσέβαλε μὲν νυν στρατιὴν καὶ οὗτος, ἐπεὶ τε ἥρξε, ἐς τε Μίλητον καὶ ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ Κολοφῶνος τὸ ἄστυ εἶλε. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν γὰρ μέγα ἔργον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλο ἐγένετο βασιλεύσαντος δυνῶν δέοντα τεσσера-

κοντα ἔτεα, τοῦτον μὲν παρήσομεν, τοσαῦτα ἐπιμνησθέν-  
τες. Ἄρδυος δὲ τοῦ Γύγεω μετὰ Γύγην βασιλεύσαντος 15  
μνήμην ποιήσομαι. οὗτος δὲ Πριηνέας τε εἶλε, ἐς Μίλη-  
τόν τε ἐσέβαλε· ἐπὶ τούτου τε τυραννεύοντος Σαρδίων,  
Κιμμέριοι ἐξ ἡθέων ὑπὸ Σκυθέων τῶν Νομάδων ἐξανα-  
στάντες, ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, καὶ Σάρδεις πλὴν τῆς  
ἀκροπόλεως εἶλον.

Ἄρδυος δὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἐνὸς δέοντα πεντήκοντα 16  
ἔτεα, ἐξεδέξατο Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν  
ἔτεα δυῶδεκα· Σαδυάττew δὲ, Ἀλυάττης. Οὗτος δὲ Κυ-  
αξάρη τε τῷ Διϊόκew ἀπογόνῳ ἐπολέμησε, καὶ Μήδοισι  
Κιμμερίους τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐξήλασε· Σμύρνην τε τὴν  
ἀπὸ Κολοφῶνος κτισθεῖσαν εἶλε, ἐς Κλαζομένας τε ἐσέ-  
βαλε. ἀπὸ μὲν νυν τούτων οὐκ ὡς ἠθέλε ἀπήλλαξε, ἀλλὰ  
προσπτάσας μεγάλως. ἄλλα δὲ ἔργα ἀπεδέξατο ἔων ἐν  
τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀξιαπληρητότατα τὰδε. Ἐπολέμησε Μιλησίοισι, 17  
παραδεξάμενος τὸν πόλεμον παρὰ τοῦ πατρός. ἐπελαύ-  
νων γὰρ ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Μίλητον τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· ὅκως  
μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν  
στρατιήν. ἐστρατεύετο δὲ ὑπὸ συρίγγων τε καὶ πηκτίδων,  
καὶ αὐλοῦ γυναικείου τε καὶ ἀνδρῆιου. ὡς δὲ ἐς τὴν Μι-  
λησίην ἀπικοίτο, οἰκήματα μὲν τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν οὔτε  
κατέβαλλε, οὔτε ἐνεπίμπρη, οὔτε θύρας ἀπέσπα, ἕα δὲ  
κατὰ χώρην ἐστάμεναι· ὁ δὲ τὰ τε δένδρεα καὶ τὸν καρ-  
πὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὅκως διαφθείρειε, ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω.  
τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης οἱ Μιλησιοὶ ἐπεκρύτεον, ὥστε ἐπέδρης  
μὴ εἶναι ἔργον τῇ στρατῇ. τῆς δὲ οἰκίας οὐ κατέβαλλε ὁ  
Λυδὸς τῶνδε εἵνεκα, ὅκως ἔχοιεν ἐνθευτεν ὀρμεύμενοι τὴν  
γῆν σπείρειν τε καὶ ἐργάζεσθαι οἱ Μιλήσιοι, αὐτὸς δὲ,  
ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένων, ἔχοι τι καὶ σίνεσθαι ἐσβάλλων.  
Ταῦτα ποίῳν, ἐπολέμεε ἔτεα ἑνδεκα· ἐν τοῖσι τρώματα 18  
μεγάλα διφύσια Μιλησίων ἐγένετο, ἐν τε Λιμενητῷ χώ-  
ρῃ τῆς σφετέρῃς μαχεσαμένων, καὶ ἐν Μαιμῶνδρου πεδίῳ  
τὰ μὲν νυν ἐξ ἔτεα τῶν ἑνδεκα Σαδυάττης ὁ Ἄρδυος ἐτι  
Λυδῶν ἦρχε, ὁ καὶ ἐσβαλὼν τηνικαῦτα ἐς τὴν Μιλησίην  
τὴν στρατιήν (Σαδυάττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον  
ἦν συνάψας) τὰ δὲ πέντε τῶν ἐτέων τὰ ἐπόμενα τοῖσι ἐξ  
Ἀλυάττης ὁ Σαδυάττew ἐπολέμεε, ὅς παραδεξάμενος,

- (ὥς καὶ πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται) παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, προσεῖχε ἐντεταμένως. τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι οὐδαμοὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον συνεπελάφρυνον, ὅτι μὴ Χίοι μούντοι. οὗτοι δὲ τὸ ὁμοῖον ἀνταποδιδόντες ἐτιμώρεον καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον οἱ Μιλήσιοι τοῖσι Χίοισι
- 19 τὸν πρὸς Ἐρυθραίους πόλεμον συνδιήνεικαν. Τῷ δὲ δυωδεκάτῳ ἔτει ληίου ἐμπιπραμένου ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιῆς, συνηκίχθη τι τοιούδε γενέσθαι πρῆγμα· ὥς ἄφθῃ τάχιστα τὸ λήιον ἀνέμψ βιώμενον, ἄψατο νηοῦ Ἀθηναίης, ἐπὶ κλησιν Ἀσσησίης. ἀφθεῖς δὲ ὁ νηὸς, κατεκαύθη. καὶ τὸ παραντίκα μὲν λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐγένετο· μετὰ δὲ, τῆς στρατιῆς ἀπικομένης ἐς Σάρδεις, ἐνόσησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης. μακροτέρης δὲ οἱ γενομένης τῆς νόσου, πέμπει ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους, εἴτε δὴ συμβουλευσάντος τευ, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἔδοξε πέμψαντα τὸν θεὸν ἐπείρεσθαι περὶ τῆς νόσου. τοῖσι δὲ ἡ Πυθίη ἀπικομένοισι ἐς Δελφοὺς οὐκ ἔφη χρήσειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἀνορθώσουσι, τὸν ἐνέπρησαν
- 20 χώρης τῆς Μιλησίης ἐν Ἀσσησῷ. Δελφῶν οἶδα ἐγὼ οὕτω ἀκούσας γενέσθαι. Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε προστιθεῖσι τούτοις· Περίανδρον τὸν Κυψέλου, ὄντα Θρασυβούλῳ τῷ τότε Μίλητον τυρανεύοντι ξεῖνον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, πυθόμενον τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ τῷ Ἀλυάττῃ γενόμενον, πέμψαντα ἄγγελον κατεπειν, ὅπως ἂν τι προειδῶς πρὸς τὸ παρεὸν βουλευῆται. Μιλήσιοι μὲν νυν οὕτω λέγουσι
- 21 γενέσθαι. Ἀλυάττης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλθη, αὐτίκα ἔπεμπε κήρυκα ἐς Μίλητον, βουλόμενος σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι Θρασυβούλῳ τε καὶ Μιλησίοισι χρόνον ὅσον ἂν τὸν νηὸν οἰκοδομή. ὁ μὲν δὴ ἀπόστολος ἐς τὴν Μίλητον ἦν Θρασύβουλος δὲ σαφέως προπεπυσμένος πάντα λόγον, καὶ εἰδὼς τὰ Ἀλυάττης μέλλοι ποιήσειν, μηχανᾶται τοιαῦδε. ὅσος ἦν ἐν τῷ ἄστει σίτος καὶ ἑωυτοῦ καὶ ἰδιωτικὸς, τοῦτον πάντα συγκομίσας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, προεῖπε Μιλησίοισι, ἐπεὰν αὐτὸς σημήνῃ, τότε πίνειν τε πάντας
- 22 καὶ κόμψι χρέεσθαι ἐς ἀλλήλους. Ταῦτα δὲ ἐποίησε τε καὶ προαγόρευε Θρασύβουλος τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ὅπως ἂν δὴ ὁ κήρυξ ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς, ἰδὼν τε σωρὸν μέγαν σίτου κεχυμένον, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι ὄντας, ἀγγείλῃ Ἀλυάττῃ· τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐγένετο. ὥς γὰρ δὴ ἰδὼν τε ἐκεῖνα ὁ

κήρυξ, καὶ εἶπας πρὸς Θρασύβουλον τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ Λυδοῦ, ἀπῆλθε ἐς τὰς Σαρδεις, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, δι' οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐγένετο ἢ διαλλαγή. ἐλπίζων γὰρ ὁ Ἀλυάττης σιτοδητὴν τε εἶναι ἰσχυρὴν ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρύσθαι ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ, ἤκουε τοῦ κήρυκος νοστήσαντος ἐκ τῆς Μιλήτου τοὺς ἐναντίους λόγους ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε. μετὰ δέ, ἥ τε διαλλαγή σφί ἐγένετο, ἐπ' ᾧ τε ξείνους ἀλλήλοισι εἶναι καὶ ξυμμάχους. καὶ δύο τε ἀντὶ ἐνὸς νηὺς τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ ᾠκοδόμησε ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐν τῇ Ἀσσησῶ, αὐτὸς τε ἐκ τῆς νούσου ἀνέστη. κατὰ μὲν τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους τε καὶ Θρασύβουλον πόλεμον Ἀλυάττη ὥδε ἔσχε.

Περιάνδρος δὲ ἦν Κυψέλου παῖς, οὗτος ὁ τῷ Θρασυ- 23  
βούλῳ τὸ χρηστήριον μηνύσας. ἐτυράννευε δὲ ὁ Περιάν-  
δρος Κορίνθου. τῷ δὴ λέγουσι Κορίνθιοι (ὁμολογέουσι δέ  
σφι Λέσβιοι) ἐν τῷ βίῳ θῶμα μέγιστον παραστήναι.  
Ἀρίονα τὸν Μηθυμναῖον ἐπὶ δελφῖνος ἐξενειχθέντα ἐπὶ  
Ταίναρον, ἔοντα κιθαρωδὸν τῶν τότε ἔόντων οὐδενὸς δεύ-  
τερον, καὶ διθύραμβον, πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν,  
ποιήσαντά τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ  
τοῦτον τὸν Ἀρίονα λέγουσι, τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου δια- 24  
τρίβοντα παρὰ Περιάνδρῳ, ἐπιθυμῆσαι πλῶσαι ἐς Ἰτα-  
λίην τε καὶ Σικελίην ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μεγάλα,  
θελῆσαι ὀπίσω ἐς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι. ὀρμᾶσθαι μὲν  
νυν ἐκ Τάραντος, πιστεύοντα δὲ οὐδαμοῖσι μᾶλλον ἢ  
Κορινθίοισι, μισθώσασθαι πλοῖον ἀνδρῶν Κορινθίων.  
τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῷ πελάγει ἐπιβουλεύειν, τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐκβα-  
λόντας ἔχειν τὰ χρήματα. τὸν δέ, συνέντα τοῦτο, λίσσεσ-  
θαι, χρήματα μὲν σφὶ προϊέντα, ψυχὴν δὲ παραιτεόμενον.  
οὐκ ἔστι δὲ πείθειν αὐτὸν τούτοις· ἀλλὰ κελεύειν τοὺς  
πορθμέας ἢ αὐτὸν διαχρῆσθαι μιν, ὡς ἂν ταφῆς ἐν γῇ  
τύχῃ, ἢ ἐκπηδᾶν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν ταχίστην. ἀπει-  
ληθέντα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίονα ἐς ἀπορίην, παραιτήσασθαι,  
ἐπειδὴ σφί οὕτω δοκέοι, περιϊδέειν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σκευῇ  
πάσῃ σταντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι, αἰεῖσαι· αἰέσας δέ, ὑπε-  
δέκετο ἑωυτὸν κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ τοῖσι ἐσελθεῖν γὰρ  
ἡδονὴν, εἰ μέλλοιεν ἀκούσεσθαι τοῦ ἀρίστου ἀνθρώπου  
αἰδοῦ, ἀναχωρῆσαι ἐκ τῆς πρύμνης ἐς μέσσην νέα. τὸν

δὲ, ἐνδύντα τε πᾶσαν τὴν σκευὴν, καὶ λαβόντα τὴν κιθάρην, στάντα ἐν τοῖσι ἐδωλίοισι, διεξελθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὀρθιον τελευτῶντος δὲ τοῦ νόμου, ρίψαι μιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐωυτὸν, ὡς εἶχε, σὺν τῇ σκευῇ πίσσῃ καὶ τοῖσι μὲν ἀποπλέειν ἐς Κόρινθον τὸν δὲ, δελφίνα λέγουσι ὑπολαβόντα ἐξενεῖκαι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον. ἀποβάντα δὲ αὐτὸν χωρέειν ἐς Κόρινθον σὺν τῇ σκευῇ, καὶ ἀπικόμενον ἀπὸ γέεσθαι πᾶν τὸ γεγονός. Περίανδρον δὲ ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας Ἀρίονα μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, οὐδαμῇ μετιέντα, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν τῶν πορθμέων ὡς δὲ ἄρα παρεῖναι αὐτοὺς, κλέψαντας ἱστορέεσθαι εἴ τι λέγοιεν περὶ Ἀρίονος. φαιμένα δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς εἶη τε σῶς περὶ Ἰταλίην, καὶ μιν εὖ πρὸς ἴσασιντα λίκποιεν ἐν Τάραντι, ἐπιφανῆναί σφι τὸν Ἀρίονα ὥσπερ ἔχων ἐξεπήδησε καὶ τοῖς, ἐκπλαγύντας, οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐτι ἐλεγχομένους ἀρνέεσθαι. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν Κορίνθιοι καὶ Λέσβιοι λέγουσι. καὶ Ἀρίονός ἐστι ἀνάθημα χάλκεον οὐ μέγα ἐπὶ Ταίναρσιν, ἐπὶ δελφίνος ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπου.

25 Ἀλυάττης δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς τὸν πρὸς Μιλησίους πόλεμον διενείκας, μετέπειτα τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας ἕτα ἑπτὰ καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀνέθηκε δὲ, ἐκφυγὼν τὴν νοῖσον δευτέρου οὗτος τῆς οἰκίης ταύτης ἐς Δελφούς κρητῆρά τε ἀργύρεον μέγαν, καὶ ὑποκρητηρίδιον σιδήρεον κολλητὸν, θέης ἀξιοῦ διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἀναθημάτων Γλαύκου τοῦ Χίου ποίημα, ὃς μούνος δὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων σιδήρεον κολλησιν ἐξεῦρε.

26 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐξεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω, ἐτέων ἑὼν ἡλικίην πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα ὃς δὴ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτοις ἐπεθήκατο Ἐφέσίοισι. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι πολιορκεόμενοι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνέθεσαν τὴν πόλιν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἐξίψαντες ἐκ τοῦ νηοσχοινίου ἐς τὸ τεῖχος. ἔστι δὲ μετὰ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς πόλιος, ἣ τότε ἐπολιορκέετο, καὶ τοῦ νηοῦ, ἑπτὰ στάδια πρῶτοις μὲν δὴ τούτοις ἐπεχείρησε ὁ Κροῖσος μετὰ δὲ, ἐν μέρει ἑκάστοις Ἰώνων τε καὶ Αἰολέων, ἄλλοις ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρων τῶν μὲν ἐδύνατο μέζονας παρελπίσκειν, μέζονα ἐπαιτιώμενος, τοῖσι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ φαῦλ

27 ἐπιφέρων. Ὡς δὲ ἄρα οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ Ἕλληνες καταστράφατο ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐπενόεε, νέε

ποιησάμενος, ἐπιχειρέειν τοῖσι νησιώτησι. ἐόντων δέ οἱ πάντων ἐτοίμων ἐς τὴν ναυπηγίην, οἱ μὲν Βίαντα λέγουσι τὸν Πριηνέα ἀπικόμενον ἐς Σάρδεις, οἱ δὲ Πιττακὸν τὸν Μυτιληναῖον, εἰρομένου Κροῖσου εἴ τι εἴη νεώτερον περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, εἰπόντα τάδε, καταπαῦσαι τὴν ναυπηγίην

“ὦ βασιλεῦ, νησιῶται ἵππον συνωνέονται μυρίην, ἐς Σάρ-  
 “δεις τε καὶ ἐπὶ σέ ἔχοντες ἐν νῶ στρατεύεσθαι.” Κροῖ-  
 σον δέ, ἐλπίσαντα λέγειν ἐκείνῳ ἀληθεία, εἰπεῖν “Αἱ γὰρ  
 “τοῦτο θεοὶ ποιήσειαν ἐπὶ νόον νησιώτησι, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ  
 “Λυδῶν παῖδας σὺν ἵπποισι.” Τὸν δέ, ὑπολαβόντα φάναι  
 “ὦ βασιλεῦ, προθύμως μοι φαίναται εὖξασθαι νησιώτας  
 “ἱππευομένους λαβεῖν ἐν ἡπείρῳ, οἰκότα ἐλπίζων νησιώ-  
 “τας δὲ τί δοκέεις εὖχασθαι ἄλλο, ἢ, ἐπεὶ τε τάχιστα  
 “ἐπύθοντό σε μέλλοντα ἐπὶ σφίσι ναυπηγέεσθαι νέας, λα-  
 “βεῖν ἀρώμενοι Λυδοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ, ἵνα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ  
 “ἡπείρῳ οἰκημένων Ἑλλήνων τίσωνται σε, τοῖς σὺ δυν-  
 “λώσας ἔχεις;” Κάρτα τε ἡσθῆναι Κροῖσον τῷ ἐπιλόγῳ  
 καὶ οἱ (προσφυέως γὰρ δόξαι λέγειν) πειθόμενον, παύσα-  
 σθαι τῆς ναυπηγίης. καὶ οὕτω τοῖσι τὰς νήσους οἰκημέ-  
 νοις Ἴωσι ξεινίην συνεθήκατο.

Χρόνου δὲ ἐπνιγνομένου, καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν 28  
 πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἄλνυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων (πλὴν γὰρ  
 Κιλικίων καὶ Λυκίων, τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ’ ἐνωτῷ εἶχε  
 καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἶδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες,  
 Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες, οἱ  
 Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κῦρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριεῖς, Αἰολεῖς,  
 Πάμφυλοι) κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσε- 29  
 πικτωμένου Κροῖσου Λυδοῖσι, ἀπικνέονται ἐς Σάρδεις  
 ἀκμαζούσας πλούτῳ ἄλλοι τε οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλ-  
 λάδος σοφισται, οἱ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτίγγχανον ἐόντες,  
 ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀπικνέοιτο· καὶ διὴ καὶ Σόλων, ἀνὴρ  
 Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς Ἀθηναίοισι νόμους κελεύσασι ποιήσας,  
 ἀπεδήμησε ἕτεα δέκα, κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν ἐκπλώσας,  
 ἵνα δὴ μὴ τινα τῶν νόμων ἀναγκασθῇ λύσαι τῶν ἔθετο.  
 αὐτοὶ γὰρ νῦν οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὸ ποιεῖν Ἀθηναῖοι· ὁρ-  
 κίοισι γὰρ μεγάλοισι κατείχοντο, δέκα ἕτεα χρήσεσθαι  
 νόμοισι τοὺς ἂν σφί Σόλων θῇται. Αὐτῶν δὴ ὡν τούτων 30  
 καὶ τῆς θεωρίας ἐκδημήσας ὁ Σόλων εἵνεκεν, ἐς Αἴγυπτον

ἀπύκετο παρὰ Ἀμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κροῖ-  
 σον. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, ἐξεωρίζετο ἐν τούτοις βασιλεῖοις ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ Κροίσου· μετὰ δὲ, ἡμέρῃ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ, κελεύσαν-  
 τος Κροίσου, τὸν Σόλωνα θεράποντες περιήγουν κατὰ τοὺς  
 θησαυροὺς, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυσαν πάντα ἔοντα μεγάλα τε καὶ  
 ὀλβια. θεησάμενον δὲ μιν τὰ πάντα καὶ σκεψάμενον, ὥς  
 οἱ κατὰ καιρὸν ἦν, εἶρετο ὁ Κροῖσος τάδε· “Ξεῖνε Ἀθη-  
 “ναῖε, παρ’ ἡμέας γὰρ περὶ σέο λόγος ἀπύκται πολλὸς,  
 “καὶ σοφίης εἵνεκεν τῆς σῆς καὶ πλάνης, ὥς φιλοσοφῶν  
 “γῆν πολλὴν θεωρίης εἵνεκεν ἐπελήλυθας. νῦν ὦν ἡμερος  
 “ἐπείρεσθαί μοι ἐπῆλθε, εἴ τινα ἤδη πάντων εἶδες ὀλ-  
 “βιώτατον;” Ὁ μὲν, ἐλπίζων εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ὀλβιώ-  
 τatos, ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα. Σόλων δὲ, οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας,  
 ἀλλὰ τῷ ἔοντι χρησάμενος, λέγει· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, Τέλ-  
 “λον Ἀθηναῖον.” Ἀποθωνυμάσας δὲ Κροῖσος τὸ λεχθὲν,  
 εἶρετο ἐπιστρεφένως· “Κοίῃ δὴ κρίνεις Τέλλον εἶναι ὀλ-  
 “βιώτατον;” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Τέλλῳ, τοῦτο μὲν, τῆς πό-  
 “λιος εὐ’ ἡκούσης, παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι, καὶ  
 “σφι εἶδε ἅπασιν τέκνα ἐκγενόμενα, καὶ πάντα παραμεί-  
 “ναντα, τοῦτο δὲ, τοῦ βίου εὐ’ ἡκοντι, ὥς τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν,  
 “τελευτὴ τοῦ βίου λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο, γενομένης  
 “γὰρ Ἀθηναίοις μάχης πρὸς τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας ἐν  
 “Ἐλευσίνῃ, βοηθήσας, καὶ τροπὴν ποιήσας τῶν πολε-  
 “μιων, ἀπέθανε κάλλιστα. καὶ μιν Ἀθηναῖοι δημοσίῃ τε  
 “ἔθαψαν αὐτοῦ τῇ περ ἔπεσε καὶ ἐτίμησαν μεγάλως.”

81 Ὡς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον προετρέψατο ὁ Σόλων τὸν  
 Κροῖσον, εἶπας πολλὰ τε καὶ ὀλβια, ἐπειρώτα τίνα δεύτε-  
 ρον μετ’ ἐκείνων ἴδοι, δοκέων πάγχυ δευτερεῖα γῶν οἶσε-  
 σθαι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “Κλέοβιν τε καὶ Βίτωνα. τούτοις  
 “γὰρ, ἐοῦσι γένος Ἀργείοις, βίος τε ἀρκέων ὑπῆν, καὶ  
 “πρὸς τούτῳ, ρώμῃ σωματος τοιήδε· ἀεθλοφόροι τε ἀμ-  
 “φότεροι ὁμοίως ἦσαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος.  
 “εἰούσης ὀρτῆς τῇ Ἡρῇ τοῖσι Ἀργείοις, ἔδεε πάντως τὴν  
 “μητέρα αὐτῶν ζεύγεϊ κομισθῆναι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οἱ δὲ σφι  
 “βόες ἐκ τοῦ ἀγροῦ οὐ παρεγίνοντο ἐν ὥρῃ ἐκκληϊόμενοι  
 “δὲ τῇ ὥρῃ οἱ νεηνίαι, ὑπόδύντες αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ζεύγλην,  
 “εἰλκον τὴν ἄμαξαν, ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης δὲ σφι ὄχετο ἡ  
 “μήτηρ. σταδίου δὲ πάντε καὶ τεσσαράκοντα διακομί-

“σαντες ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἱρόν ταῦτα δέ σφι ποιήσασι,  
 “καὶ ὀφθεῖσι ὑπὸ τῆς πανηγύριος, τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου  
 “ἀρίστη ἐπεγένετο. διέδεξέ τε ἐν τούτοισι ὁ θεὸς, ὡς  
 “ἀμεινον εἴη ἀνθρώπῳ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶειν. Ἀρ-  
 “γεῖοι μὲν γὰρ περιστάντες ἐμακάριζον τῶν νεηνιέων τὴν  
 “ῥώμην· αἱ δὲ Ἀργεῖαι, τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν, οἷων τέκνων  
 “ἐκύρησε. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ περιχαρὴς ἐοῦσα τῷ τε ἔργῳ καὶ  
 “τῇ φήμῃ, στᾶσα ἀντίον τοῦ ἀγάλματος, εὐχετο, Κλέοβί-  
 “τε καὶ Βίτωνι, τοῖσι ἐωυτῆς τέκνοισι, οἳ μιν ἐτίμησαν  
 “μεγάλως, δοῦναι τὴν θεὸν τὸ ἀνθρώπῳ τυχεῖν ἀριστόν  
 “ἐστι. μετὰ ταύτην δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν, ὡς ἔθυσάν τε καὶ εὐω-  
 “χῆθησαν, κατακοιμηθέντες ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἱρῷ οἱ νεηνῖαι,  
 “οὐκέτι ἀνέστησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τέλει τούτῳ ἔσχοντο. Ἀρ-  
 “γεῖοι δὲ σφεων εἰκόνας ποιησάμενοι, ἀνέθεσαν ἐς Δελ-  
 “φους, ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων γενομένων.”

Σόλων μὲν δὴ εὐδαιμονίης δευτερεῖα ἔνεμε τούτοισι. 32  
 Κροῖσος δὲ σπερχθεὶς, εἶπε “ὦ ξεῖνε Ἀθηναῖε, ἡ δὲ  
 “ἡμετέρη εὐδαιμονία οὕτω τοι ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν,  
 “ὥστε οὐδὲ ἰδιωτέων ἀνδρῶν ἀξίους ἡμέας ἐποίησας;  
 “Ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ Κροῖσε, ἐπιστάμενόν με τὸ θεῖον πᾶν  
 “ἔδν φθονερόν τε καὶ ταραχῶδες, ἐπειρωτᾶς ἀνθρωπητῶν  
 “πρηγμάτων πέρι; ἐν γὰρ τῷ μακρῷ χρόνῳ πολλὰ μὲν  
 “ἐστὶ ἰδέειν γὰ μὴ τις ἐθέλει, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παθεῖν  
 “ἐς γὰρ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οὐρον τῆς ζῆς ἀνθρώπῳ προ-  
 “τίθημι. οὗτοι ἔοντες ἐνιαυτοὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, παρέχονται  
 “ἡμέρας διηκοσίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας καὶ δισμυρίας,  
 “ἐμβολίμου μηνὸς μὴ γινομένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ ἐθελήσει τοῦ-  
 “τερον τῶν ἐτέων μηνὶ μακρότερον γίνεσθαι, ἵνα δὴ αἱ  
 “ὥραι συμβαίνωσι παραγινομεναι ἐς τὸ δέον, μήνες μὲν  
 “παρὰ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα οἱ ἐμβόλιμοι γίνονται τριή-  
 “κοντα πέντε· ἡμέραι δὲ ἐκ τῶν μηνῶν τούτων, χιλίαι  
 “πεντήκοντα. τούτων τῶν ἀπασέων ἡμερέων, τῶν ἐς  
 “τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔτεα ἐουσέων πεντήκοντα καὶ διηκοσίων  
 “καὶ ἑξακισχιλιέων καὶ δισμυριέων, ἡ ἐτέρη αὐτέων τῇ  
 “ἐτέρῃ ἡμέρῃ τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲν ὁμοίον προσάγει πρήγμα.  
 “οὕτω ὦν, ὦ Κροῖσε, πᾶν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορῇ. ἐμοὶ  
 “δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μὲν μέγα φαίνεαι, καὶ βασιλεὺς  
 “εἶναι πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρέό με, οὐκ ἔστι σε

- “ ἐγὼ λέγω, πρὶν ἂν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύ-  
 “ θωμαι. οὐ γάρ τοι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπὶ  
 “ ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερός ἐστι, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπί-  
 “ σποιτο, πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα τελευτήσαι εὖ τὸν βίον.  
 “ πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ ζᾶπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων, ἀνόλβιοί εἰσι.  
 “ πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου, εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὲ  
 “ μέγα πλούσιος, ἀνόλβιος δὲ, δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυ-  
 “ χέος μούνοισι· οὗτος δὲ, τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβιου  
 “ πολλοῖσι. ὁ μὲν, ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι, καὶ ἄτην μεγί-  
 “ λην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατώτερος· ὁ δὲ, τοισίδε  
 “ προέχει ἐκείνου ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως  
 “ δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει·  
 “ ἄπηρος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἄνουσος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὖπαις, εὐειδής.  
 “ εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ἐτι τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον εὖ, οὗτος  
 “ ἐκείνος τὸν σὺ ζητεῖς, ὀλβιος κεκλήσθαι ἄξιός ἐστι·  
 “ πρὶν δ’ ἂν τελευτήσῃ, ἐπισχέειν, μηδὲ καλέειν κω ὀλ-  
 “ βιον, ἀλλ’ εὐτυχέα· κατὰ πάντα μὲν νυν ταῦτα συλλα-  
 “ βεῖν ἀνθρωπον εἶντα ἀδύνατόν ἐστι, ὥσπερ χώρη οὐδε-  
 “ μία καταρκέει πάντα ἐωυτῇ παρέχουσα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλο μὲν  
 “ ἔχει, ἑτέρου δὲ ἐπιδέεται· ἡ δὲ ἂν τὰ πλείστα ἔχῃ  
 “ ἀρίστη αὕτη. ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα ἐν οὐδὲν αὐ-  
 “ тарκές ἐστὶ· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔχει, ἄλλου δὲ ἐνδεές ἐστι. ὅς  
 “ δ’ ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα ἔγων διατελέῃ, καὶ ἔπειτα τελευ-  
 “ τήσῃ εὐχαρίστως τὸν βίον, οὗτος παρ’ ἐμοὶ τὸ οὐνομα  
 “ τοῦτο, ὦ βασιλεῦ, δίκαιός ἐστι φέρεσθαι· σκοπέειν δὲ  
 “ χρὴ παντὸς χρήματος τὴν τελευτὴν κῆ ἀποβήσεται·  
 “ πολλοῖσι γὰρ δὴ ὑποδέξας ὀλβον ὁ θεὸς, προρρί-  
 33 “ ἀνέτρεψε.” Ταῦτα λέγων τῷ Κροίσῳ οὕτως ἔ-  
 ἔχαρίζετο, οὔτε λόγου μιν ποιησάμενος οὐδενός, ἀποπέμ-  
 πεται· κάρτα δόξας ἀμαθὴς εἶναι, ὅς τὰ παρεόντα ἀγαθὰ  
 μετεῖς, τὴν τελευτὴν παντὸς χρήματος ὁρᾶν ἐκέλευε.  
 34 Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσιν  
 μεγάλη Κροίσῳ ὥς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι  
 ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντὶ  
 ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὅς οἱ τὴν ἀληθινήν ἐφαινε τῶν μελλόν-  
 των γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ  
 δύο παῖδες· τῶν οὗτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο· ἦν γὰρ δὴ κωφός·  
 ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος οὐνομα

δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολλέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῇ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεὶ τε ἐξεγέρθη, καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον, ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδί γυναικαῖ ἑωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρήγμα ἐξέπεμπε. ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα τοῖσι χρέονται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεώνων ἐκκομίσας, ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μή τι οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδί ἐμπέσῃ. Ἐχοντας δὲ οἱ 35 ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος, καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας ἔων, Φρυξ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλεῖτος. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία, κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἔδέετο κυρῆσαι. Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἡ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐπρήσε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυνθάνετο ὁκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἴη, λέγων τάδε “Ὁνθρῳπε, “τίς τε ἔων, καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγῆς ἦκων, ἐπίστιος “ἐμοὶ ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο “Ὁ βασιλεῦ, Γορδῖεω μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω “εἰμι παῖς, οὐνομάζομαι δὲ Ἀδρηστος· φονεύσας δὲ “ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων, πάρειμι ἐξεληλαμένος τε “ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.” Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοῖσδε “Ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις “ἐκγονος ἔων, καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους· ἔνθα ἀμνηστῆσαι χρήματος οὐδενός, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορὴν δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων, κερδανέεις πλείστον.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Οὐλύμπῳ 36 σοὺς χρήμα γίνεται μέγα· ὀρμεώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ γέρεος τούτου, τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε. πολυλακί δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐξελθόντες, ποιεέσκον μιν οἰδὲν κακόν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι, ἔλεγον τάδε “Ὁ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς χρήμα μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν “ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὅς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμῶμενοι ἐλέειν, οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ, “τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογαδάς νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι

- "ἡμῖν, ὥς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας." \*Οἱ μὲν δὴ  
 τούτων ἐδέοντο. Κροῖσος δὲ, μνημονεύων τοῦ οὐνείρου  
 τὰ ἔπεα, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε· "Παιδὸς μὲν πέρι τοῦ ἐμοῦ  
 "μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεό-  
 "γαμός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν  
 "μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω·  
 "καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰοῦσι, εἶναι ὥς προθυμοτάτοις·  
 37 "συνεξελέειν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας." Ταῦτα ἀμεί-  
 ψατο ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεισέρ-  
 χεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου· παῖς, ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ  
 Μυσοί· οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι  
 συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· "ὦ πάτερ,  
 "τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναιότατα ἡμῖν ἦν,  
 "ἔς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν  
 "νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληῖσας ἔχεις, οὔτε  
 "τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδῶν, οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέτοις  
 "με χρή ὄμμασι· ἔς τε ἀγορὴν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα  
 "φαινεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι;  
 "κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοῖος δὲ ἐκείνῃ δόξει  
 "ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἵεναι ἐπὶ τὴν θή-  
 "ρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅπως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα  
 38 "οὕτω ποιεόμενα." Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοῖσδε· "ὦ  
 "παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην, οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι παριδῶν τοι,  
 "ποιέω ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ μοι ὄψις οὐνείρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ  
 "ἐπιστᾶσα ἔφη σε ὀλγοχρόνιον ἔσεσθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ  
 "αἰχμῆς σιδηρῆς ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὦν τὴν ὄψιν ταύ-  
 "την, τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον ἔσπευσα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ  
 "παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω, φυλακὴν ἔχων εἰ  
 "ὥς δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζῆς διακλέψαι. εἰς γὰρ  
 "μοι μούνος τυγχάνεις ἑὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον,  
 39 "διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν, οὐκ εἰναι μοι λογίζομαι." Ἀ-  
 μείβεται ὁ νεηνίης τοῖσδε· "Συγγνώμη μιν, ὦ πάτερ,  
 "τοί, ἰδόντί γε ὄψιν τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν  
 "τὸ δὲ οὐ μαυθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέληθέ σε τὸ οὐνείρον, ἐμὲ τοι  
 "δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ οὐνείρον ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς  
 "σιδηρῆς φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσειν· υἱὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι  
 "χεῖρες, κοῖη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρῆ, ἦν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν  
 "γὰρ ὑπὸ ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσειν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὁ

“τι τούτῳ ἔοικε, χρῆν δὴ σε ποίειν τὰ ποίεις νῦν δὲ  
 “ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεὶ τε ὦν οὐ πρὸς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται  
 “ἡ μάχη, μέθεσ με.” Ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος “ὦ παῖ, 40  
 “ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς, γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπ-  
 “νίου ὥς ὦν νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω, με-  
 “τήμι τε σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἄγρην.”

Εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος, μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα 41  
 Ἀδρηστον, ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε· “Ἀδρηστε,  
 “ἐγὼ σε συμφορῇ πεπληγμένον ἀχάρι, τὴν τοι οὐκ  
 “ὀνειδίζω, ἐκάθηρα, καὶ οἰκίοισι ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω,  
 “παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην νῦν ὦν (ὀφείλεις γάρ, ἐμεῦ  
 “προποιοῦσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσ-  
 “θαι) φύλακα παιδός σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ· χρητίζω γενέσθαι,  
 “ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμεομένον· μή τινες κατ’ ὁδὸν κλώπες κα-  
 “κούργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσει φανέωσι ὑμῖν. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ,  
 “καὶ σέ τοι χρεῶν ἔστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρύνει τοῖσι  
 “ἔργοισιν πατρῷόν τε γάρ τοι ἐστὶ, καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη  
 “ὑπάρχει.” Ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἀδρηστος “ὦ βασιλεῦ, 42  
 “ἄλλως μὲν ἔγω γε ἂν οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε οὔτε  
 “γὰρ συμφορῇ τριτῇδε κεχρημένον οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὀμήλικας  
 “εὐ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα πολ-  
 “λαχὴν τε ἂν ἴσχον ἐμεωντόν. νῦν δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε σὺ  
 “σπευδεις, καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι, (ὀφείλω γάρ σε ἀμεί-  
 “βεσθαι χρηστοῖσι,) ποίειν εἰμι ἐτοῖμος ταῦτα. παῖδά  
 “τε σὸν, τὸν διακελεύει φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα τοῦ  
 “φυλάσσοντος εἴωκεν προσδοκα τοι ἀπονοστήσειν.”

Τοιοῦτοισι ἐπεὶ τε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν 43  
 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νηνίησι καὶ κυσί.  
 ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Οὐλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ  
 θηρίον· εὐρόντες δὲ, καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλῳ, ἔση-  
 κόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν  
 φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἀδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν σὺν,  
 τοῦ μὲν ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου παιδός.  
 ὁ μὲν δὴ βληθεὶς τῇ αἰχμῇ ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὀνείρου τὴν  
 φῆμην. ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελίαν τῷ Κροίσῳ τὸ γεγονός·  
 ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, τὴν τε μάχην καὶ τὸν τοῦ  
 παιδός μόρον ἐσήμνηε οἱ. Ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ 44  
 τοῦ παιδός συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέτο,

ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημε-  
 τέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ δεινῶς, ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία Καθάρσιον  
 μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου πεπονθῶς εἶη ἐκάλε-  
 δὲ Ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ Ἐταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον οὐκ  
 μᾶζων θεὸν τὸν μὲν Ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίῳ  
 ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον, φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθαν  
 βόσκων τὸν δὲ Ἐταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμφα-  
 45 αὐτὸν, εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον. Παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο  
 οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρὸν ὀπισθε δὲ εἶπετό οἱ  
 φονεὺς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου ἑωυ-  
 τὸν Κροῖσφ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζαι μιν  
 κελεύων τῷ νεκρῷ λέγων τί,ν τε προτέρην ἑωυτοῦ  
 συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἐκείνῃ τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς  
 εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον. Κροῖσος δὲ τούτων ἀκούσας  
 τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτεῖρει, καίπερ ἑὼν ἐν κακῇ  
 οἰκίῳ τοσούτῳ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν "Ἐχω, ὦ ξεῖνε  
 "παρὰ σεῦ πῦσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωντοῦ καταδύ-  
 "κάσεις θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος  
 "εἰ μὴ ὅσον ἀέκων ἐξεργάσασθ' ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις  
 "ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι προεσημαίνε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι.  
 Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε ὡς οἶκός ἦν τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα  
 Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω, οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεὺς  
 μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεὺς δὲ τοῦ καθή-  
 ραντος, ἐπεὶ τε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ  
 σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τῶν αὐτὸς ἡεῖδ  
 βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἑωυτὸν ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ  
 Κροῖσος δὲ ἐπὶ δύο ἔτεα ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ καθήστο  
 τοῦ παιδὸς ἑστερημένος.

46 Μετὰ δὲ, ἡ Ἀστυάγειω τοῦ Κυαξάρειω ἡγεμονίᾳ  
 κατααιρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κύρου τοῦ Καμβύσεω, καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 Περσέων πρήγματα αὐξανόμενα, πένθεος μὲν Κροῖσος  
 ἀπέπαυσε ἐνέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα, εἰ κως δύναιτο, πρὶν  
 μεγάλους γενέσθαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν  
 αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν. Μετὰ ὧν τὴν διάνοιαν ταύ-  
 την αὐτίκα ἀπεπειρᾶτο τῶν μαντητῶν τῶν τε ἐν Ἑλλησι  
 καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ διαπέμψας ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, τοὺς μὲν  
 ἐς Δελφοὺς ἵεναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐς Ἄβας τὰς Φωκέων, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἐς Δωδώνην οἱ δὲ τινες ἐπέμποντο παρά τε Ἀμφιά-

ρεων καὶ παρὰ Τροφώνιον οἱ δὲ, τῆς Μιλησίης ἐς Βραγχίδας. ταῦτα μὲν νυν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ μαντήια, ἐς τὰ ἀπέπεμψε μαντεύσόμενος Κροῖσος. Λιβύης δὲ παρὰ Ἀμμωνα ἀπέστειλε ἄλλους χρησομένους. διέπεμπε δὲ πειρεώμενος τῶν μαντηῶν ὃ τι φρονέουεν ὡς, εἰ φρονέοντα τὴν ἀληθινήν εὐρεθείη, ἐπείρηταί σφεα δεύτερα πέμπων, εἰ ἐπιχειροί ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύεσθαι. Ἐν- 47 τεύλαμενος δὲ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι τάδε, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς τὴν διάπειραν τῶν χρηστηρίων ἀπ' ἧς ἂν ἡμέρης ὀρμηθῶσι ἐκ Σαρδίων, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡμερολογέοντας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον, ἑκατοστῇ ἡμέρῃ χρῆσθαι τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, ἐπειρωτέοντας ὃ τι ποίεων τυγχάνοι ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς Κροῖσος ὁ Ἀλυάττεω. ἄσσα δ' ἂν ἕκαστα τῶν χρηστηρίων θεσπίσῃ, συγγραψάμενους ἀναφέρειν παρ' ἐωτόν. Ὅ τι μὲν νυν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν χρηστηρίων ἐθέσπισε, οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν ἐν δὲ Δελφοῖσι ὡς ἐσῆλθον τάχιστα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον οἱ Λυδοὶ χρησόμενοι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐπειρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον, ἢ Πυθίῃ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῃ λέγει τάδε

Οἶδα δ' ἐγὼ ψάμμον τ' ἀριθμὸν, καὶ μέτρα θαλάσσης, καὶ κωφοῦ συνήμι, καὶ οὐ φωνεῦντος ἀκούω.

Ὀδμή μ' ἐς φρένας ἦλθε κραταιρίνιοι χελώνης

ἑψομένης ἐν χαλκῷ ἅμ' ἀρνείοις κρέεσσι,

ἢ χαλκὸς μὲν ὑπέστρωται, χαλκὸν δ' ἐπίεσται.

Ταῦτα οἱ Λυδοὶ θεσπισάσης τῆς Πυθίης συγγραψάμενοι, 48 οἰχόντο ἀπιόντες ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ περιπεμφθέντες παρήσαν φέροντες τοὺς χρησμούς, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος ἕκαστα ἀναπτύσσων ἐπῶρα τῶν συγγραμμάτων. τῶν μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν προσίετό μιν ὁ δὲ, ὡς τὸ ἐκ Δελφῶν ἤκουσε, αὐτίκα προσεύχετό τε καὶ προσεδέξατο, νομίσας μῦνον εἶναι μαντήιον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, ὅτι οἱ ἐξευρήκεε τὰ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ διέπεμψε παρὰ τὰ χρηστήρια τοὺς θεοπρόπους, φυλάξας τὴν κυρίην τῶν ἡμερέων, ἐμηχανήσατο τοιάδε ἐπινοήσας τὰ ἦν ἀμήχανον ἐξευρεῖν τε καὶ ἐπιφράσασθαι χελώνην καὶ ἄρνα κατακόψας, ὁμοῦ ἔψεε αὐτὸς ἐν λέβητι χαλκῷ, χαλκεον ἐπίβημα ἐπιθείς. Τὰ μὲν δὴ ἐκ Δελφῶν οὕτω 49

τῷ Κροίσῳ ἐχρήσθη κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀμφιάρεω τοῦ μαθητοῦ ἀποκρισιν, οὐκ ἔχω εἶπαι ὃ τι τοῖσι Λυδοῖς ἔχρησε ποιήσασι περὶ τὸ ἶρον τὰ νομιζόμενα. οὐ γὰρ ὢν οὐδὲ τοῦτο λέγεται ἄλλο γε, ἢ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐνόμιζαν μαντήιον ἀψευδὲς ἐκτῆσθαι.

50 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θυσίησι μεγάλῃσι τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸν ἰλάσκετο. κτήνεά τε γὰρ τὰ θύσιμα πάντα τριαχίλια ἔθυσε, κλίνας τε ἐπιχρύσους καὶ ἐπαργύρους, καὶ φιάλας χρυσέας, καὶ εἴματα πορφύρεα, καὶ κιθῶνα νηήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, κατέκαιε ἐλπίζων τὸν θεὸν μᾶλλον τι τούτοις ἀνακτήσεσθαι. Λυδοῖσί τε πᾶσι προεῖπε, θύειν πάντα τινὰ αὐτῶν τούτῳ ὃ τι ἔχει ἕκαστος. ὥς δὲ ἐκ τῆς θυσίης ἐγένετο, καταχεάμενος χρυσὸν ἄπλετον, ἡμιπλίνθια ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήλαυσε. ἐπὶ μὲν τὰ μακρότερα, ποιέων ἑξαπάλαιστα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ βραχύτερα, τριπάλαιστα· ὕψος δὲ, παλαιστιαῖα· ἀριθμὸν δὲ, ἑπτακαίδεκα καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ τουτέων, ἀπέφθο χρυσοῦ τέσσαρα, τρίτον ἡμιτάλαντον ἕκαστον ἔλκοντα· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμιπλίνθια, λευκοῦ χρυσοῦ, σταθμὸν διτάλαντα. ἐποιέετο δὲ καὶ λέοντος εἰκόνα χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθοι ἔλκονσαν σταθμὸν τάλαντα δέκα. οὗτος ὁ λέων, ἐπὶ τε κατεκαίετο ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖσι νηὸς, κατέπεσε ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμιπλινθίων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτοις ἰδρυτὶ καὶ νῦν κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν· ἑβδόμοιο ἡμιτάλαντον. ἀπετάκη γὰρ αὐτοῦ τέταρτην ἡμιτάλαντον.

51 Ἐπιτελέσας δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ταῦτα ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφοὺς καὶ τὰδε ἄλλα ἅμα τοῖσι κρητῆρας δύο μεγάθει μεγάλους, χρύσειον καὶ ἀργύρεον· τῶν ὁ μὲν χρύσεος ἐκέετο ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι ἐς τὸν νηὸν, ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος ἐπ' ἀριστερά· μετεκινήθησαν δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπὸ τὸν νηὸν κατακείμενα καὶ ὁ μὲν χρύσεος κεῖται ἐν τῷ Κλαζομενίων θησαυρῷ, ἔλκων σταθμὸν ἑννατον ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ ἑπταδυάδεκα μνέας· ὁ δὲ ἀργύρεος, ἐπὶ τοῦ προνητοῦ τῆς γωνίης, χωρέων ἀμφορέας ἑξακοσίους. ἐπικίρνεται γὰρ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν Θεοφανίοισι· φασὶ δὲ μὴ Δελφοὶ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Σαμίου ἔργον εἶναι· καὶ ἐγὼ δοκέω, οὐ γὰρ τὸ συντυχὸν φαίνεται μοι ἔργον εἶναι. καὶ πίθους τε ἀργυρέους τέσσαρας ἀπέπεμψε, οἳ ἐν τῷ Κορινθίων

θησαυρῷ ἐστᾶσι· καὶ περιρραντήρια δύο ἀνέθηκε, χρύσεόν τε καὶ ἀργύρεον τῶν τῷ χρυσέῳ ἐπιγέγραπται, ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΩΝ, φαμένων εἶναι ἀνάθημα· οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες· ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο Κροίσου. ἐπέγραψε δὲ τῶν τις Δελφῶν, Λακεδαιμονίοισι βουλόμενος χάρισσθαι τοῦ ἐπιστάμενος τὸ οὐνομα, οὐκ ἐπιμνήσομαι. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν παῖς, δι' οὗ τῆς χειρὸς ῥέει τὸ ὕδωρ, Λακεδαιμονίων ἐστί· οὐ μέντοι τῶν γε περιρραντηρίων οὐδέτερον. ἄλλα τε ἀναθήματα οὐκ ἐπίσημα πολλὰ ἀπέπεμψε ἅμα τούτοις ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ χεύματα ἀργύρεα κυκλοτερέα· καὶ δὴ καὶ γυναικὸς εἰδωλον χρύσειον τρίπηχυν, τὸ Δελφοὶ τῆς ἀρτοκόπου τῆς Κροίσου εἰκόνα λέγουσι εἶναι. πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ γυναικὸς τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς ἀνέθηκε ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ τὰς ζώνας. Ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Δελφούς ἀπέπεμψε τῷ δὲ Ἀμφιάρεφ, 52 πυθόμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τε ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πάθην, ἀνέθηκε σάκος τε χρύσειον πᾶν, ὁμοίως καὶ αἰχμὴν στερεὴν πᾶσαν χρυσήν, τὸ ξυστὸν τῇσι λόγχῃσι ἐὼν ὁμοίως χρύσειον τὰ ἔτι καὶ ἀμφότερα ἐς ἐμέ ἦν κείμενα ἐν Θήβῃσι, καὶ Θηβαίων ἐν τῷ νηῷ τοῦ Ἰσμηνίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

Τοῖσι δὲ ἄγειν μέλλουσι τῶν Λυδῶν ταῦτα τὰ 53 δῶρα ἐς τὰ ἱρὰ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπειρωτᾶν τὰ χρηστήρια, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας Κροῖσος, καὶ εἴ τινα στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο φίλον; Ὡς δὲ ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὰ ἀπεπέμφθησαν οἱ Λυδοὶ ἀνέθεσαν τὰ ἀναθήματα, ἐχρέωντο τοῖσι χρηστηρίοις, λέγοντες· “Κροῖσος, ὁ Λυδῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, νομίσας τάδε μαντήια εἶναι μούνα ἐν ἀνθρώποισι, ὑμῖν “τε ἄξια δῶρα ἔδωκε τῶν ἐξευρημάτων, καὶ νῦν ὑμέας “ἐπειρωτᾶ, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ εἴ τινα “στρατὸν ἀνδρῶν προσθέοιτο σύμμαχον;” Οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτεον. τῶν δὲ μαντηῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐς τὸν αὐτὸ αἱ γινώμαι συνέδραμον, προλέγουσαι Κροίσῳ, ἣν στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγάλην ἀρχὴν μιν καταλῦσαι. τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους συνεβούλευόν οἱ ἐξερρόντα φίλους προσθέσθαι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀνενειχθέντα τὰ 54 θεοπρόπια ἐπύθετο ὁ Κροῖσος, ὑπερήσθη τε τοῖσι χρη-

στηρίοισι πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας καταλύσειν τὴν Κύρον βασιληὴν, πέμψας αὐτὶς ἐς Πυθῶ, Δελφούς δωρέεται πυθόμενος αὐτῶν τὸ πλήθος, κατ' ἄνδρα δύο στατήρσι ἕκαστον χρυσοῦ. Δελφοὶ δὲ ἀντὶ τούτων ἔδοσαν Κροῖσον καὶ Λυδοῖσι προμαντήτην καὶ ἀτελεῖν καὶ προεδρίην καὶ ἐξεῖναι τῷ βουλομένῳ αὐτῶν γενέσθαι Δελφὸν ἐς τοὺς αἰῶνες χρόνον. 55 Δωρησάμενος δὲ τοὺς Δελφούς ὁ Κροῖσος ἐχρηστηρίαζετο τὸ τρίτον. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ δὴ παρέλαβεν τοῦ μαντήτου ἀληθειάν, ἐνεφορέετο αὐτοῦ. ἐπειρώτα δὲ τὰδε χρηστηριαζόμενος, εἰ οἱ πολυχρόνιος ἔσται ἡ μουν- ἀρχή. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ τάδε

Ἄλλ' οὐτ' ἂν ἡμίονος βασιλεὺς Μῆδοισι γένηται, καὶ τότε, Λυδὲ ποδαβρὲ, πολυπήφίδα παρ' Ἑρμῶν φεύγειν, μὴδὲ μένειν, μὴδ' αἰδεῖσθαι κακὸς εἶναι.

56 Τούτοις ἐλθοῦσι τοῖσι ἔπεσι ὁ Κροῖσος πολλὸν τι μά- λιστα πάντων ἦσθη, ἐλπίζων ἡμίονον οὐδ' αὖτ' ἄνδρα βασιλεύσειν Μῆδων οὐδ' ὦν αὐτὸς, οὐδὲ οἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, παύσεσθαι κοτε τῆς ἀρχῆς. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε ἱστορέων, τοὺς ἂν Ἑλλήνων δυνατωτάτους ἔοντας προσ- κτήσαιο φίλους. ἱστορέων δὲ, εἴρισκε Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Ἀθηναίους προέχοντας, τοὺς μὲν τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένεος, τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Ἰωνικοῦ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προκεκριμένα ἔοντα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τὸ μὲν, Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ, Ἑλλη- νικὸν ἔθνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν, οὐδαμῇ κω ἐξεχώρησε τὸ δὲ, πολυπλάνητον κάρτα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος βασι- λῆος οἴκεε γῆν τὴν Φθιώτιν ἐπὶ δὲ Δώρου τοῦ Ἑλλήνος, τὴν ὑπὸ τὴν Ὀσσαν τε καὶ τὸν Οὐλυμπον χώρην, καλεο- μένην δὲ Ἰστιαιώτιν ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰστιαιώτιδος ὡς ἐξαν- ἔστη ὑπὸ Καδμείων, οἴκεε ἐν Πίνδῳ, Μακεδνὸν καλεό- μενον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ αὐτὶς ἐς τὴν Δρυοπίδα μετέβη, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Δρυοπίδος οὕτως ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐλθὼν, Δωρι- κὸν ἐκλήθη.

57 Ἦν τινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἴεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἶπαι. εἰ δὲ χρεῶν ἔστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι εἶναι Πελασγῶν, τῶν ὑπὲρ Τυρσηνῶν Κρη- στῶνα πάλιν οἰκεόντων, οἱ ὅμουροί κοτε ἦσαν τοῖσι νῦν Δωριεῦσι καλεομένοις, οἴκεον δὲ τηρικαῦτα γῆν τὴν

τὴν Θεσσαλιῶτιν καλεομένην καὶ τὴν Πλακίην τε καὶ Ἑκυλάκην Πελασγῶν οἰκισάκτων ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, οἳ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίοισι· καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα Πελασγικὰ ἔοντα πολίσματα τὸ οὐνομα μετέβαλε· εἰ τούτοις τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἰέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν Πελασγικόν, ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οὔτε οἱ Κρηστωνιῆται οὐδαμοῖσι τῶν νῦν σφεας περιρκεόντων εἰσὶ ὁμόγλωσσοι, οἷτε οἱ Πλακιηνοὶ· σφίσι δὲ, ὁμόγλωσσοι· δηλοῦσί τε, ὅτι, τὸν ἡνείκαντο γλώσσης χαρακτῆρα μεταβαίνοντες ἐς ταῦτα τὰ χωρία, 58 τοῦτον ἔχουσι ἐν φυλακῇ. Τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν γλῶσση μὲν, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο, αἰεὶ κοτε τῇ αὐτῇ διαχρέεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ καταφαίνεται εἶναι ἀποσχισθὲν μέντοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ, ἐὼν ἀσθενὲς, ἀπὸ σμικροῦ τεο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρμεώμενον, αὖξεται ἐς πλῆθος τῶν ἐθνέων πολλῶν, μάλιστα προσκεχωρηκότων αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βαρβάρων συχνῶν. πρὸς δὴ ὧν ἐμοὶ τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὼν βάρβαρον, οἷδαμὰ μεγάλως αὖξηθῆναι.

Τρῦτων δὴ ὧν τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατε- 59 χόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου τοῦ Ἱπποκράτεος, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τυραννεύοντος Ἀθηναίων. Ἱπποκράτει γὰρ, ἔοντι ἰδιώτῃ, καὶ θεωροῦντι τὰ Ὀλύμπια, τέρας ἐγένετο μέγα. θύσαντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱρὰ, οἱ λέβητες ἐπεστεῶτες, καὶ κρεῖν τε ἔοντες ἔμπλεοι καὶ ὕδατος, ἄνευ πυρὸς ἔξεσαν, καὶ ὑπερέβαλον. Χίλων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος παρατυχῶν, καὶ θεησάμενος τὸ τέρας, συνεβούλευε Ἱπποκράτει, πρῶτα μὲν γυναῖκα τεκνοποιὸν μὴ ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὰ οἶκία· εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει ἔχων, δεύτερα τὴν γυναῖκα ἐκπέμπειν καὶ εἰ τις οἱ τυγχάνει ἐὼν παῖς, τοῦτον ἀπείπασθαι. οὐκὼν, ταῦτα παραινέσαντος Χίλωνος, πείθεσθαι θέλει τὸν Ἱπποκράτεα· γενέσθαι οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Πεισίστρατον τοῦτον, ὃς, στασιαζόντων τῶν παράλων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τῶν μὲν προεστεῶτος Μεγακλέος τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος, τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου Λυκούργου Ἀρι-

στολαῖδew, καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα, ἤγειρε τρίτην στάσιν. συλλέξας δὲ στασιώτας, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τρωματίσας ἐωντί τε καὶ ἡμιόνους, ἤλασε ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν τὸ ζεύγος, ὡς ἐπεφευγὼς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, οἳ μιν ἐλαύνοντα ἐς ἀγρὸν ἤθελσαν ἀπολέσαι δῆθεν ἐδέετό τε τοῦ δήμου φυλακίτινός πρὸς αὐτοῦ κυρῆσαι, πρότερον εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τῷ πρὸς Μεγαρέας γενομένη στρατηγίῃ, Νίσαιάν τε ἐλὼν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποδεξάμενος μεγάλα ἔργα. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς, ἔδωκε οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἀνδρας τούτους, οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ. ξύλων γὰρ κορύνα ἔχοντες εἶποντο οἱ ὀπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὔτι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ, ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. ἐνθα δὴ Πεισιστράτος ἦρχε Ἀθηναίων, οὔτε τιμὰς τὰς ἐούσας συνταράξας, οὔτε θέσμια μεταλλάξας ἐπὶ τε τοῖσι κατεσπεύωσι ἔνεμε τὴν πόλιν, κοσμέων καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ.

60 Μετὰ δὲ οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον τῷτὸ φρονήσαντες οἳ τὸ τοῦ Μεγακλέους στασιῶται καὶ οἱ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐξ ἐλαύνουσί μιν. οὕτω μὲν Πεισιστράτος ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτον Ἀθῆνας, καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα οὐκω κάρτα ἐρριζωμένην ἔχων, ἀπέβαλε. οἱ δὲ ἐξελάσαντες Πεισιστράτον, αὐτὸν ἐκ νέης ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι ἐστασίασαν. περιελαυνόμενος δὲ τῇ στάσει ὁ Μεγακλῆς, ἐπεκηρυκεύετο Πεισιστράτῳ εἰ βούλοιτο οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ἔχειν γυναῖκα ἐπὶ τῇ τυραννίδι. ἐνδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον καὶ ὁμολογήσαντος ἐπὶ τούτοις Πεισιστράτου, μηχανῶνται δὴ ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ πρῆγμα εὐηθέστατον, ὡς ἐγὼ εὐρίσκω, μακρῶν ἐπεὶ γε ἀπεκρίθη ἐκ παλαιτέρου τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔθνους τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, εὖν καὶ δεξιώτερον, καὶ εὐηθίης ἡλιθίοι ἀπηλλαγμένον μᾶλλον εἰ καὶ τότε γε οὔτοι ἐν Ἀθηναίοισι, τοῖσι πρῶτοις λεγομένοις εἶναι Ἑλλήνων σοφίην, μηχανῶνται τοιάδε. Ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Παιανίῃ ἦν γυνὴ τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Φύη, μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πηχέων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους, καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. ταύτην τὴν γυναῖκα σκευάσαντες πανοπλίῃ, ἐς ἄρμα ἐσβιβάσαντες, καὶ προδέξαντες σχῆμα οἷόν τι ἐμελλε εὖ πρεπέστατον φανέσθαι ἔχουσα, ἤλαυνον ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, προ

δρόμους κήρυκας προπέμψαντες, οἱ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἡ-  
γέρευνον ἐς τὸ ἄστν ἀπικόμενοι, λέγοντες τοιάδε “ὦ  
“Ἀθηναῖοι, δέκεσθε ἀγαθῷ νόφ Πεισίστρατον, τὸν αὐτὴν  
“ἡ Ἀθηναίη τιμήσασα ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα, κατάνγει ἐς  
“τὴν ἑωυτῆς ἀκρόπολιν.” Οἱ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα διαφου-  
τέοντες ἔλεγον αὐτίκα δὲ ἔς τε τοὺς δήμους φάτις ἀπ-  
ίκετο, ὡς Ἀθηναίη Πεισίστρατον κατάνγει· καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ  
ἄστεϊ πειθόμενοι τὴν γυναῖκα εἶναι αὐτὴν τὴν θεὸν,  
προσεύχοντό τε τὴν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ἐδέκοντο τὸν Πει-  
σίστρατον.

Ἀπολαβὴν δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ὁ 61  
Πεισίστρατος, κατὰ τὴν ὁμολογίην τὴν πρὸς Μεγακλῆα  
γενομένην γαμέει τοῦ Μεγακλέους τὴν θυγατέρα. οἷα  
δὲ παίδων τέ οἱ ὑπαρχόντων νεηνιέων, καὶ λεγομένων  
ἐναγέων εἶναι τῶν Ἀλκμαιωνιδέων, οὐ βουλόμενός οἱ  
γενέσθαι ἐκ τῆς νεογάμου γυναικὸς τέκνα, ἐμίσηγέτο οἱ  
οὐ κατὰ νόμον. τὰ μὲν νυν πρῶτα ἔκρυπτε ταῦτα ἡ  
γυνή· μετὰ δὲ, εἴτε ἱστορεύσῃ, εἴτε καὶ οὐ, φράζει τῇ  
ἑωυτῆς μητρί· ἡ δὲ, τῷ ἀνδρὶ τὸν δὲ δεινόν τι ἔσχε,  
ἀτιμάζεσθαι πρὸς Πεισιστράτου. ὀργῇ δὲ, ὡς εἶχε,  
καταλλάσσετο τὴν ἔχθρην τοῖσι στασιώτησι. μαθὼν  
δὲ ὁ Πεισίστρατος τὰ ποιούμενα ἐπ’ ἑωυτῷ, ἀπαλλάσ-  
σετο ἐκ τῆς χώρας τὸ παράπαν. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς  
Ἑρέτριαν, ἐβουλεύετο ἅμα τοῖσι παισὶ. Ἰππίεω δὲ  
γνώμην νικήσαντος, ἀνακτᾶσθαι ὀπίσω τὴν τυραννίδα,  
ἐνθαῦτα ἡγειρον δωτίνας ἐκ τῶν πολίων, αἵ τινές σφι  
προηδέατό κού τι. πολλῶν δὲ μεγάλα παρασχόντων  
χρήματα, Θηβαῖοι ὑπερεβάλλοντο τῇ δόσει τῶν χρημά-  
των. μετὰ δὲ, οὐ πολλῷ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, χρόνος διέφυ,  
καὶ πάντα σφι ἐξήρτυτο ἐς τὴν κάτοδον. καὶ γὰρ  
Ἀργεῖοι μισθωτοὶ ἀπίκοντο ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ  
Νάξίος σφι ἀνὴρ ἀπιγμένος ἐβελοντῆς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν  
Λύγδαμις, προθυμίην πλείστην παρείχετο, κομίσας καὶ  
χρήματα καὶ ἀνδρας. Ἐξ Ἑρετρίης δὲ ὀρμηθέντες, διὰ 62  
ἐνδεκάτου ἔτεος ἀπίκοντο ὀπίσω. καὶ πρῶτον τῆς Ἀτ-  
τικῆς ἰσχουσι Μαραθῶνα. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ σφι  
στρατοπεδενομένοισι, οἳ τε ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος στασιῶται  
ἀπίκοντο, ἄλλοι τε ἐκ τῶν δήμων προσέρρεον, οἷσι ἡ

τυραννὶς πρὸ ἐλευθερίας ἦν ἀσπαστότερον. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ συνηλίζοντο Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος, ἕως μὴν Πεισίστρατος τὰ χρήματα ἤγειρε, καὶ μεταίτις ὡς ἔσχε Μαραθῶνα, λόγον οὐδένα εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος αὐτὸν πορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, οὔτω δὴ βοηθέουσι ἐπ' αὐτόν. καὶ οὗτοί τε πανστρατιῇ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατιόντας· καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον, ὡς ὀρμηθέντες ἐκ Μαραθῶνος ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄστυ, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ συνιόντες ἀπικνέονται ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίης ἱρὸν, καὶ ἀντὶα ἔθεντο τὰ ὕπλα. ἐνθαῦτα θεῇ πομπῇ χρεώμενος παρίσταται Πεισιστράτῳ Ἀμφίλυτος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν, χρησμολόγος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οἱ προσιῶν χρᾶ ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ, ταδε λέγων

Ἐρριπται δ' ὁ βόλος, τὸ δὲ δίκτυον ἐκτεπέτασται·  
θύνηοι δ' οἰμήσουσι σιληναίης διὰ νυκτός.

- 63 Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἐνθεάζων χρᾶ ταδε Πεισίστρατος δὲ, συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ φᾶς δέκεσθαι τὸ χρησθὲν, ἐπῆγε τὴν στρατιήν. Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεος πρὸς ἄριστον τετραμμένοι ἦσαν δὴ τηνικαῦτα· καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον μετεξέτεροι αὐτῶν, οἱ μὲν, πρὸς κύβους, οἱ δὲ, πρὸς ὕπνον. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Πεισίστρατον ἐσπεσόντες, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τρέπουσι· φευγόντων δὲ τούτων, βουλὴν ἐνθαῦτα σοφωτάτην Πεισίστρατος ἐπιτεχνᾷται, ὅπως μῆτε ἀλισθεῖεν ἔτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, διεσκεδασμένοι τε εἴεν. ἀναβιβάσας τοὺς παῖδας ἐπὶ ἵππους, προέπεμπε· οἱ δὲ καταλαμβάνοντες τοὺς φεύγοντας, ἔλεγον τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου, θαρσέειν τε κελεύοντες, καὶ
- 64 ἵπκῃναι ἕκαστος ἐπὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ. Πειθομένων δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὔτω δὴ Πεισίστρατος τὸ τρίτον σχὼν Ἀθήνας, ἐρρίξωσε τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπικούροισι τε πολλοῖσι, καὶ χρημάτων συνόδοισι, τῶν μὲν, αὐτόθεν, τῶν δὲ, ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ συνιόντων ὁμήρους τε τῶν παραμειναντων Ἀθηναίων καὶ μὴ αὐτίκα φυγόντων παῖδας λαβὼν, καὶ καταστήσας ἐς Νάξον (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὁ Πεισίστρατος κατεστρέψατο πολέμῳ, καὶ ἐπέτρεψε Λυγδάμῳ) πρὸς τε ἔτι τούτοις, τὴν νῆσον Δῆλον καθήρας ἐκ τῶν λογίων. καθήρας δὲ ᾤδε. ἐπ' ὅσον ἔποψις

τοῦ ἱροῦ εἶχε, ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χώρου παντὸς ἐξορύξας τοὺς νεκροὺς, μετεφόρεε ἐς ἄλλον χώρον τῆς Δήλου. καὶ Πεισίστρατος μὲν ἐτυράννευε Ἀθηναίων Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν μετὰ Ἀλκμαιωνίδεω ἔφευγον ἐκ τῆς οἰκητῆς.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν Ἀθηναίους τοιαῦτα τὸν χρόνον τοῦ- 65  
τον ἐπυνθάνετο ὁ Κροῖσος κατέχοντα· τοὺς δὲ Λακεδαι-  
μονίους ἐκ κακῶν τε μεγάλων πεφευγότας, καὶ ἔοντας  
ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατυπερτέρους Τεγεατέων. ἐπὶ γὰρ  
Λέοντος βασιλεύοντος καὶ Ἥγησικλέος ἐν Σπάρτῃ,  
τοὺς ἄλλους πολέμους εὐτυχεύοντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,  
πρὸς Τεγεήτας μόνιους προσέπταιον. τὸ δὲ ἔτι πρό-  
τερον τούτων, καὶ κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν σχεδὸν πάντων  
Ἑλλήνων, κατὰ τε σφέας αὐτοὺς, καὶ ξείνοισι ἀπρόσ-  
μικτοι. μετέβαλον δὲ ὧδε ἐς εὐνομίην. Λυκούργου,  
τῶν Σπαρτιητέων δοκίμου ἀνδρὸς, ἐλθόντος ἐς Δελφοὺς  
ἐπὶ τὸ χρηστήριον, ὡς ἐσήϊε ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, εὐθὺς ἡ  
Πυθίη λέγει τάδε·

Ἦκεις, ὦ Λυκόοργε, ἐμὸν ποτὶ πῖνα ἱγόν,  
Ζηνὶ φίλος, καὶ πῦσιν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι.  
διζῶ ἢ σε θεὸν μαντεύσομαι, ἢ ἄνθρωπον.  
ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον θεὸν ἔλπομαι, ὦ Λυκόοργε.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ τινες πρὸς τούτοις λέγουσι καὶ φράσαι  
αὐτῷ τὴν Πυθίην τὸν νῦν κατεστεῶτα κόσμον Σπαρ-  
τιήτησι. ὡς δ' αὐτοὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, Λυκούρ-  
γου ἐπιτροπέυσαντα Λεωβώτew, ἀδελφιδέου μὲν ἑνω-  
τοῦ, βασιλεύοντος δὲ Σπαρτιητέων, ἐκ Κρήτης ἀγα-  
γέσθαι ταῦτα. ὡς γὰρ ἐπετρόπευσε τάχιστα, μετέ-  
στησε τὰ νόμιμα πάντα, καὶ ἐφύλαξε ταῦτα μὴ παρα-  
βαίνειν. μετὰ δὲ, τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἔχοντα, ἐνωμοτίας  
καὶ τριηκίδας καὶ συσσίτια, πρὸς τε τούτοις τοὺς ἐφό-  
ρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκούργος. Οὕτω μὲν μετα- 66  
βαλόντες εὐνομήθησαν. τῷ δὲ Λυκούργῳ τελευτήσαντι  
ἱρὸν εἰσάμενοι, σέβονται μεγάλως. οἷα δὲ ἐν τε χώρῃ  
ᾠγαθῇ, καὶ πληθεῖ οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν, ἀνά τε ἔδραμον  
αὐτίκα, καὶ εὐθυνηθήσαν. καὶ δὴ σφι οὐκέτι ἀπέχρα  
ἡσυχίην ᾄγειν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονήσαντες Ἀρκάδων κρέσ-

σונες εἶναι, ἐχρηστηριῶντο ἐν Δελφοῖσι ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ Ἀρκαδῶν χωρῇ. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι χρῆ τάδε·

Ἀρκαδίην μ' αἰτεῖς; μέγα μ' αἰτεῖς· οὐ τοι δώσω. πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίῃ βαλανηφίγοι ἄνδρες ἔασι, οἱ σ' ἀποκωλύουσιν. ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐ τι μεμύρω· δώσω τοι Τεγέην ποσσίκροτον ὀρχήσασθαι, καὶ καλὸν πεδίον σχοίνῳ διαμετρήσασθαι.

Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Ἀρκαδῶν μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἀπείχοντο· οἱ δὲ, πέδας φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ Τεγεήτας ἐστρατεύοντο, χρησμῷ κιβδηλῶ πίσυνοι, ὡς δὴ ἐξανδραποδιοῦμενοι τοὺς Τεγεήτας. ἐσωθέντες δὲ τῇ συμβολῇ, ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἐξωγρήθησαν, πέδας τε ἔχοντες τὰς ἐφέροντο αὐτοὶ, καὶ σχοίνῳ διαμετρησάμενοι τὸ πεδίον τὸ Τεγεητέων, ἐργάζοντο. αἱ δὲ πέδαι αὐται, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν σῶαι ἐν Τεγέῃ, περὶ τὸν νηὸν τῆς Ἀλῆς Ἀθηναίης κρεμύμεναι.

67 Κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον συνεχέως αἰεὶ κακῶς ἀέθλειον πρὸς τοὺς Τεγεήτας. κατὰ δὲ τὸν κατὰ Κροῖσον χρόνον, καὶ τὴν Ἀναξανδρίδεω τε καὶ Ἀρίστωνος βασιλεῖαν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι, ἤδη οἱ Σπαρτιῆται κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγγόνεσαν, τρόπῳ τοιῷδε γενόμενοι· ἐπεὶ αἰεὶ τῷ πολέμῳ ἐσσούντο ὑπὸ Τεγεητέων, πέμψαντες θεοπρόπους ἐς Δελφοὺς, ἐπειρώτεον, τίνα ἂν θεῶν ἱλασάμενοι κατύπερθε τῷ πολέμῳ Τεγεητέων γενοίατο. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὰ Ὀρέστω τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος ὅστέα ἐπαγαγομένους. ὡς δὲ ἀνευρεῖν οὐκ οἶοί τε ἐγινέατο τὴν θήκην τοῦ Ὀρέστω, ἐπεμπον αὐτὶς τὴν ἐς θεὸν ἐπειρησομένους τὸν χώρον ἐν τῷ κέοιτο ὁ Ὀρέστης. εἰρωτᾶσι δὲ ταῦτα τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι λέγει ἡ Πυθίη τάδε·

Ἔστι τις Ἀρκαδίας Τεγὴ λευρῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ,  
ἐνθ' ἀνέμοι πνέουσιν δύο κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης,  
καὶ τύπος ἀντίτυπος, καὶ πῆμ' ἐπὶ πῆματι κείται.  
ἐνθ' Ἀγαμέμνονιδην κατέχει φυσιζοὺς αἶα·  
τὸν σὺ κομισσάμενος, Τεγίης ἐπιτάρροθος ἔσση.

Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἀπείχον

τῆς ἐξευρέσιος οὐδὲν ἔλασσον, πάντα διζήμενοι ἐς οὐ  
 δὴ Λίχης, τῶν ἀγαθοεργῶν καλεομένων Σπαρτιητέων  
 ἀνείρε. οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοεργοὶ εἰσὶ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἐξιόντες ἐκ  
 τῶν ἰππέων αἰεὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι, πέντε ἔτεος ἐκάστον  
 τοὺς δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τὸν ἂν ἐξίωσι ἐκ τῶν  
 ἰππέων, Σπαρτιητέων τῷ κοινῷ διαπεμπομένους μὴ ἐλι- 63  
 νίειν ἄλλους ἄλλῃ. Τούτων ὦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν Λίχης αἰ-  
 εῖρε ἐν Τεγέῃ, καὶ συντυχίῃ χρησόμενος καὶ σοφίῃ.  
 εἰούσης γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐπιμειξίης πρὸς τοὺς Τεγε-  
 ῆτας, ἔλθων ἐς χαλκήϊον, ἐθνεῖτο σίδηρον ἐξελαυνόμενον  
 καὶ ἐν θούματι ἦν, ὁρέων τὸ ποιεόμενον. μαθὼν δὲ μιν  
 ὁ χαλκεὺς ἀποθουμάζοντα, εἶπε παυσάμενος τοῦ ἔργου.  
 “Ἡ κου ἂν, ὦ ξεῖνε Λάκων, εἴ περ εἶδες τό περ ἐγὼ,  
 “κάρτα ἂν ἐθώμαζες, ὅκου νῦν οὕτω τυγχάνεις θῶμα  
 “ποιούμενος τὴν ἐργασίην τοῦ σιδήρου. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῇδε  
 “θέλων τῇ αὐλῇ φρέαρ ποιήσασθαι, ὀρύσσων ἐπέτυχον  
 “σορῷ ἐπταπήχεϊ ὑπὸ δὲ ἀπιστίας μὴ μὲν γενέσθαι  
 “μηδαμὰ μέζοντας ἀνθρώπους τῶν νῦν, ἀνῶξα αὐτήν, καὶ  
 “εἶδον τὸν νεκρὸν μήκει ἴσον ἔοντα τῇ σορῷ. μετρήσας  
 “δὲ, συνέχωσα ὀπίσω.” Ὁ μὲν δὴ οἱ ἔλεγε τὰ περ  
 ὀπώπες· ὁ δὲ, ἐννῶσας τὰ λεγόμενα, συνεβάλλετο τὴν  
 Ὀρέστεα κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τοῦτον εἶναι, τῇδε συμ-  
 βαλλεόμενος τοῦ χαλκεὺς δύο ὁρέων φύσας, τοὺς ἀνέ-  
 μους εὔρισκε ἔδοντας τὸν δὲ ἄκμονα καὶ τὴν σφῦραι,  
 τὸν τε τύπον καὶ τὸν ἀντίτυπον τὸν δὲ ἐξελαυνόμενον  
 σίδηρον, τὸ πῆμα ἐπὶ πῆματι κείμενον κατὰ τοιόνδε τι  
 εἰκάζων, ὥς ἐπὶ κακῷ ἀνθρώπου σιδήρος ἀνεύρηται. Συμ-  
 βαλλεόμενος δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Σπάρτην, ἔφραζε  
 Λακεδαιμονίοισι πᾶν τὸ πρῆγμα. οἱ δὲ, ἐκ λόγου πλას-  
 τοῦ ἐπενείκαντές οἱ αἰτίην, ἐδίωξαν. ὁ δὲ, ἀπικόμενος  
 ἐς Τεγέην, καὶ φράζων τὴν ἐωυτοῦ συμφορὴν πρὸς τὴν  
 χαλκέα, ἐμισθοῦτο παρ’ οὐκ ἐκδιδόντος τὴν αὐλήν. χρό-  
 νῳ δὲ ὥς ἀνέγνωσε, ἐνοικίσθη. ἀνορύξας δὲ τὸν ταφον,  
 καὶ τὰ ὀστέα συλλέξας, οἷχετο φέρων ἐς Σπάρτην. καὶ  
 ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου, ὅκως πειρώατο ἀλλήλων, πολλῶ  
 κατυπέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ ἐγίνοντο οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἤδη  
 δέ σφι καὶ ἡ πολλὴ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἦν κατεστραμ-  
 μένη.

69 Ταῦτα δὴ ὦν πάντα πυνθανόμενος ὁ Κροῖσος, ἔπεμψε εἰς Σπάρτην ἀγγέλους δῶρά τε φέροντας, καὶ δεησομένους συμμαχίης, ἐντειλάμενός τε τὰ λέγειν χρῆν. οἱ δὲ, ἐλθόντες ἔλεγον “Ἐπεμψε ἡμέας Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδῶν “τε καὶ ἄλλων ἐθνέων βασιλεὺς, λέγων ταῦτα “ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, χρήσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν Ἕλληνα φίλον ποσὶ “θέσθαι, ὑμέας γὰρ πυνθάνομαι προεστάναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὑμέας ὦν κατὰ τὸ χρηστήριον προσκαλέομαι, φίλος “τε θέλων γενέσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος ἄνευ τε δόλου καὶ “ἀπάτης.” Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτα δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκεύετο. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ, ἀκηκοότες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ θεοπρόπιον τὸ Κροίσῳ γινόμενον, ἥσθησάν τε τῇ ἀφ’ ἑξεί τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἐποίησαντο ὅρκια ξεινίης πέρι καὶ ξυμμαχίης καὶ γὰρ τινες αὐτοὺς εὐεργεσίαι εἶχον ἐκ Κροίσου πρότερον ἔτι γεγονυῖαι. πέμψαντες γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰς Σάρδεις, χρυσὸν ὠνέοντο, εἰς ἄγαλμα βουλόμενοι χρῆσασθαι, τοῦτο τὸ νῦν τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἐν Θόρνακι ἰδρυται Ἀπόλλωνος. Κροῖσος δὲ σφί ὠνεο-

70 μένοισι ἔδωκε δωτῆν. Τούτων τε ἂν εἵνεκεν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὴν συμμαχίην ἐδέξαντο, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ πάντων σφέας προκρίνας Ἑλλήνων, αἰρέετο φίλους. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἐτοῖμοι ἐπαγγεῖλαι τούτῳ δὲ, ποιησάμενοι κρητῆρα χάλκεον, ζωδίων τε ἔξωθεν πλήσαντες περὶ τὸ χεῖλος, καὶ μεγάλῃ τριηκοσίους ἀμφορέας χωρέοντα ἦγον, δῶρον βουλόμενοι ἀντιδοῦναι Κροίσῳ. οὗτος ὁ κρητῆρ οὐκ ἀπῆκετο εἰς Σάρδεις, δι’ αἰτίας διφασίας λεγομένας τάσδε· οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ἀγόμενος εἰς τὰς Σάρδεις ὁ κρητῆρ ἐγίνετο κατὰ τὴν Σαμίην, πυνθόμενοι Σάμιοι ἀπελοίατο αὐτὸν, νηυσὶ μακρῇσι ἐπιπλώσαντες. αὐτοὶ δὲ Σάμιοι λέγουσι, ὡς ἐπεὶ τε ὑστέρησαν οἱ ἄγοντες τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸν κρητῆρα, ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ Σάρδεις τε καὶ Κροίσον ἠλωκεῖναι, ἀπέδοντο τὸν κρητῆρα ἐν Σάμῳ, ἰδιώτας δὲ ἄνδρας πριαμένους ἀναθεῖναι μιν εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ οἱ ἀποδόμενοι λέγοιεν, ἀπικόμενοι εἰς Σπάρτην, ὡς ἀπαιρεθείησαν ὑπὸ Σαμίων. κατὰ μὲν νῦν τὸν κρητῆρα οὕτως ἔσχε.

71 Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησμοῦ, ἐποιέετο στρα-

τήν ἐς Καππαδοκίην, ἐλπίσας καταιρήσειν Κύρον τε καὶ τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν. παρασκευαζομένου δὲ Κροίσου στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, τῶν τις Λυδῶν, νομιζόμενος καὶ πρόσθεν εἶναι σοφός, ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς γνώμης καὶ τὸ κάρτα οὐνομα ἐν Λυδοῖσι ἔχων, συνεβούλευσε Κροίσῳ τάδε (οὐνομά οἱ ἦν Σάνδανις) “ὦ βασι-  
 “λεῦ, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευαίῃσαι,  
 “οἳ σκυτίνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας, σκυτίην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην  
 “ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι· σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι, ἀλλ’  
 “ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τρηχείην πρὸς δὲ, οὐκ  
 “οἶνφ διαχρέονται, ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτέουσι· οὐ σῦκα δὲ  
 “ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν  
 “δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφεας ἀπαιρήσῃσαι, τοῖσί γε μὴ  
 “ἐστὶ μηδέν; τοῦτο δὲ, ἦν νικηθῆς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ  
 “ἀποβαλέεις. γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν,  
 “περιέξονται, οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται. ἐγὼ μὲν νυν θεοῖσι  
 “ἔχω χάριν, οἳ οὐκ ἐπὶ νόον ποίεουσι Πέρσῃσι στρα-  
 “τεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Λυδούς.” Ταῦτα λέγων, οὐκ ἔπειθε τὸν  
 Κροίσον. Πέρσῃσι γὰρ, πρὶν Λυδούς καταστρέψασθαι,  
 ἦν οὔτε ἄβρον, οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. Οἱ δὲ Καππαδόκαι 72  
 ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σύριοι ὀνομάζονται· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ Σύριοι  
 οὗτοι, τὸ μὲν πρότερον ἢ Πέρσας ἄρξαι, Μήδων κατή-  
 κκοι, τότε δὲ Κύρου. ὁ γὰρ οὗρος ἦν τῆς τε Μηδικῆς  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς Λυδικῆς ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός· ὃς ῥέει ἐξ  
 Ἀρμενίου οὖρεος διὰ Κιλικίων μετὰ δὲ, Ματιηνοὺς μὲν  
 ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχει ῥέων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου Φρύγας παραμει-  
 βόμενος δὲ τούτους, καὶ ῥέων ἄνω πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμὸν,  
 ἔνθεν μὲν Συρίους Καππαδόκας ἀπέργει, ἐξ εὐωνύμου  
 δὲ Παφλαγόνας. οὕτω ὁ Ἄλυσ ποταμός ἀποτάμνει σχε-  
 δὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἀντίου  
 Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. ἐστὶ δὲ αὐχὴν οὗτος  
 τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπάσης· μήκος ὁδοῦ, εὐζώνφ ἀνδρὶ  
 πέντε ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται.

Ἔστρατεύετο δὲ ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίην 73  
 τῶνδε εἵνεκα· καὶ γῆς ἱμέρφ, προσκτήσασθαι πρὸς τὴν  
 ἑωυτοῦ μοῖραν βουλόμενος· καὶ μάλιστα, τῷ χρηστηρίφ  
 πίσυνος εἶναι, καὶ τίσασθαι θέλων ὑπὲρ Ἀστυάγεος  
 Κύρου. Ἀστυάγεα γὰρ, τὸν Κυμαξάρῳ, ὄντα Κροί-

σου μὲν γαμβρὸν, Μήδων δὲ βασιλέα, Κῦρος ὁ Καμβύσεω καταστρεφάμενος εἶχε, γενόμενον γαμβρὸν Κροίσῳ ᾧδε. Σκυθίων τῶν νομάδων εἴλη ἀνδρῶν στασιόσασα, ὑπέξῃλθε ἐς γῆν τὴν Μηδικήν. ἐτυράννευε δὲ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Μήδων Κυαξάρης, ὁ Φραόρτεω, τοῦ Δηϊόκεω ὃς τοὺς Σκύθας τοιούτους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον περιεῖπε εὖ, ὡς ἔοντας ἰκέτας· ὥστε δὲ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος αὐτοὺς, παῖδάς σφι παρέδωκε τὴν γλῶσσάν τε ἐκμαθῆειν, καὶ τὴν τέχνην τῶν τόξων. χρόνου δὲ γενομένου, καὶ αἰεὶ φοιτεόντων τῶν Σκυθίων ἐπ' ἄγρην, καὶ αἰεὶ τι φερόντων, καὶ κοτε συνήνευκε ἐλεῖν σφεας μηδὲν νοστήσαντας δὲ αὐτοὺς κεινῇσι χ' ρτλ, ὁ Κυαξάρης (ἦν γὰρ, ὡς διέδεξε, ὀργὴν ἄκρος) τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε αἰεκεῖη. οἱ δὲ, ταῦτα πρὸς Κυαξάρειω παθόντες, ὥστε ἀνάξια σφέων αὐτῶν πεπονθότες, ἐβούλευσαν τῶν παρὰ σφίσι διδασκομένων παίδων ἓνα κατακόψαι· σκευάσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν ὥσπερ ἐώθεσαν καὶ τὰ θηρία σκευάζειν, Κυαξάρει δοῦναι φέροντες, ὡς ἄγρην δῖθεν δόντες δὲ, τὴν ταχίστην κομίζεσθαι παρὰ Ἀλυάττεα τὸν Σαδυάττεω ἐς Σάρδεις. ταῦτα καὶ δὴ ἐγένετο. καὶ γὰρ Κυαξάρης καὶ οἱ παρεόντες δαιτυμόνες τῶν κρεῶν τούτων ἐπαύσαντο· καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, Ἀλυάττεω 74 ἰκέται ἐγένοντο. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα (οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Ἀλυάττης ἐξεδίδου τοὺς Σκύθας ἐξαιτέοντι Κυαξάρει) πόλεμος τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Μήδοις ἐγεγόνει ἐπ' ἕτεα πέντε· ἐν τοῖσι πολλάκις μὲν οἱ Μῆδοι τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐτίκησαι, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Λυδοὶ τοὺς Μήδους· ἐν δὲ, καὶ νυκτομαχήν τινὰ ἐποίησαντο. διαφέρουσι δὲ σφι ἐπὶ Ἰσῆς τὸν πόλεμον, τῷ ἔκτῳ ἔτει συμβολῆς γενομένης, συνήνευκε ὥστε τῆς μάχης συνεστεώσης τὴν ἡμέρην ἐξαπίνης νύκτα γενέσθαι. τὴν δὲ μεταλλαγὴν ταύτην τῆς ἡμέρης Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος τοῖσι Ἴωσι προηγόρευσε ἕσεσθαι, οὐρον προθέμενος ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ καὶ ἐγένετο ἡ μεταβολή. οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπεὶ τε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γινομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέροι εἰρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς, ἦσαν οἶδε, Σύνευσσις τε ὁ Κιλιξ, καὶ Λαβύνητος ὁ Βαβυλωνίος· οὗτοί

σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν, καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρήνιν Ἀστυάγει τῷ Κναξάρει παιδί. ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν. Ὅρκια δὲ ποιεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνεα τὰ περ τε Ἑλληνες καὶ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐπεὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπιτάμονται ἐς τὴν ὁμοχροίην, τὸ αἷμα ἀναλείχουσι ἀλλήλων.

Τούτον δὴ ὦν τὸν Ἀστυάγεα Κῦρος, ὄντα ἐωντοῦ 75 μητροπάτορα, καταστρεφάμενος ἔσχε δι' αἰτίην τὴν ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπίσω λόγοις σημανέω. τὰ Κροῖσος ἐπιμεμφόμενος τῷ Κῦρι, ἔς τε τὰ χρηστήρια ἔπεμπε, εἰ στρατεύηται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπικομένου χρησμοῦ κιβδήλου, ἐλπίσας πρὸς ἐωντοῦ τὸν χρησμὸν εἶναι, ἐστρατεύετο ἐς τὴν Περσέων μοῖραν. Ὡς δὲ ἀπίκετο ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλυν ποταμὸν ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν, ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ λέγω, κατὰ τὰς ἐούσας γεφύρας διεβίβασε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς δὲ ὁ πολλὸς λόγος Ἑλλήνων, Θαλῆς οἱ ὁ Μιλήσιος διεβίβασε. ἀπορέοντος γὰρ Κροῖσου ὅπως οἱ διαβήσεται τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ στρατός, (οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἶναι κω τούτου τὸν χρόνον τὰς γεφύρας ταύτας,) λέγεται παρεῖντα τὸν Θαλῆν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ποιῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸν ποταμὸν, ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς ῥέοντα τοῦ στρατοῦ, καὶ ἐκ δεξιῆς ῥεῖν ποιῆσαι δὲ ὥδε. ἄνωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀρξάμενον, διώρυχα βαθέην ὀρύσσειν, ἄγοντα μνηοειδέα, ὅπως ἂν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἰδρυμένον κατὰ νώτου λάβοι, ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν διώρυχα ἐκτραπόμενος ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥέεθρων, καὶ αὐτὶς παραμειβόμενος τὸ στρατόπεδον, ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐσβάλλοι. ὥστε, ἐπεὶ τε καὶ ἐσχίσθη τάχιστα ὁ ποταμός, ἀμφοτέρῃ διαβατὸς ἐγένετο. οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ παράπαν λέγουσι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον ἀποξηρανθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ προσίεμαι κῶς γὰρ ὀπίσω πορευόμενοι διέβησαν αὐτόν; Κροῖσος δὲ, ἐπεὶ 76 τε διαβὰς σὺν τῷ στρατῷ ἀπίκετο τῆς Καππαδοκίης ἐς τὴν Πτερίην καλεομένην (ἥ δὲ Πτερίη ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ταύτης τὸ ἰσχυρότατον, κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν τὴν ἐν Εὐξεινῷ πόντῳ μάλιστα κη κειμένη) ἐνθαῦτα ἐστρατοπεδεύετο, φθείρων τῶν Συρίων τοὺς κλήρους. καὶ εἶλε

μὲν τῶν Πτερίων τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἠνδραποδίσατο· εἰλε δὲ τὰς περιοικίδας αὐτῆς πάσας· Συρίους τε, οὐδὲν ἔοντας αἰτίους, ἀναστάτους ἐποίησε. Κῦρος δὲ ἀγείρας τὸν ἐώντοῦ στρατὸν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς μεταξὺ οἰκέοντας πάντας, ἠντιοῦτο Κροίσῳ. πρὶν δὲ ἐξελαύνειν ἐρμῆσαι τὸν στρατὸν, πέμψας κήρυκας ἐς τοὺς Ἴωνας, ἐπειράτῳ σφεας ἀπὸ Κροίσου ἀπιστάμεναι· Ἴωνες μὲν νυν οὐκ ἐκείβοντο. Κῦρος δὲ ὡς ἀπίκητο, καὶ ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο Κροίσῳ, ἐνθαῦτα ἐν τῇ Πτερίῃ χώρῃ ἐπειρώατο κατὰ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἀλλήλων. μάχῃ δὲ καρτερῆς γενομένης, καὶ πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, τέλος οὐδέτεροι νικῆσαντες διέστησαν, νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. καὶ τὰ μὲν στρατόπεδα ἀμφοτέρα οὕτως ἡγωνίσατο.

77 Κροῖσος δὲ, μεμφθεὶς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐώντοῦ στρατεύμα· (ἦν γὰρ οἱ ὁ συμβαλὼν στρατὸς πολλὸν ἐλάσσων ἢ ὁ Κῦρον) τοῦτο μεμφθεὶς, ὡς τῇ ὑστεραίῃ οὐκ ἐπειράτῳ ἐπιὼν ὁ Κῦρος, ἀπήλαινε ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐν νόφ ἔχων, παρακαλέσας μὲν Αἰγυπτίους κατὰ τὸ ὄρκιον, (ἐποίησατο γὰρ καὶ πρὸς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου συμμαχίην πρότερον ἢ περὶ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους,) μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ καὶ Βαβυλωνίους, (καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τούτους αὐτῷ ἐπεποιήτο συμμαχίην ἐτυράννευε δὲ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Λαβύνητος) ἐπαγγείλας δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους παρεῖναι ἐς χρόνον ῥητὸν ἀλίσας τε δὴ τούτους, καὶ τὴν ἐώντοῦ συλλέξας στρατιὴν, ἐνένωτο, τὸν χειμῶνα παρὲς, ἅμα τῷ ἡρι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρσας. καὶ ὁ μὲν, ταῦτα φρονέων, ὡς ἀπίκητο ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐπεμπε κήρυκας κατὰ τὰς συμμαχίας, προερέοντας ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδεις. τὸν δὲ παρεόντα καὶ μαχεσάμενον στρατὸν Πέρσῃσι, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῦ ξεινικός, παντα ἀπείς, διεσκεδάσε· οὐδαμὰ ἐλπίσας μὴ κοτε ἄρα ἀγωνισάμενος οὕτω παραπλησίως Κῦρος ἐλάσει ἐπὶ Σάρδεις.

78 Ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενος Κροίσῳ τὸ προάστειον πᾶν ὀφίων ἐνεκλήσθη. φανέντων δὲ αὐτῶν, οἱ ἵπποι μετιέντες τὰς τομαὶς νέμεσθαι, φοιτέοντες κατήσθιον. ἰδόντι δὲ τοῦτο Κροίσῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ἦν, ἔδοξε τέρας εἶναι. αὐτίκα δὲ ἐπεμπε θεοπρόπους ἐς τῶν ἐξηγητῶν Τελμησίῳ. ὑπὶ

κομένοισι δὲ τοῖσι θεοπρόποισι, καὶ μαζοῦσι πρὸς Τελμησσέων τὸ θέλει σημαίνειν τὸ τέρας, οὐκ ἐξεγένετο Κροίσῳ ἀπαγγεῖλαι. πρὶν γὰρ ἢ ὀπίσω σφέας ἀναπλῶσαι ἐς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἤλω ὁ Κροῖσος. Τελμησσέες μὲν τοι τάδε ἔγνωσαν, στρατὸν ἀλλόθροον προσδόκιμον εἶναι Κροίσῳ ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπικόμενον δὲ τοῦτον καταστρέψεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα, ἵππον δὲ, πολέμιον τε καὶ ἐπήλυδα. Τελμησσέες μὲν νυν ταῦτα ὑπεκρίναντο Κροίσῳ ἤδη ἡλωκότι, οὐδὲν κω εἰδότες τῶν ἦν περὶ Σάρδεις τε καὶ αὐτὸν Κροῖσον.

Κῦρος δὲ, αὐτίκα ἀπελαύνοντος Κροίσου μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὴν γενομένην ἐν τῇ Πτερίϊ, μαθὼν ὡς ἀπελάσας μέλλοι Κροῖσος διασκεδᾶν τὸν στρατὸν, βουλευόμενος εὔρισκε πρῆγμά οἱ εἶναι ἐλαύνειν ὡς δύναιτο τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, πρὶν ἢ τὸ δεύτερον ἀλίσθηται τῶν Λυδῶν τὴν δύναμιν. ὡς δὲ οἱ ταῦτα ἔδοξε, καὶ ἐποίησε κατὰ τάχος. ἐλάσας γὰρ τὸν στρατὸν ἐς τὴν Λυδίην, αὐτὸς ἄγγελος Κροίσῳ ἐληλύθει. ἐνθαῦτα Κροῖσος ἐς ἀπορίην πολλὴν ἀπιγμένος, ὥς οἱ παρὰ δόξαν ἔσχε τὰ πρήγματα ἢ ὡς αὐτὸς κατεδόκεε, ὅμως τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐξῆγε ἐς μάχην. ἦν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἔθνος οὐδὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ οὔτε ἀνδρειότερον, οὔτε ἀλκιμώτερον τοῦ Λυδίου. ἡ δὲ μάχη σφέμν ἦν ἀπ' ἵππων, δούρατά τε ἐφόρεον μεγάλα, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἦσαν ἱππεύεσθαι ἀγαθοί. Ἐς τὸ πεδῖον δὲ συνελθόντων τοῦτο τὸ πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐστὶ τοῦ Σαρδιηνοῦ, ἐὼν μέγα τε καὶ ψιλόν, (διὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ ποταμοὶ ῥέοντες καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἄλλος συρρηγνῦσι ἐς τὸν μέγιστον, καλεόμενον δὲ Ἑρμον, δὲ ἐξ οἴρεος ἱροῦ Μητρὸς Δινδυμήνης ῥέων, ἐκδιδοὶ ἐς θάλασσαν κατὰ Φωκαίην πόλιν,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος ὡς εἶδε τοὺς Λυδοὺς ἐς μάχην ἰασσομένους, καταρρωδήσας τὴν ἵππον, ἐποίησε, Ἀρπάγου ὑποθεμένου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου, τοιόνδε. ὅσαι τῷ στρατῷ τῷ ἑωυτοῦ ἔποντο σιτοφόροι τε καὶ σκευοφόροι καμηλοὶ, ταύτας πάσας ἀλίσας, καὶ ἀπελὼν τὰ ἄχθεια, ἄνδρας ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἀνέβησεν ἱππᾶδα στολὴν ἐνεσταλμένους. σκευάσας δὲ αὐτοὺς, προσέταξε τῆς ἄλλης στρατιῆς προῖέναι πρὸς τὴν Κροίσου ἵππον, τῇ δὲ καμῇ ἐπεσθαι τὸν πεζὸν στρατὸν ἐκέλυνε ὀπισθε δὲ

τοῦ πεζοῦ ἐπέτιξε τὴν πῦσαν ἵππον. ὥς δέ οἱ πάντες διετατάχато, παραίνεσε τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Λυδῶν μὴ φειδόμενους, κτείνειν πάντα τὸν ἐμποδῶν γινόμενον, Κροῖσον δὲ αὐτὸν μὴ κτείνειν, μηδὲ ἦν συλλαμβανόμενος ἀμύνηται. ταῦτα μὲν παραίνεσε. τὰς δὲ καμήλους ἔταξε ἀντία τῆς ἵππου, τᾶνδε εἵνεκεν κάμηλον ἵππος φοβέεται, καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται οὔτε τὴν ιδίην αὐτῆς ὀρέων, οὔτε τὴν ὁδμὴν ὁσφραυνόμενος. αὐτοῦ δὴ ἂν τοῦτου εἵνεκεν ἐσεσφόιστο, ἵνα τῷ Κροίσῳ ἄχρηστον ἢ τὸ ἵππικόν, τῷ δὴ τι καὶ ἐπέιχε ἐλλάμψεσθαι ὁ Λυδός. ὥς δὲ καὶ συνήεσαν ἐς τὴν μάχην, ἐνθαῦτα ὥς ὕσφραντο τάχιστα τῶν καμήλων οἱ ἵπποι, καὶ εἶδον αὐτάς, ὀπίσω ἀνέστρεφον, διέφθαρτό τε τῷ Κροίσῳ ἡ ἐλπίς. οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Λυδοὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δειλοὶ ἴσαν ἀλλ', ὥς ἔμαθον τὸ γινόμενον, ἀποθορόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων, πεζοὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι συνέβαλλον. χρόνῳ δὲ, πεσόντων ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐτράποντο οἱ Λυδοί. κατειληθέντες δὲ ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἐπολιορκέοντο ὑπὸ τῶν Περσέων.

81 Τοῖσι μὲν δὴ κατεστήκειε πολιορκίη. Κροῖσος δὲ δοκίων οἱ χρόνον ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἔσεσθαι τὴν πολιορκίην, ἔπεμπε ἐκ τοῦ τείχεος ἄλλους ἀγγέλους ἐς τὰς συμμαχίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον διεπέμποντο, ἐς πέμπτον μῆνα προερέοντες συλλέγεσθαι ἐς Σάρδις τούτους δὲ ἐξέπεμπε τὴν ταχίστην δέεσθαι βοηθεῖν, ὥς πολιορ-

82 κεομένου Κροίσου. Ἐς τε δὴ ὦν τὰς ἄλλας ἔπεμπε συμμαχίας, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα. ) τοῖσι δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι κατ' αὐτὸν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον συνεπεπτώκει ἕρις ἐρύσα πρὸς Ἀργεῖους, περὶ χώρου καλομένου Θυρέης) (τὰς γὰρ Θυρέας ταύτας, εἰσάσας τῆς Ἀργολίδος μοίρης, ἀποταμόμενοι ἔσχον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι.) ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ μέχρι Μαλεῶν ἡ πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων, ἥ τε ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ χώρα, καὶ ἡ Κυθηρίη νῆσος, καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ τῶν νήσων. βοηθησάντων δὲ Ἀργείων τῇ σφετέρῃ ἀποταμνομένη, ἐνθαῦτα συνέβησαν ἰς λόγους συνελθόντες, ὥς τε τριηκοσίους ἑκατέρων μαχέσασθαις ὑπότεροι δ' ἂν περιγέγωνται, τοῦτων εἶναι τὸν χώρον τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἑκάτερον ἐς τὴν ἐκυτοῦ, μηδὲ παραμένειν ἀγωνιζομένων,

τῶνδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα μὴ παρεόντων τῶν στρατοπέδων, ὀρύν-  
 τεσ οἱ ἕτεροι ἐσσουνμένους τοὺς ἄσφετέρους, ἐπαμύνοισι.  
 Συνθέμενοι ὦν ταῦτα, ἀπαλλάσσοντο· λογάδες δὲ ἑκατέ-  
 ρων ὑπολειφθέντες συνέβαλλον. μαχομένων δὲ σφῶν,  
 καὶ γινομένων ἰσοπαλέων, ὑπελείποντο ἐξ ἀνδρῶν ἑξα-  
 κοσίων τρεῖς· Ἀργείων μὲν, Ἀλκίηωρ τε καὶ Χρόμιος·  
 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ, Ὀθρυάδης. ὑπελείφθησαν δὲ οὗτοι  
 νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης. οἱ μὲν δὴ δύο τῶν Ἀργείων, ὡς  
 νενικηκότες, ἔθεον ἐς τὸ Ἄργος· ὁ δὲ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων  
 Ὀθρυάδης, σκυλεύσας τοὺς Ἀργείων νεκροὺς, καὶ προσ-  
 φορήσας τὰ ὄπλα πρὸς τὸ ἐωυτοῦ στρατόπεδον, ἐν τῇ  
 τάξει εἶχε ἐωυτόν. ἡμέρη δὲ δευτέρη παρήσαν πυνθανύ-  
 μενοι ἀμφοτέρω. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἔφασαν  
 νικᾶν λέγοντες, οἱ μὲν, ὡς ἐωυτῶν πλεῖνες περυνγεγόνασιν·  
 οἱ δὲ, τοὺς μὲν ἀποφαίνοντες πεφευγότας, τὸν δὲ σφέτερον  
 παραμείναντα, καὶ σκυλεύσαντα τοὺς ἐκείνων νεκροὺς.  
 τέλος δὲ, ἐκ τῆς ἔριδος συμπεσόντες ἐμάχοντο· πεσόντων  
 δὲ καὶ ἀμφοτέρων πολλῶν, ἐνίκων Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Ἀρ-  
 γεῖοι μὲν νυν ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου κατακειράμεναι  
 τὰς κεφαλὰς, πρότερον ἐπάναγκες κομῶντες, ἐποίησαντο  
 νόμον τε καὶ κατάρην, μὴ πρότερον θρέψειν κόμην Ἀρ-  
 γείων μηδένα, μηδὲ τὰς γυναῖκας σφί χυρσοφορήσειν,  
 πρὶν ἂν Θυρέας ἀνασώσωνται. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ  
 ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον, οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τοι-  
 του, ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν. τὸν δὲ ἕνα λέγουσι τὸν περι-  
 λειφθέντα τῶν τριηκοσίων, Ὀθρυάδην, αἰσχυνόμενον ἀπο-  
 ιοστέειν ἐς Σπάρτην, τῶν οἱ συλλοχιτέων διεφθαρμένων,  
 αὐτοῦ μιν ἐν τῇσι Θυρέησι καταχρήσασθαι ἐωυτόν. Τοι- 83  
 οῦτων δὲ τοῖσι Σπαρτιήτησι ἐνεστέωντων πρηγμάτων,  
 ἦκε ὁ Σαρδιηνὸς κήρυξ, δεόμενος Κροίσῳ βοηθέειν πολι-  
 ορκεομένων. οἱ δὲ ὅμως, ἐπεὶ τε ἐπύθοντο τοῦ κήρυκος,  
 ὀρμέατο βοηθέειν. καὶ σφί ἤδη παρεσκευασμένοισι, καὶ  
 νεῶν ἐουσέων ἐτοίμων, ἦλθε ἄλλη ἀγγελίη, ὡς ἡλώκοι  
 τὸ τεῖχος τῶν Λυδῶν, καὶ ἔχοιτο Κροῖσος ζωγρηθείς.  
 οὕτω δὴ οὗτοι μὲν, συμφορὴν ποιησάμενοι μεγάλην, ἐπέ-  
 παντο.

Σάρδιες δὲ ἡλώσαν ὧδε. ἐπειδὴ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ 84  
 ἐγένετο ἡμέρη πολιορκεομένῳ Κροίσῳ, Κύρος τῇ στρατιῇ

τῇ ἐνωτοῦ, διαπέμψας ἱππέας, προεῖπε, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐπι-  
 μύντι τοῦ τείχεος δῶρα δώσειν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο, πειρη-  
 σαμένης τῆς στρατιῆς, ὡς οὐ προεχώρει, ἐνθαῦτα τῶν  
 ἄλλων πεπαυμένων, ἀνὴρ Μάρδος ἐπειράτο προσβαίνων,  
 τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Ἑρριάδης, κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς ἀκροπόλιος τῇ  
 σῖδεϊς ἐτέτακτο φύλακος οὐ γὰρ ἦν δεινὸν, κατὰ τοῦτο  
 μὴ ἄλφ᾽ ἰστέ. ἀπότομός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἡ ἀκρόπολις,  
 καὶ ἄμαχος τῇ οὐδὲ Μήλῃς, ὁ πρότερον βασιλεὺς Σαρ-  
 δῖαν, μούνη οὐ περιήνεκε τὸν λέοντα, τὸν οἱ ἡ παλλακὴ  
 ἔτεκε, Τελμησσέων δικασάντων, ὡς περιενειχθέντος τοῦ  
 λέοντος τὸ τεῖχος, ἔσονται Σάρδιες ἀνάλωτοι. ὁ δὲ Μή-  
 λης κατὰ τὸ ἄλλο τεῖχος περιενέκας, τῇ ἦν ἐπίμαχον  
 τὸ χωρίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, κατηλόγησε τοῦτου, ὡς ἐὼν  
 ἄμαχόν τε καὶ ἀπότομον ἐστὶ δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τμώλου  
 τετραμμένον τῆς πόλιος. Ὁ αὖν δὴ Ἑρριάδης οὗτος ὁ  
 Μάρδος, ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο  
 τῆς ἀκροπόλιος καταβάντα ἐπὶ κυνέην ἄνωθεν κατα-  
 κυλισθεῖσαν, καὶ ἀνελόμενον, ἐφράσθη καὶ ἐς θυμὸν ἐ-  
 βάλετο. τότε δὲ δὴ ὁ αὐτός τε ἀναβεβήκει, καὶ κατ'  
 αὐτὸν ἄλλοι Περσέων ἀνέβαινον. προσβάντων δὲ συχ-  
 νῶν, οὕτω δὴ Σάρδιες τε ἡλώκεσαν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄστυ  
 ἐπορθέετο.

85 Κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον τάδε ἐγένετο. ἦν οἱ παῖς,  
 τοῦ καὶ πρότερον ἐπεμνήσθην, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐπιεικῆς,  
 ἄφρωνος δέ. ἐν τῇ ὧν παρελθούσῃ εὖεστοι ὁ Κροῖσος  
 τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν ἐπεποιήκει, ἄλλα τε ἐπιφραζόμενος,  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Δελφοὺς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεπόμφει χρησομέ-  
 νους. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ εἶπε τάδε

\* Λυδὲ γένος, πολλῶν βασιλεῦ, μέγα νήπιε Κροῖσε,  
 μὴ βούλευ πολύευκτον ἰὴν ἀνὰ δώματ' ἀκούειν  
 παιδὸς φθεγγομένου. τὸ δέ σοι πολὺ λῶϊον ἀμφὶς  
 ἱμῶναι· αὐδήσει γὰρ ἐν ἡματι πρῶτον ἀνέλβη.

Ἀλίσκομένου δὲ τοῦ τείχεος, ἥτε γὰρ τῶν τις Περσέων  
 ἀλλογνώσας Κροῖσον ὡς ἀποκτενέων, Κροῖσος μὲν νυν  
 ὀρέων ἐπιόντα, ὑπὸ τῆς παρεούσης συμφορῆς παρη-  
 μέλῃκει, οὐδέ τι οἱ διέφερε πληγῇ ἀποθανείνῃ ὁ δὲ  
 παῖς οὗτος ὁ ἄφρωνος, ὡς εἶδε ἐπιόντα τὸν Πέρσην, ὑπὸ

δέους τε καὶ κακοῦ ἔρρηξε φωνήν, εἶπε δέ “ὦνθρωπε,  
 “μὴ κτεῖνε Κροῖσον.” Οὗτος μὲν δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον  
 ἐφθέγγετο· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη ἐφώνεε τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
 τῆς ζῆς. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι τὰς τε δὴ Σάρδεις ἔσχον, καὶ 86  
 αὐτὸν Κροῖσον ἐζώγρησαν, ἄρξαντα ἕτα τεσσереσκαί-  
 δεκα, καὶ τεσσереσκαίδεκα ἡμέρας πολιορκηθέντα, κατὰ  
 τὸ χρηστήριόν τε καταπαύσαντα τὴν ἐωυτοῦ μεγάλην  
 ἀρχὴν λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Πέρσαι ἤγαγον παρὰ Κῦρον.  
 ὁ δὲ, συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην, ἀνεβίβασε ἐπ’ αὐτὴν  
 τὸν Κροῖσον τε ἐν πέδῃσι δεδεμένον, καὶ δις ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν  
 παρ’ αὐτὸν παῖδας ἐν νόφ’ ἔχων εἴτε δὴ ἀκροθίνια ταῦτα  
 καταγιῖν θεῶν ὅτεφ’ ἔτι, εἴτε καὶ εὐχὴν ἐπιτελέσαι θέλων  
 εἴτε καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν Κροῖσον εἶναι θεοσεβέα, τοῖδε  
 εἴνεκεν ἀνεβίβασε ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι εἴ  
 τις μιν δαιμόνων ῥύσεται τοῦ μὴ ζῶντα κατακαυθῆναι.  
 τὸν μὲν δὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα τῷ δὲ Κροῖσῳ, ἑσπεῶτι ἐπὶ  
 τῆς πυρῆς, ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ περ ἐν κακῷ ὄντι τοσοῦτῳ, τὸ  
 τοῦ Σόλωνος, ὡς οἱ εἶη σὺν θεῷ εἰρημένον, τὸ “Μηδένα  
 “εἶναι τῶν ζώντων ὀλβιον” ὡς δὲ ἄρα μιν προσ-  
 τῆναι τοῦτο, ἀνευεκάμενον τε καὶ ἀναστενάξαντα ἐκ  
 πολλῆς ἡσυχίης, ἐς τρεῖς ὀνομάσαι Σόλωνα. καὶ τὸν  
 Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα, κελεῦσαι τοὺς ἑρμηνέας ἐπειρεσθαι  
 τὸν Κροῖσον, τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέοιτο καὶ τοὺς προσ-  
 ελθόντας ἐπειρωτᾶν. Κροῖσον δὲ τέως μὲν συγὴν ἔχειν  
 ἐρωτεύμενον μετὰ δὲ, ὡς ἠναγκάζετο, εἰπεῖν “Τὸν ἂν  
 “ἐγὼ πᾶσι τυράννοισι προετίμησα μεγάλων χρημάτων  
 “ἐς λόγους ἐλθεῖν.” Ὡς δὲ σφί’ ἄσσημα ἐφράζε, πάλιν  
 ἐπειρώτεον τὰ λεγόμενα. λιπαρέοντων δὲ αὐτῶν, καὶ  
 ὄχλον παρεχόντων, ἔλεγε δὴ, ὡς ἦλθε ἀρχὴν ὁ Σόλων, Μουσιῶς  
 ἑὼν Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ θεησάμενος πάντα τὸν ἐωυτοῦ ὀλβον  
 ἀποφλαυρίσειε οἷα δὴ εἶπας, ὥστε αὐτῷ πάντα ἀπο-  
 βεβήκοι τῇ περ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε, οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐς ἐωυτὸν  
 λέγων, ἢ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς παρὰ  
 σφίσι αὐτοῖσι δοκέοντας ὀλβίους εἶναι. Τὸν μὲν Κροῖσον  
 ταῦτα ἀπηγγέσθαι τῆς δὲ πυρῆς ἤδη ἀμμένης, καίεσθαι  
 τὰ περιέσχατα. καὶ τὸν Κῦρον ἀκούσαντα τῶν ἑρμηνέων  
 τὰ εἶπε Κροῖσος, μεταγόνοντα τε, καὶ ἐννόσαντα ὅτι καὶ  
 αὐτὸς ἄνθρωπος ἂν, ἄλλον ἄνθρωπον, γενόμενον ἐωυτοῦ

εὐδαιμονίῃ οὐκ ἐλάσσω, ζάοντα πυρὶ διδοίη· πρὸς τε τοῦ-  
 τοισι, δείσαντα τὴν τίσιν, καὶ ἐπιλεξάμενον ὥς οὐδὲν  
 εἶη τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι ἀσφαλῶς ἔχον, κελεύει σβεννίναί  
 τὴν ταχίστην τὸ καιόμενον πῦρ, καὶ καταβιβάζειν Κροῖ-  
 σὸν τε καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Κροῖσον καὶ τοὺς, πειρωμένους,  
 87 οὐ δύνασθαι ἔτι τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπικρατήσαι. Ἐνθαῦτα λέγε-  
 ται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν, Κροῖσον μαθόντα τὴν Κῦρου μετάγνωσιν,  
 ὡς ὦρα πάντα μὲν ἄνδρα σβεννύντα τὸ πῦρ, δυναμένους  
 δὲ οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν, ἐπιβιάσασθαι, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ἐπικαλούμενον, εἴ τι οἱ κεχαρισμένον ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐδωρήθη,  
 παραστήναι, καὶ ρίσασθαι μιν ἐκ τοῦ παρεόντος κακοῦ.  
 τὸν μὲν, δακρύοντα ἐπικαλέεσθαι τὸν θεόν· ἐκ δὲ αἰθρίης  
 τε καὶ νηνεμῆς συνδραμέειν ἑξαπίνης νέφεα, καὶ χειμῶνά  
 τε καταρραγῆναι, καὶ ὕσαι ὕδατι λαβροτάτῳ, κατασβε-  
 σθῆναί τε τὴν πυρὴν. οὕτω δὲ μαθόντα τὸν Κῦρον, ὡς  
 εἶη ὁ Κροῖσος καὶ θεοφιλὴς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, καταβι-  
 βάσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς πυρῆς, εἶρεσθαι τάδε· “Κροῖσε,  
 “τίς σε ἀνθρώπων ἀνέγνωσε, ἐπὶ γῆν τὴν ἐμὴν στρα-  
 “τευσάμενον, πολέμιαν ἀντὶ φίλου ἐμοὶ καταστήναι;”  
 Ὁ δὲ εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἔπραξα τῇ σῇ μὲν  
 “εὐδαιμονίῃ, τῇ ἐμευτοῦ δὲ κακοδαιμονίῃ, αἴτιος δὲ  
 “τούτων ἐγένετο ὁ Ἑλλήνων θεός, ἐπαείρας ἐμὲ στρα-  
 “τεύεσθαι. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητός ἐστι, ὅς τις πό-  
 “λεμον πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ, οἱ παῖδες  
 “τοὺς πατέρας θάπτουσι· ἐν δὲ τῷ, οἱ πατέρες τοὺς  
 “παῖδας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα δαίμοσί κεν φίλον ἦν οὕτω γενέ-  
 “σθαι.”

88 Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἔλεγε. Κῦρος δὲ αὐτὸν λύσας κάτισε  
 τε ἐγγὺς ἑωυτοῦ, καὶ κάρτα ἐν πολλῇ προμηθείᾳ εἶχε,  
 ἀπεθῶμαξέ τε ὀρέων καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ οἱ περὶ ἐκείνον  
 ἔοντες πάντες. ὁ δὲ, συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος, ἥσυχος ἦν. μετὰ  
 δὲ, ἐπιστραφεὶς τε καὶ ἰδόμενος τοὺς Πέρσας τὸ τῶν  
 Λυδῶν ἄστυ κερατίζοντας, εἶπε “ὦ βασιλεῦ, κότερα  
 “λέγειν πρὸς σὲ τὰ νοέων τυγχάνω, ἢ συγὰν ἐν τῷ  
 “παρεόντι χρή;” Κῦρος δὲ μιν θαρσέοντα ἐκέλευε λέ-  
 γειν ὃ τι βούλοιο. ὁ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰρώτα, λέγων “Οὗτος  
 “ὁ πολλὸς ὄμιλος τί ταῦτα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ἐργάζεται;”  
 Ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Πόλιν τε τὴν σὴν διαρπάζει, καὶ χρήματα

“τὰ σὰ διαφορέει.” Κροῖσος δὲ ἀμείβετο “Οὔτε πόλιν  
 “τὴν ἐμὴν, οὔτε χρήματα τὰ ἐμὰ διαρπάξει· οὔδεν γὰρ  
 “ἐμοὶ ἔτι τούτων μέτα. ἀλλὰ φέρουσί τε καὶ ἄγουσι  
 “τὰ σά.” Κύρῳ δὲ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγένετο τὰ Κροῖσος εἶπε 89  
 μετασθησάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, εἶρετο Κροῖσον ὃ τι  
 οἱ ἐνορήσῃ ἐν τοῖσι ποιευμένοισι. ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ἐπεὶ  
 “τε με θεοὶ δῶκαν δουλὸν σοι, δικαίῳ, εἴ τι ἐνορέω  
 “πλέον, σημαίνειν σοι. Πέρσαι, φύσιν ἔοντες ὑβρισ-  
 “ταί, εἰς ἀχρήματοι. ἦν ὧν σὺ τούτους περιίδης διαρ-  
 “πίσαντας καὶ κατασχόντας· χρήματα μεγάλα, τίς  
 “τοὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίδοξα γενέσθαι· ἵς ἂν αὐτῶν πλείστα  
 “κατάσχη, τούτον προσδέκεσθαι τοὶ ἐπαναστησόμενοι.  
 “νῦν ὧν ποιήσων ὧδε, εἴ τοι ἀρέσκει τὰ ἐγὼ λέγω.  
 “κάτισον τῶν δορυφόρων ἐπὶ πύλῃσι τῇσι πύλῃσι φυ-  
 “λάκους, οἱ λεγόντων πρὸς τοὺς ἐκφέροντας τὰ χρήματα,  
 “ἀπαιρεόμενοι, ὥς σφεα ἀναγκαίως ἔχει δεκατευθῆναι  
 “τῷ Διὶ. καὶ σὺ τε σφί οὐκ ἀπεχθήσῃαι βίῃ ἀπαιρεό-  
 “μενος τὰ χρήματα, καὶ ἑκείνοι, συγγνόντες ποιεῖν σε  
 “δίκαια, ἐκόντες ποιήσουσι.” Ταῦτα ἀκούων ὁ Κύρος, 90  
 ἱπερίδεδτο, ὥς οἱ ἐδόκεε εὖ ὑποτίθεσθαι. αἰνέσας δὲ  
 πολλὰ, καὶ ἐντειλάμενος τοῖσι δορυφόροις τὰ Κροῖσος  
 ὑπεθήκατο ἐπιτελέειν, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε “Κροῖσε,  
 “ἀναρτημένου σεῦ ἀνδρὸς βασιλέος χρηστὰ ἔργα καὶ  
 “ἔπεα ποιεῖν, αἰτέο δόσιν τὴν τινα βούλεαί τοι γενέσθαι  
 “παραντικά.” Ὁ δὲ εἶπε “Ὡ δέσποτα, ἔασας με χα-  
 “ριεῖ μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τὸν ἐτίμησα ἐγὼ  
 “θεῶν μάλιστα, ἐπείρεσθαι, πέμψαντα τάσδε τὰς πέδας,  
 “εἰ ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς εὖ ποιεῦντας νόμος ἔστι οἱ.” Κύρος δὲ  
 εἶρετο ὃ τι οἱ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύων παραιτέοιτο. Κροῖσος  
 δὲ οἱ ἐπανηλόγησε πᾶσαν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ διάνοιαν, καὶ τῶν  
 χρηστηρίων τὰς ὑποκρίσεις, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ ἀναθήματα·  
 καὶ ὥς ἐπαρθεὶς τῷ μαντήϊ, ἐστρατεύσατο ἐπὶ Πέρσας.  
 λέγων δὲ ταῦτα, κατέβαινε αὐτὶς παραιτούμενος, ἐπειναί  
 οἱ τῷ θεῷ τούτων ὀνειδίσαι. Κύρος δὲ γελάσας εἶπε  
 “Καὶ τούτου τεύξεαι παρ’ ἐμεῦ, Κροῖσε, καὶ ἄλλου  
 “παντὸς τοῦ ἂν ἐκάστοτε δέῃ.” Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσε  
 ὁ Κροῖσος, πέμπων τῶν Λυδῶν ἐς Δελφούς, ἐνετέλλετο,  
 τιθέντας τὰς πέδας ἐπὶ τοῦ νηοῦ τὸν οὐδὸν, εἰρωτῶν εἰ

οὐ τι ἐπαισχύνεται τοῖσι μαντήιοις ἐπ' ἱράς Κροῖσος  
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ Πέρσας, ὥς καταπαύσονται τὴν Κύρου  
δύναμιν, ἀπ' ἧς οἱ ἀκροθίνια τοιαῦτα γενέσθαι δεικνύν-  
τας τὰς πένδας. ταῦτά τε ἐπειρωτῶν, καὶ εἰ ἀχαρίστοις  
91 νόμος εἶναι τοῖσι Ἑλληνικοῖσι θεοῖσι. Ἀπικομένοις δὲ  
τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι, καὶ λέγουσι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα, τὴν Πυθίῃ  
λέγεται εἰπεῖν τάδε "Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοῖραν ἀδύνατον  
" ἔστι ἀποφυγεῖν καὶ θεῶ. Κροῖσος δὲ πέμπτου γονέο  
" ἀμαρτάδα ἐξέπλησε, ὃς ἐὼν δορυφόρος Ἡρακλείδῳ  
" δούλῳ γυναικῆφι ἐπισπόμενος, ἐφόνευσεν τὸν δεσπότην  
" καὶ ἔσχε τὴν ἐκείνου τιμὴν οὐδὲν οἱ προσήκουσαν  
" προθυμιομένου δὲ Λοξίῳ, ὅπως ἂν κατὰ τοὺς παῖδας  
" τοὺς Κροῖσου γένοιτο τὸ Σαρδίων πάθος, καὶ μὴ κατὰ  
" αὐτὸν Κροῖσον, οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο παραγαγεῖν μοῖραν  
" ὅσον δὲ ἐνέδωκαν αὐταί, ἠνύσατο, καὶ ἐχαρίσατό οἱ  
" τρία γὰρ ἔτεα ἐπανεβάλετο τὴν Σαρδίων ἄλωσιν καὶ  
" τοῦτο ἐπιστάσθω Κροῖσος, ὥς ὕστερον τοῖσι ἔτεσι  
" τοῦτοις ἄλους τῆς πεπρωμένης. δευτέρα δὲ τούτων  
" καιόμενῳ αὐτῷ ἐπῆρκεσε. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ μαντήιον τ  
" γενόμενον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς Κροῖσος μέμφεται προηγόρευ  
" γὰρ οἱ Λοξίης, ἣν στρατεύεται ἐπὶ Πέρσας, μεγαλη  
" ἀρχὴν αὐτὸν καταλύσειν. τὸν δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα χρῆν, εἰ  
" μέλλοντα βουλεύεσθαι, ἐπείρεσθαι πέμψαντα, κότερα  
" τὴν ἐωυτοῦ ἢ τὴν Κύρου λέγοι ἀρχὴν. οὐ συλλαβῶν  
" δὲ τὸ ῥηθὲν, οὐδ' ἐπανειρόμενος, ἐωυτὸν αἴτιον ἀπο  
" φαινέτω. ᾧ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον χρηστηριαζομένῳ εἶπε  
" τὰ εἶπε Λοξίης περὶ ἡμίονου, οὐδὲ τοῦτο συνέλαβε. ἡ  
" γὰρ δὴ ὁ Κύρος οὗτος ἡμίονος ἐκ γὰρ δυοῖν οὐκ ὁμο  
" εθνέων ἐγεγόνει, μητρὸς ἀμείνωνος, πατρὸς δὲ ὑποδε  
" εστέρου. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἦν Μηδὶς, καὶ Ἀστυάγεος θυγάτηρ  
" τοῦ Μῆδων βασιλέως ὁ δὲ, Πέρσης τε ἦν, καὶ ἀρχο  
" μενος ὑπ' ἐκείνοισι καὶ ἐγερθε ἐὼν τοῖσι ἅπασιν, δε  
" σποίῃ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ συνόλκεε." Ταῦτα μὲν ἡ Πυθίῃ  
ὑπεκρίνατο τοῖσι Λυδοῖσιν οἱ δὲ ἀνήνεικαν ἐς Σάρδις  
καὶ ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Κροῖσῳ. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας, συνέγνω  
ἐωυτοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀμαρτάδα, καὶ οὐ τοῦ θεοῦ. Κατὰ  
μὲν δὴ τὴν Κροῖσου τε ἀρχὴν, καὶ Ἰωνίης τὴν πρώτην  
καταστροφὴν, ἔσχε οὕτω.

Κροίσω δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι 92  
 πολλά, καὶ οὐ τὰ εἰρημένα μούνα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ Θήβησι  
 τῇσι Βοιωτῶν τρίπους χρύσεος, τὸν ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλ-  
 λωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ ἐν δὲ Ἐφέσῳ, αἷ τε βόες αἱ χρύσειαι,  
 καὶ τῶν κίωνων αἱ πολλαί· ἐν δὲ Προνηΐης τῆς ἐν Δελ-  
 φοῖσι, ἀσπίς χρυσῆ μεγάλη. ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἔτι ἐς ἐμὲ  
 ἦν περιέοντα. τὰ δ' ἐξαπόλωλε τῶν ἀναθημάτων. τὰ  
 δ' ἐν Βραγχιδῇσι τῇσι Μιλησίων ἀναθήματα Κροίσῳ,  
 ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, ἴσα τε σταθμὸν καὶ ὁμοῖα τοῖσι ἐν  
 Δελφοῖσι. τὰ μὲν νυν ἔς τε Δελφούς καὶ ἐς τοῦ Ἀμ-  
 φιάρεω ἀνέθηκε, οἰκῆιά τε ἔοντα, καὶ τῶν πατρῶων χρη-  
 μάτων ἀπαρχὴν τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ἐγένε-  
 νετο οὐσίης ἐχθροῦ, ὅς οἱ, πρὶν ἢ βασιλεῦσαι, ἀντι-  
 στασιώτης κατεστήκεε, συσπεύδων Πανταλέοντι γενέ-  
 σθαι τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχήν. ὁ δὲ Πανταλέων ἦν Ἀλυάττεω  
 μὲν παῖς, Κροίσου δὲ ἀδελφεὸς οὐκ ὁμομήτριος. Κροῖσος  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐκ Καείρης ἦν γυναικὸς Ἀλυάττῃ Πανταλέων  
 δὲ, ἐξ Ἰάδος. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, δόντος τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐκράτησε  
 τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁ Κροῖσος, τὸν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἀντιπρῆσσοντα  
 ἐπὶ κναφου ἔλκων διέφθειρε τὴν δὲ οὐσίην αὐτοῦ ἔτι  
 πρότερον κατιρώσας, τότε τρόπῳ τῷ εἰρημένῳ ἀνέθηκε  
 ἐς τὰ εἶρηται. καὶ περὶ μὲν ἀναθημάτων τοσαῦτα εἰ-  
 ρήσθω.

Θώματα δὲ γῇ Λυδίῃ ἐς συγγραφὴν οὐ μάλα ἔχει. 93  
 οἷά τε καὶ ἄλλη χώρα, παρέξ τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ Τμῶλου κατα-  
 φερομένου ψήγματος. Ἐν δὲ ἔργον πολλὸν μέγιστον  
 παρέχεται, χωρὶς τῶν τε Αἰγυπτίων ἔργων καὶ τῶν  
 Βαβυλωνίων. ἔστι αὐτόθι Ἀλυάττεω τοῦ Κροίσου πα-  
 τρὸς σῆμα, τοῦ ἢ κρηπὶς μὲν ἐστὶ λίθων μεγάλων, τὸ δὲ  
 ἄλλο σῆμα, χῶμα γῆς. ἐξεργάσαντο δὲ μιν οἱ ἀγοραῖοι  
 ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ χειρώνακτες, καὶ αἱ ἐνεργαζόμεναι παι-  
 δίσκαι. οὐροὶ δὲ, πέντε ἔοντες, ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ σήματος ἄνω· καὶ σφί γραμματα ἐνεκεκόλαπτο, τὰ  
 ἕκαστοι ἐξεργάσαντο. καὶ ἐφαίνετο μετρεόμενον τὸ τῶν  
 παιδισκέων ἔργον ἔὼν μέγιστον. Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν  
 δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι  
 σφίσι φερνὰς, ἐς δ' ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιεῖνσαι.  
 ἐκδιδόασιν δὲ αὐταὶ ἑωυτάς. ἡ μὲν δὴ περίοδος τοῦ σῆ-

ματος, εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἕξ, καὶ δύο πλέθρα· τὸ δὲ εἶρὸς ἐστὶ πλέθρα τριακαίδεκα. λίμνη δὲ ἔχεται τοῦ σήματος μεγάλῃ, τὴν λέγουσι Λυδοὶ αἰίναον εἶναι. καλέεται δὲ αὕτη Γυγαίη. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτό ἐστι.

91 Λυδοὶ δὲ νομοῖσι μὲν παραπλησίοισι χρέωνται καὶ Ἕλληνας χωρὶς ἢ ὅτι τὰ θήλεα τέκνα καταπορνεύουσι· πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, νόμισμα χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κοψάμενοι ἐχρήσαντο· πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ κάπηλοι ἐγένοντο. Φασὶ δὲ αὐτοὶ Λυδοὶ, καὶ τὰς παιγνίας τὰς νῦν σφίσι τε καὶ Ἕλλησι κατεστεώσας, ἐωυτῶν ἐξείρημα γενέσθαι. ὅμα δὲ ταύτας τε ἐξευρεθῆναι παρὰ σφίσι λέγουσι, καὶ Τυρσηνίην ἰποικίσαι· ὧδε περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντες. ἐπὶ Ἄττος τοῦ Μάνεω βασιλέος σιτοδητὴν ἰσχυρὴν ἀνὰ τὴν Λυδίην πᾶσαν γενέσθαι καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς τέως μὲν διάγειν λιπαρέοντας· μετὰ δὲ, ὡς οὐ παύεσθαι, ἄκεα δίξασθαι· ἄλλον δὲ ἄλλο ἐπιμηχανᾶσθαι αὐτῶν. ἐξευρεθῆναι δὴ ὧν τότε καὶ τῶν κύβων καὶ τῶν ἀστραγάλων, καὶ τῆς σφαίρης, καὶ τῶν ἀλλέων πασέων παιγνιέων τὰ εἶδεα, πλὴν πεσσῶν. τούτων γὰρ ὧν τὴν ἐξεύρεσιν οὐκ οἰκηιοῦνται Λυδοί. ποιεῖν δὲ ὧδε, πρὸς τὸν λιμὸν ἐξευρόντας· τὴν μὲν ἐτέρην τῶν ἡμερέων παίζειν πᾶσαν, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ζητέοιεν σιτία· τὴν δὲ ἐτέρην σιτέεσθαι, πανομένους τῶν παιγνιέων. τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ διάγειν ἐπ' ἕτεα δυῖν δέοντα εἴκοσι. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οὐκ αἰνίεναι τὸ κακόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι βιάζεσθαι, οὕτω δὴ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν, δύο μοίρας διελόντα Λυδῶν πάντων, κληρῶσαι, τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ μονῇ, τὴν δὲ ἐπὶ ἐξόδῳ ἐκ τῆς χώρας. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ μένειν αὐτοῦ λαγχανούση τῶν μοιρέων ἐωυτὸν τὸν βασιλέα προστάσσειν ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἀπαλλασσομένη, τὸν ἐωυτοῦ παῖδα, τῷ οὖνομα εἶναι Τυρσηνόν. λαχόντας δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐξίεναι ἐκ τῆς χώρας, καταβῆναι ἐς Σμύρνην, καὶ μηχανήσασθαι πλοῖα, ἐς τὰ ἐσθεμένους τὰ πάντα ὅσα σφι ἦν χρηστὰ ἐπὶ πλοα, ἀποπλέειν κατὰ βίου τε καὶ γῆς ζήτησιν ἐς δ, ἔθνεα πολλὰ παραμειψαμένους, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Ὀμβρικοῖς· ἐνθα σφίας ἐνιδρύσασθαι πόλιας, καὶ οἰκέειν τὸ μέχρι τούδε. ἀντὶ δὲ Λυδῶν μετονομασθῆναι αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέος τοῦ παιδός, ὅς σφας ἀνήγαγε ἐπὶ

τούτου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ποιευμένους, ὀνομασθῆναι Τυρση-  
νοὺς. Λυδοὶ μὲν δὴ ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι δεδούλωντο.

Ἐπιδίξεται δὲ δὴ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος τὸν τε 95  
Κῦρον, ὅστις ἐὼν τὴν Κροίσου ἀρχὴν κατέειλε καὶ τοὺς  
Πέρσας, ὅτεω τρόπῳ ἡγήσαντο τῆς Ἀσίης. Ὡς ὦν Περ-  
σέων μετεξέτεροι λέγουσι, οἱ μὴ βουλόμενοι σεμνοῦν τι  
περὶ Κῦρον, ἀλλὰ τὸν εἶντα λέγειν λόγον, κατὰ ταῦτα  
γράψω· ἐπιστίμενος περὶ Κῦρου καὶ τριφασίας ἄλλας  
λόγων ὁδοὺς φῆναι. Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχόντων τῆς ἄνω Ἀσί-  
ης ἐπ' ἕτα εἴκοσι καὶ πεντακόσια, πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτῶν  
Μῆδοι ἤρξαντο ἀπίστασθαι· καὶ κως οὗτοι περὶ τῆς  
ἐλευθερίας μαχεσάμενοι τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι, ἐγένοντο ἄν-  
δρες ἀγαθοί· καὶ ἀπώσάμενοι τὴν δουλοσύνην, ἠλευθερώ-  
θησαν. μετὰ δὲ τούτους, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἔθνεα ἐποίεε τῶ-  
ντὸ τοῖσι Μήδοισι. Ἐόντων δὲ αὐτονόμων πάντων ἀνὰ  
τὴν ἡπειρον ἄδε αὐτὶς ἐς τυραννίδας περιῆλθον. Ἀνὴρ 96  
ἐν τοῖσι Μήδοισι ἐγένετο σοφὸς, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Δηϊόκης,  
παῖς δὲ ἦν Φραόρτεω. οὗτος ὁ Δηϊόκης, ἐρασθεὶς τυραν-  
νίδος, ἐποίεε τοιαῦδε. Κατοικημένων τῶν Μήδων κατὰ  
κώμας, ἐν τῇ ἐωυτοῦ ἐὼν καὶ πρότερον δόκιμος, καὶ μᾶλ-  
λόν τι καὶ προθυμότερον δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει  
καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, εὐσύνης ἀνομίης πολλῆς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν  
Μηδικὴν, ἐποίεε, ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ ἄδικον  
πολέμιόν ἐστι. οἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καίμης Μῆδοι, ὁρῶντες  
αὐτοῦ τοὺς τρόπους, δικαστὴν μιν ἐωυτῶν αἰρέοντο. ὁ  
δὲ δὴ, οἷα μνεώμενος ἀρχὴν, ἰθύς τε καὶ δίκαιος ἦν.  
ποιέων τε ταῦτα, ἔπαινον εἶχε οὐκ ὀλίγον πρὸς τῶν πολι-  
τέων, οὕτω ὥστε πυνθανόμενοι οἱ ἐν τῇσι ἄλλῃσι κώμῃσι  
ὡς Δηϊόκης εἶη ἀνὴρ μούνος κατὰ τὸ ὀρθὸν δικάζων,  
πρότερον περιπίπτοντες ἀδίκοισι γνώμῃσι, τότε ἐπεὶ τε  
ἤκουσαν, ἄσμενοι ἐφοίτεον παρὰ τὸν Δηϊόκεα καὶ αὐτοὶ  
δικασόμενοι τέλος δὲ, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ἐπετράποντο. Πλεῦ- 97  
νος δὲ αἰεὶ γινομένου τοῦ ἐπιφοιτέοντος, οἷα πυνθανομέ-  
νων τὰς δίκας ἀποβαίνειν κατὰ τὸ ἐὸν, γνοὺς ὁ Δηϊόκης  
ἐς ἐωυτὸν πᾶν ἀνακείμενον, οὔτε κατίζειν ἔτι ἤθελε εἰσε-  
περ πρότερον προκατίζων ἐδίκαζε, οὐτ' ἔφη δικᾶν ἔτι.  
οὐ γάρ οἱ λυσιτελέειν, τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἐξημεληκότα, τοῖσι  
πέλας δι' ἡμέρης δικάζειν. εὐσύνης ὦν ἀρπαγῆς καὶ ἀνο-

μῆς ἔτι πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἀνὰ τὰς κώμας ἢ πρότερον ἦν, συνελέχθησαν οἱ Μῆδοι ἐς τὸν τόπον, καὶ ἐδίδουσαν σφίσι λόγον, λέγοντες περὶ τῶν κατηκύντων. ὥς δ' ἐγὼ δοκέω, μάλιστα ἔλεγον οἱ τοῦ Δηϊόκεω φίλοι. "Οὐ γὰρ δὴ, "τρόφῳ τῷ παρεόντι χρεώμενοι, δυνατοὶ εἶμεν οἰκέειν "τὴν χώραν φέρε, στησωμεν ἡμέων αὐτῶν βασιλέα. "καὶ οὕτω ἢ τε χώρα εὐνομήσεται, καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἔργα "τρεφόμεθα, οὐδὲ ὑπ' ἀνομίης ἀνάστατοι ἐσόμεθα."

Ταῦτά κη λέγοντες, πείθουσι ἑωυτοὺς βασιλευεσθαι. 98 Αὐτίκα δὲ προβαλλομένων τὸν τινα στήσονται βασιλέα, ὁ Δηϊόκης ἦν πολλὸς ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ προβαλλόμενος καὶ αἰνεόμενος. ἐς δὲ τοῦτον καταινέουσι βασιλέα σφίσι εἶναι. Ὁ δ' ἐκέλευε αὐτοὺς οἰκία τε ἑωυτῷ ἄξια τῆς βασιληΐης οἰκοδομήσαι, καὶ κρατύναι αὐτὸν δορυφόροις. ποιεῦσι δὴ ταῦτα οἱ Μῆδοι. οἰκοδομέουσιν τε γὰρ αὐτῷ οἰκία μεγάλα τε καὶ ἰσχυρά, ἵνα αὐτὸς ἔφρασε τῆς χώρας καὶ δορυφόρους αὐτῷ ἐπιτρέπουσι ἐκ πάντων Μήδων καταλέξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ, ὥς ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν, τοὺς Μήδους ἠνάγκασε ἐν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοῦτο περιστέλλοντας, τῶν ἄλλων ἥσσον ἐπιμέλεσθαι. πειθόμενων δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τῶν Μήδων, οἰκοδομέει τείχεα μεγάλα τε καὶ καρτερά, ταῦτα τὰ νῦν Ἀγβάτανα κέκληται, ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ κύκλῳ ἐνεστέωτα. μεμηχάνηται δὲ οὕτω τοῦτο τὸ τεῖχος, ὥστε ὁ ἕτερος τοῦ ἐτέρου κύκλος τοῖσι προμαχεῶσι μόνουσί ἐστι ὑψηλότερος. τὸ μὲν κου τι καὶ τὸ χωρίον συμμαχέει, κολωνὸς ἔον, ὥστε τοιοῦτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἐπετηδεύθη, κύκλων ἑόντων τῶν συναπάντων ἑπτὰ ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ τὰ βασιληΐα ἐνεστί καὶ οἱ θησαυροί. τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν μέγιστόν ἐστι τεῖχος κατὰ τὸν Ἀθηνέων κύκλον μάλιστα κη τὸ μέγαθος. τοῦ μὲν δὴ πρώτου κύκλου οἱ προμαχεῶνές εἰσι λευκοί· τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου, μέλανες· τρίτου δὲ κύκλου, φοινίκεος· τετάρτου δὲ, κυάνεοι· πέμπτου δὲ, σανδαράκινοι. οὕτω πάντων τῶν κύκλων οἱ προμαχεῶνες ἠνθισμένοι εἰσι φαρμάκοις. δύο δὲ οἱ τελευταῖοι, εἰσὶ ὁ μὲν καταργυρωμένους, ὁ δὲ κατακεχρυσωμένους ἔχων τοὺς προμαχεῶνας.

99 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ὁ Δηϊόκης ἑωυτῷ τε ἐτείχεε, καὶ περὶ

τὰ ἐώντοῦ οἰκία· τὸν δὲ ἄλλον δῆμον περίξ ἐκέλευε τὸ  
 τεῖχος οἰκέειν. οἰκοδομηθέντων δὲ πάντων, κόσμον τόνδε  
 Δηϊόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος· μήτε ἐσιέναι  
 παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρέεσθαι,  
 ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός· πρὸς τε τούτοισι ἔτι,  
 γελᾶν τε καὶ πτύειν ἀντίον καὶ ἅπασιν εἶναι τοῦτό γε  
 αἰσχρόν. Ταῦτα δὲ περὶ ἐώντων ἐσέμνυνε τῶνδε εἵνεκεν,  
 ὅπως ἂν μὴ ὀρώντες οἱ ὁμήλικες, ἔοντες σύντροφοί τε  
 ἐκείνῳ, καὶ οἰκίῃς οὐ φλαυροτέρῃς, οὐδὲ ἐς ἀνδραγαθίην  
 λειπόμενοι, λυπεοῖατο καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοιεν, ἀλλ' ἑτεροῖός  
 σφι δοκέοι εἶναι μὴ ὀρώσι. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ταῦτα διεκό- 100  
 σμησε, καὶ ἐκράτυνε ἐώντων τῇ τυραννίδι, ἣν τὸ δίκαιον  
 φυλάσσωσιν χαλεπός. καὶ τὰς τε δίκας γράφοντες, εἰσω  
 παρ' ἐκείνων ἐσεπέμπεσκον καὶ ἐκείνος διακρίνων τὰς  
 ἐσφερομένας, ἐκπέμπεσκε. ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ τὰς δίκας  
 ἐποίησε· τὰ δὲ δι' ἄλλα ἐκεκοσμέατο οἱ. εἴ τινα πυνθά-  
 νοιτο ὕβριζοντα, τοῦτον ὅπως μεταπέμψαιτο, κατ' ἀξίην  
 ἐκάστου ἀδικήματος ἐδικαίεν καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι τε καὶ  
 κατήκοοι ἦσαν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τῆς ἡρχε.

Δηϊόκης μὲν νυν τὸ Μηδικὸν ἔθνος συνέστρεψε μού- 101  
 νον, καὶ τούτου ἦρξε. ἔστι δὲ Μήδων τοσάδε γένεα,  
 Βουσαι, Παρητακηνοί, Στρούχατες, Ἀριζαντοί, Βούδιοι,  
 Μάγοι. γένεα μὲν δι' Μήδων ἐστὶ τοσάδε. Δηϊόκεω 102  
 δὲ παῖς γίνεται Φριώρτης, ὅς, τελευτήσαντος Δηϊόκεω,  
 βασιλεύσαντος τρία καὶ πενήκοντα ἔτεα, παρεδέξατο  
 τὴν ἀρχήν. παραδεξάμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο μούνων  
 ἀρχεῖν τῶν Μήδων· ἀλλὰ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς Πέρ-  
 σας, πρώτοισί τε τούτοισι ἐπεθήκατο, καὶ πρώτους Μή-  
 δων ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ, ἔχων δύο ταῦτα ἔθνεα,  
 καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἰσχυρά, κατεστρέφετο τὴν Ἀσίην, ἀπ'  
 ἄλλου ἐπ' ἄλλο ἰὼν ἔθνος. ἐς δ' στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 Ἀσσυρίους, καὶ Ἀσσυρίων τούτους οἱ Νῆον εἶχον, καὶ  
 ἦρχον πρότερον πάντων, τότε δὲ ἦσαν μεμουνωμένοι μὲν  
 συμμάχων, ἅτε ἀπεστεώτων, ἄλλως μέντοι ἐώντων εὖ  
 ἦκουτες· ἐπὶ τούτους δι' στρατευσάμενος ὁ Φραόρτης,  
 αὐτός τε διεφθάρη, ἄρξας δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα, καὶ ὁ  
 στρατὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ πολλός.

Φραόρτεω δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Κναζάρης ὁ 103

- Φραόρτεω τοῦ Δηϊόκεω παῖς. οὗτος λέγεται πολλὸν ἐγενέσθαι ἀλκιμώτερος τῶν προγόνων καὶ πρῶτος ἐλόχισε κατὰ τέλεα τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ, καὶ πρῶτος διέταξε χωρὶς ἐκάστους εἶναι, τοὺς τε αἰχμοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς τοξοφόρους, καὶ τοὺς ἱππέας· πρὸ τοῦ δὲ ἀναμῆξαι πάντα ὁμοίως ἀναπεφυρμένα. Οὗτος ὁ τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι ἐστὶ μαχεσάμενος, ὅτε νύξ ἡ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετό σφι μαχομένοι· καὶ ὁ τὴν Ἄλυνος ποταμοῦ ἀνω Ἀσίην πᾶσαν συστήσας ἐωυτῷ. Συλλέξας δὲ τοὺς ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ἄρχαίους πάντας, ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Νῆον, τιμωρέων τὸν πατρί, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην θέλων ἐξελεῖν. καὶ ὡς συμβαλὼν ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους, περικατημένους τὴν Νῆον, ἐπῆλθε Σκυθέων στρατὸς μέγας· ἄγε δὲ αὐτοὺς βασιλεὺς ὁ Σκυθέων Μαδύης, Πρωτοθύεω παῖς· ἐσέβαλον μὲν ἐς τὴν Ἀσίην, Κιμμερίους ἐκβαλόντες ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, τούτοισι δὲ ἐπισπόμενοι φεύγουσι, οὗτοι
- 104 ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν χώραν ἀπίκοντο. Ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μαιήτιδος ἐπὶ Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ ἐς Κόλχους τριήκοντα ἡμερῶν εὐζώνου ὁδός. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Κολχίδος οὐ πολλὸν ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν Μηδικὴν, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ διὰ μέσου ἔθνος αὐτῶν ἐστὶ, Σάσπειρες· τοῦτο δὲ παραμειβομένοισι, εἶναι ἐν τῇ Μηδικῇ. οὐ μέντοι οἷ γε Σκυθεῖσι ταύτῃ ἐσέβαλον, ἀλλὰ τὴν κατύπερθε ἰδὼν πολλὰ μακροτέρην ἐκτραπόμενοι, ἐν δεξιῇ ἔχοντες τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος. ἐνθαῦτα οἱ μὲν Μῆδοι συμβαλόντες τοῖσι Σκυθεῖσι, καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ, τῆς ἀρχῆς κατελύθησαν.
- 105 οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν ἐπέσχον. Ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἦσαν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ Ψαμμίτιχός σφεας Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς ἀντιτάσας δῶροισί τε καὶ λιτῇσι ἀποτρέπει τὸ προσωτέρον μὴ πορεύεσθαι. οἱ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε ἀναχωρέοντες ὀπίσω ἐγένοντο τῆς Συρίας ἐν Ἀσκάλωνι πόλει, τῶν πλεόνων Σκυθέων παρεξελθόντων ἀσινέων, ὀλίγοι τινὲς αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθέντες, ἐσύλησαν τῆς Οὐρανίης Ἀφροδίτης τὸ ἱρὸν. ἐστὶ δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθανόμενος εὐρύσκω, πάντων ἀρχαιότατον ἱρὸν ὅσα ταύτης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν Κύπρῳ ἱρὸν ἐνθεῦτεν ἐγένετο, ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Κύπριοι καὶ τὸ ἐν Κυθήροισι Φοίνικές εἰσι

δρυσάμενοι, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς Συρίας ἔοντες. τοῖσι δὲ τῶν  
 Σκυθέων συλήσασι τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Ἀσκάλῳ, καὶ τοῖσι  
 γούτων αἰεὶ ἐκγόνοισι, ἐνέσκηψε ἡ θεὸς θήλειαν νοῦσον  
 ὅστε ἅμα λέγουσιν τε οἱ Σκύθαι διὰ τοῦτό σφεας νοσέειν,  
 καὶ ὁρᾶν παρ' ἐωυτοῖσι τοὺς ἀπικνεομένους ἐς τὴν Σκυ-  
 θικὴν χώραν ὡς διακέεται, τοὺς καλέουσι Ἐναρέας οἱ  
 Σκύθαι. Ἐπὶ μὲν νυν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτεα ἦρχον τῆς 106  
 Ἀσίης οἱ Σκύθαι, καὶ τὰ πάντα σφι ὑπὸ τε ὕβριος καὶ  
 ἰλγυρίας ἀνάστατα ἦν. χωρὶς μὲν γὰρ φόρων, ἐπρησ-  
 του παρ' ἐκάστων τὸ ἐκάστοισι ἐπέβαλλον χωρὶς δὲ τοῦ  
 βόρου, ἥρπαζον περιελαύνοντες τοῦτο ὃ τι ἔχοιεν ἕκαστοι.  
 καὶ τούτων μὲν τοὺς πλεῖνας Κυαξάρης τε καὶ Μῆδοι  
 κείνωσαντες καὶ καταμεθύσαντες κατεφόνευσαν. καὶ οὕτω  
 ἰνέσώσαντο τὴν ἀρχὴν Μῆδοι, καὶ ἐπεκράτεον τῶν περ  
 καὶ πρότερον. καὶ τὴν τε Νῆον εἶλον, (ὡς δὲ εἶλον, ἐν  
 τέροισι λόγοισι δηλώσω,) καὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ὑπο-  
 χειρίους ἐποίησαντο, πλὴν τῆς Βαβυλωνίης μοίρης. μετὰ  
 ἔ ταῦτα, Κυαξάρης μὲν, βασιλεύσας τεσσεράκοντα ἔτεα,  
 νυν τοῖσι Σκύθαι ἦρξαν, τελευτᾷ.

Ἐκδέκεται δὲ Ἀστυάγης, ὁ Κυαξάρει παῖς, τὴν 107  
 βασιληίην. καὶ οἱ ἐγένετο θυγάτηρ, τῇ οὖνομα ἔθετο  
 Μανδάνην. τὴν ἐδόκεε Ἀστυάγης ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ οὐρῆσαι  
 οσοῦτον, ὥστε πληῖσαι μὲν τὴν ἐωυτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπικατα-  
 λίσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ὑπερθέμενος δὲ τῶν  
 ἄγων τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι τὸ ἐνύπνιον, ἐφοβήθη, παρ'  
 ὑτῶν αὐτὰ ἕκαστα μαθὼν. μετὰ δὲ, τὴν Μανδάνην  
 αἴτην, εἰούσαν ἤδη ἀνδρὸς ὡραίην, Μήδων μὲν τῶν  
 νυτοῦ ἀξίων οὐδενὶ διδοῖ γυναῖκα, δεδοικὼς τὴν ὄψιν  
 δὲ Πέρσῃ διδοῖ, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Καμβύσης· τὸν εὗρισκε  
 κίης μὲν ἔοντα ἀγαθῆς, τρόπου δὲ ἡσυχίου πολλῷ  
 ἐρθε ἀγων αὐτὸν μέσου ἀνδρὸς Μήδου. Συνοικεοῦσης 108  
 τῷ Καμβύσῃ τῆς Μανδάνης, ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῷ πρώτῳ  
 εἰ εἶδε ἄλλην ὄψιν. ἐδόκεε δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰδοίων τῆς  
 γατρὸς ταύτης φῦναι ἄμπελον τὴν δὲ ἄμπελον ἐπι-  
 ρῆν τὴν Ἀσίην πᾶσαν. ἰδὼν δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ὑπερθέ-  
 νος τοῖσι ὄνειροπόλοισι, μετεπέμψατο ἐκ τῶν Περσέων  
 ἢ θυγατέρα ἐπίτεκα εἰούσαν. ἀπικομένην δὲ ἐφύλασσε,  
 υλόμενος τὸ γεννώμενον ἐξ αὐτῆς διαφθεῖραι· ἐκ γὰρ

- οἱ τῆς ὕψιος οἱ τῶν μάγων ὄνειροπόλοι ἐσήμαινον, ὅτι μέλλοι ὁ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ γόνος βασιλεύσειν ἀντὶ ἐκείνου. Ταῦτα δὴ ὢν φυλασσόμενος ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ὡς ἐγένετο ὁ Κύρος, καλέσας Ἀρπαγον, ἄνδρα οἰκίῳ, καὶ πιστότατόν τε Μήδων, καὶ πάντων ἐπίτροπον τῶν ἑωυτοῦ, ἔλεγέ οἱ τοιαύδε· “Ἀρπαγε, πρῆγμα τὸ ἂν τοι προσθέω, μηδαμῶς παραχρήσῃ μηδὲ ἐμέ τε παραβῶλη, καὶ ἄλλους ἐλόμενος, ἐξ ὑστέρης σὺ ἑωυτῷ περιπέσῃς. λάβε τὸν Μανδάνη ἔτεκε παῖδα· φέρων δὲ ἐς σεωυτοῦ, ἀπόκτεινον μετὰ δὲ, θάψον τρόπῳ ὅτεφ’ αὐτὸς βοῦλεαι.” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὔτε ἄλλοτέ κ’ ἐγὼ παρεῖδες ἀνδρὶ τῷδε ἄχαρι οὐδὲν, φυλασσόμεθα δὲ ἐς σὲ καὶ ἐς τὸν μετέπειτα χρόνον μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτεῖν. ἀλλ’ εἴ τοι φίλον τοῦτο οὕτω γίνεσθαι, χρὴ δὴ, τό γε
- 109 “ἐμὸν, ὑπηρετέεσθαι ἐπιτηδέως.” Τούτοισι ἀμειψάμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγος, ὡς οἱ παρεδόθη τὸ παιδίον κεκοσμημένον τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, ἥϊε κλαίων ἐς τὰ οἰκία. παρελθὼν δὲ ἔφραζε τῇ ἑωυτοῦ γυναικὶ τὸν πάντα Ἀστυάγεος ῥηθέντα λόγον. ἡ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει· “Νῦν ὦν τί σοι ἐν νόφ’ ἐστὶ ποιεῖν;” Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται· “Οὐκ ἦ ἐνετέλλετο Ἀστυάγης οὐδ’ εἰ παραφρονήσει τε καὶ μαnevίται κάκιον ἢ νῦν μαίνεται, οὐ οἱ ἔγωγε προσθήσομαι τῇ γνώμῃ, οὐδὲ ἐς φόνον τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετήσω. πολλῶν δὲ εἵνεκα οὐ φονεύσω μιν καὶ ὅτι αὐτῷ μοι συγγενὴς ἐστὶν ὁ παῖς, καὶ ὅτι Ἀστυάγης μὲν ἐστὶ γέρων, καὶ ἄπαις ἔρσηνος γόνου. εἰ δὲ θελήσει, τούτου τελευτήσαντος, ἐς τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην ἀναβῆναι ἢ τυραννίς, ἥς νῦν τὸν υἱὸν κτείνει δι’ ἐμεῦ, ἄλλο τί ἡ λείπεται τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἐμοὶ κινδύνων ὁ μέγιστος; ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀσφαλὲς εἵνεκα ἐμοὶ, δεῖ τοῦτον τελευτᾶν τὸν παῖδα· δεῖ μέντοι τῶν τιμᾶ Ἀστυάγεος αὐτοῦ φονέα γενέσθαι,
- 110 “καὶ μὴ τῶν ἐμῶν.” Ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ αὐτίκα ἀγγελὸν ἐπεμπε ἐπὶ τῶν βουκόλων τῶν Ἀστυάγεος τὸν ἡπίστατο νομᾶς τε ἐπιτηδεωτάτας νέμοντα, καὶ οὔρεα θηριωδέστατα τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Μιτραδάτης, συνόκειε δὲ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ συνδούλῳ οὐνομα δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ ἦν τῇ συνόκειε, Κυνῶ, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μηδικήν, Σπακῶ τὴν γὰρ κύνα καλέουσι σπάκα Μήδοι.

αἱ δὲ ὑπώρεαί εἰσι τῶν οὐρέων ἔνθα τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοῶν  
 εἶχε οὗτος δὴ ὁ βουκόλος, πρὸς βορέῳ τε ἀνέμου τῶν  
 Ἀγβατάνων, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ πόντου τοῦ Εὐξείνου. ταύτη  
 μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μηδικὴ χώρα πρὸς Σασπείρων ὄρεινὴ ἐστὶ  
 καρτα, καὶ ὑψηλὴ τε καὶ ἰδίῃσι συνηρεφής· ἡ δὲ ἄλλη  
 Μηδικὴ χώρα ἐστὶ πᾶσα ἄπεδος. ἐπεὶ ὦν ὁ βουκόλος  
 σπουδῇ πολλῇ καλεόμενος ἀπῆκετο, ἔλεγε ὁ Ἀρπαγος  
 τάδε· “Κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγης τὸ παιδίον τοῦτο λαβόντα,  
 “θεῖναι ἐς τὸ ἐρημότατον τῶν οὐρέων, ὅπως ἂν τάχιστα  
 “διαφθαρεῖ. καὶ τάδε τοι ἐκέλευσε εἰπεῖν, ἣν μὴ ἀπο-  
 “κτείνῃς αὐτὸ, ἀλλὰ τεφρὸν τρόπον περιποιήσῃ, ὁλέθρῳ τῷ  
 “κακίστῳ σε διαχρήσεσθαι· ἐπορᾶν δὲ ἐκκειμενον δια- 111  
 “τάτταμαι ἐγώ.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἀνα-  
 λαβὼν τὸ παιδίον ἦγε τὴν αὐτὴν ὁπίσω ὁδὸν, καὶ ἀπι-  
 κνέεται ἐς τὴν ἔπαυλιν. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή,  
 ἐπίτεξ' εὐόσα πᾶσαν ἡμέρην, τότε κως κατὰ δαίμονα  
 τίκτει, οἰχομένου τοῦ βουκόλου ἐς πόλιν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν  
 φροντίδι ἀμφότεροι ἀλλήλων πέρι· ὁ μὲν, τοῦ τόκου  
 τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρρωδέων ἡ δὲ γυνή, ὅτι οὐκ ἐωθὼς ὁ  
 Ἀρπαγος μεταπέμψαιτο αὐτῆς τὸν ἄνδρα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ  
 ἀπουοστήσας ἐπέστη, οἷα ἐξ ἀέλπτου ἰδοῦσα ἡ γυνή,  
 εἶρετο προτέρη, ὅ τι μιν οὕτω προθύμως Ἀρπαγος μετα-  
 πέμψαιτο. ὁ δὲ εἶπε· “ὦ γύναι, εἰδὼν τε ἐς πόλιν  
 “ἐλθὼν καὶ ἤκουσα τὸ μήτε ἰδεῖν ὄφελον, μήτε κοτε  
 “γενέσθαι ἐς δεσπότης τοὺς ἡμετέρους. οἶκος μὲν πᾶς  
 “Ἀρπάγου κλαυθμῷ κατείχεται· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐκπλαγεὶς, ἥϊα  
 “ἔσω. ὥς δὲ τάχιστα ἐσῆλθον, ὁρέω παιδίον προκει-  
 “μενον, ἀσπαῖρόν τε καὶ κραυγανόμενον, κεκοσμημένον  
 “χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ. Ἀρπαγος δὲ ὥς εἶδέ  
 “με, ἐκέλευε τὴν ταχίστην ἀναλαβόντα τὸ παιδίον, οἴ-  
 “χεσθαι φέροντα, καὶ θεῖναι ἔνθα θηριωδέστατον εἴη τῶν  
 “οὐρέων φὰς Ἀστυάγεα εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα ἐπιθέμενόν μοι,  
 “πολλὰ ἀπειλήσας εἰ μὴ σφεα ποιήσαιμι. καὶ ἐγὼ  
 “ἀναλαβὼν ἔφερον, δοκέων τῶν τινος οἰκετέων εἶναι· οὐ  
 “γὰρ ἂν κοτε κατέδοξα ἔνθεν γε ἦν. ἐθάμβεον δὲ ορέων  
 “χρυσῷ τε καὶ εἵμασι κεκοσμημένον πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κλαυ-  
 “θμόν κατεστεῶτα ἐμφανέα ἐν Ἀρπάγου. καὶ πρόκατε  
 “δὴ κατ' ὁδὸν πυνθάνομαι τὸν πάντα λόγον θεράποντος,

- “ὅς ἐμὲ προπέμπων ἔξω πόλις, ἐνεχείρισε τὸ βρέφος  
 “ὡς ἄρα Μανδάνης τε εἷη παῖς τῆς Ἀστυάγῃ θυγατρὸς,  
 “καὶ Καμβύσῃ τοῦ Κύρου, καὶ μιν Ἀστυάγης ἐντέλ-  
 112 “λεται ἀποκτεῖναι· νῦν τε ὕδὲ ἐστὶ.” Ἀμα δὲ ταῦτα  
 ἔλεγε ὁ βουκόλος, καὶ ἐκκαλίσψας ἀπεδείκνυε. ἡ δὲ, ὡς  
 εἶδε τὸ παιδίον μέγα τε καὶ εὐεῖδὲς ἔδν, δακρύσασα, καὶ  
 λαβομένη τῶν γουνάτων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, ἔχρηξε μηδεμιᾷ  
 τέχνῃ ἐκθεῖναι μιν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔφη οἷός τε εἶναι ἄλλως  
 αὐτὰ ποιέειν ἐπιφοιτήσῃν γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐξ Ἀρ-  
 πάγου ἐποψομένους· ἀπολέεσθαι τε κάκιστα, ἣν μὴ σφρα  
 ποιήσῃ. ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθε ἄρα τὸν ἄνδρα, δεύτερα λέγει  
 ἡ γυνὴ τάδε· “Ἐπεὶ τοίνυν οὐ δύναμαί σε πείθειν μὴ  
 “ἐκθεῖναι, σὺ δὲ ὧδε ποιήσον, εἰ δὴ πᾶσά γε ἀνάγκη  
 “ὀφθῆναι ἐκκειμένον· τέτοκα γὰρ καὶ ἐγώ, τέτοκα δὲ  
 “τεθνεὸς τοῦτο μὲν φέρων πρόθεσ, τὸν δὲ τῆς Ἀστυά-  
 “γῃος θυγατρὸς παῖδα ὡς ἐξ ἡμέων ἔοντα τρέφωμεν καὶ  
 “οὕτω οὔτε σὺ ἀλώσεις ἀδικέων τοὺς δεσπότας, οὔτε  
 “ἡμῖν κακῶς βεβουλευμένα ἔσται. ὃ τε γὰρ τεθνεὺς  
 “βασιλῆϊς ταφῆς κυρήσει, καὶ ὁ περιεὼν οὐκ ἀπολέει  
 113 “τὴν ψυχὴν.” Κάρτα τε ἔδοξε τῷ βουκόλῳ πρὸς τὰ  
 παρεόντα εὖ λέγειν ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐπόλεε ταῦτα.  
 τὸν μὲν ἔφερε θανατώσων παῖδα, τοῦτον μὲν παραδιδού-  
 τῃ ἐωυτοῦ γυναικί· τὸν δὲ ἐωυτοῦ, ἔοντα νεκρὸν, λαβὼν  
 ἔθηκε ἐς τὸ ὄγγος ἐν τῷ ἔφερε τὸν ἕτερον κοσμήσας δὲ  
 τῷ κόσμῳ παντὶ τοῦ ἐτέρου παιδὸς, φέρων ἐς τὸ ἐρημό-  
 τατον τῶν οὐρέων τιθεῖ. ὡς δὲ τρίτῃ ἡμέρῃ τῷ παιδίῳ  
 ἐκκειμένῳ ἐγένετο, ἥϊε ἐς πόλιν ὁ βουκόλος, τῶν τινα  
 προβόσκων φύλακον αὐτοῦ καταλιπών. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τοῦ  
 Ἀρπάγου, ἀποδεικνύειν ἔφη ἐτοιμὸς εἶναι τοῦ παιδίου  
 τὸν νέκυν. πέμψας δὲ ὁ Ἀρπάγος τῶν ἐωυτοῦ δορυφό-  
 ρων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, εἶδέ τε διὰ τούτων, καὶ ἔθαψε τοῦ  
 βουκόλου τὸ παιδίον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐτέθαπτο· τὸν δὲ ὕστερον  
 τούτων Κύρον ὀνομασθέντα παραλαβοῦσα ἔτρεφε ἡ γυνὴ  
 τοῦ βουκόλου, οὕνομα ἄλλο κού τι καὶ οὐ Κύρον θεμένη.  
 114 Καὶ ὅτε δὴ ἦν δεκαέτης ὁ παῖς, πρήγμα ἐς αὐτὸν  
 τοιούδε γενόμενον ἐξέφηνέ μιν. ἔπαιζε ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ταύτῃ  
 ἐν τῇ ἦσαν καὶ αἱ βουκολαὶ αὐται, ἔπαιζε δὲ μετ’ ἄλλων  
 ἡλικίων ἐν ὁδοῖς καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες εἶλοντο ἐωυτῶν

βασιλέα εἶναι τοῦτον δὴ τὸν τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπίκλησιν  
 παῖδα. ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν διέταξε τοὺς μὲν, οἰκίας οἰκοδομέειν  
 τοὺς δὲ, δορυφόρους εἶναι· τὸν δὲ κου τινὰ αὐτῶν, ὀφ-  
 θαλμὸν βασιλέος εἶναι τῷ δὲ τιμῇ, τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐσφέρειν  
 ἐδίδου γέρας· ὡς ἐκάστω ἔργον προστάσσω. εἰς δὴ  
 τούτων τῶν παιδίων συμπαίζων, ἐὼν Ἀρτεμβάρεος παῖς,  
 ἀνδρὸς δοκίμου ἐν Μηδοισι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐποίησε τὸ προσ-  
 ταχθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Κύρου· ἐκέλευε αὐτὸν τοὺς ἄλλους παῖδας  
 διαλαβεῖν. πειθομένων δὲ τῶν παιδων, ὁ Κύρος τὸν  
 παῖδα τρηχέως κάρτα περιέσπε μαστιγέων· ὁ δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε  
 μετεῖθη ταχιστα, ὥς γε δὴ ἀνάξια ἐωντοῦ παθῶν, μᾶλλον  
 τι περιημέκτεε· κατελθὼν δὲ ἐς πόλιν, πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
 ἀποικτίζετο τῶν ὑπὸ Κύρου ἤντησε, λέγων δὲ οὐ Κύρου,  
 (οὐ γὰρ κω ἦν τοῦτο τοῦνομα,) ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου  
 τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος παιδός. Ὁ δὲ Ἀρτεμβάρης ὀργῇ, ὡς  
 εἶχε, ἐλθὼν παρὰ τὸν Ἀστυάγεα, καὶ ἅμα ἀγόμενος τὸν  
 παῖδα, ἀνάρσια πρήγματα ἔφη πεπονθέναι, λέγων “ὦ  
 “ βασιλεῦ, ὑπὸ τοῦ σοῦ δούλου, βουκόλου δὲ παιδός, ὧδε  
 “ περιϋβρίσμεθα.” (δεκνὺς τοῦ παιδός τοὺς ὧμους.)  
 Ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ ἰδὼν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, θέλων τιμωρῆσαι τῷ 115  
 παιδί τιμῆς τῆς Ἀρτεμβάρεος εἵνεκα, μετεπέμπετο τὸν τε  
 βουκόλον καὶ τὸν παῖδα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ παρήσαν ἀμφοτέροι,  
 βλέψας πρὸς τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη· “Σὺ δὴ, ἐὼν  
 “ τοῦδε τοιοῦτου ἑόντος παῖς, ἐτόλμησας τὸν τοῦδε παῖδα,  
 “ ἑόντος πρώτου παρ’ ἐμοί, ἀεικίῃ τοιῇδε περισπεῖν;” Ὁ  
 δὲ ἀμείβετο ὧδε “ὦ δέσποτα, ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦτον  
 “ ἐποίησα σὺν δίκῃ. οἱ γὰρ με ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες, τῶν  
 “ καὶ ὧδε ἦν, παίζοντες σφέων αὐτῶν ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα.  
 “ ἐδόκεον γὰρ σφί εἶναι ἐς τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεωτάτος. οἱ μὲν  
 “ νυν ἄλλοι παῖδες τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον, οὗτος δὲ  
 “ ἀνηκούστεέ τε καὶ λόγον εἶχε οὐδένα, ἐς ὃ ἔλαβε τὴν  
 “ δίκην. εἰ ὦν δὴ τοῦδε εἵνεκα ἀξιός τευ κακοῦ εἰμι, ὧδε  
 “ τοι πάρειμι.” Ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ παιδός, τὸν Ἀστ- 116  
 υῖα ἐστίει ἀνάγνωσις αὐτοῦ· καὶ οἱ ὃ τε χαρακτήρ τοῦ  
 προσώπου προσφέρεσθαι ἐδόκεε ἐς ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἡ ὑπόκρισις  
 ἐλευθερωτέρῃ εἶναι· ὃ τε χρόνος τῆς ἐκθέσιος τῇ ἡλικίῃ  
 τοῦ παιδός ἐδόκεε συμβαίνειν. ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ τούτοις,  
 ἐπὶ χρόνον ἀφθογγος ἦν. μόγις δὲ δὴ κοτε ἀνενειχθεὶς,

εἶπε, θέλων ἐκπέμψαι τὸν Ἀρτεμβάρεα, ἵνα τὸν βουκόλον μῦνον λαβὼν βασανίσῃ· “Ἀρτέμβαρες, ἐγὼ ταῦτα ποιήσω, ὥστε σὲ καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν σὸν μηδὲν ἐπιμέμφεσθαι.” Τὸν μὲν δὴ Ἀρτεμβάρεα πέμπει· τὸν δὲ Κῦρον ἦγον ἔσω οἱ θεράποντες, κελεύσαντος τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὑπελέλειπτο ὁ βουκόλος μῦνος μουνόθεν, τάδε αὐτὸν εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης, κόθεν λάβοι τὸν παῖδα, καὶ τίς εἴη ὁ παραδούς. ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἑωυτοῦ τε ἔφη γεγονέναι, καὶ τὴν τεκοῦσαν αὐτὸν εἶναι παρ’ ἑωυτῷ. Ἀστυάγης δέ μιν οὐκ εὖ βουλευέσθαι ἔφη, ἐπιθυμέοντα ἐς ἀνάγκας μεγάλας ἀπικνέεσθαι· ἅμα τε λέγων ταῦτα, ἐσήμαινε τοῖσι δορυφόροις λαμβάνειν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ, ἀγόμενος ἐς τὰς ἀνάγκας, οὕτω δὴ ἔφαινε τὸν ἔοντα λόγον. ἀρχόμενος δὴ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διεξέρει, τῇ ἀληθείῃ χρεώμενος· καὶ κατέβαινε ἐς λιτας τε, καὶ συγγνώμην ἑωυτῷ κελεύων εἶχειν αὐτόν.

- 117 Ἀστυάγης δὲ, τοῦ μὲν βουκόλου τὴν ἀληθητὴν ἐκφήναντος, λόγον ἤδη καὶ ἐλάσσω ἐποιέετο· Ἀρπαγῷ δὲ καὶ μεγάλως μεμφόμενος, καλέειν αὐτὸν τοὺς δορυφόρους ἐκέλευε. ὥς δὲ οἱ παρῆν ὁ Ἀρπαγος, εἶρετό μιν ὁ Ἀστυάγης· “Ἀρπαγε, τέω δὴ μόρφω τὸν παῖδα κατεχρήσαο, τὸν “τοι παρέδωκα ἐκ θυγατρὸς γεγονότα τῆς ἐμῆς;” Ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος, ὥς εἶδε τὸν βουκόλον ἔνδον ἔοντα, οὐ τρέπεται ἐπὶ ψευδέα ὁδόν, ἵνα μὴ ἐλεγχόμενος ἀλίσκηται· ἀλλὰ λέγει τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπεὶ τε παρέλαβον τὸ παιδίον, “ἐβούλευον σκοπῶν ὅπως σοί τε ποιήσω κατὰ νόον, καὶ “ἐγὼ πρὸς σὲ γινόμενος ἀναμάρτητος, μήτε θυγατρὶ τῇ “σῇ, μήτε αὐτῷ σοι εἶην αὐθέντης. ποιέω δὴ ὧδε. καλέσας “τὸν βουκόλον τόνδε, παραδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον, φὰς σέ τε “εἶναι τὸν κελεύοντα ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτό. καὶ λέγων τοῦτό “γε, οὐκ ἐψευδόμην· σὺ γὰρ ἐνετέλλεο οὕτω. παραδίδωμι “μέντοι τῷδε κατὰ τάδε, ἐντειλάμενος θεῖναι μιν ἐς ἔρημον “οὖρος, καὶ παραμένοντα φυλάσσειν ἄχρι οὗ τελευτήσῃ· “ἀπειλήσας παντοῖα τῷδε, ἣν μὴ τάδε ἐπιτελέα ποιήσῃ. “ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, ποιήσαντος τούτου τὰ κελευόμενα, ἐτελεύτησε “τὸ παιδίον, πέμψας τῶν εὐνούχων τοὺς πιστοτάτους, καὶ “εἶδον δι’ ἐκείνων, καὶ ἔθαψά μιν. οὕτως ἔσχε, ὦ “βασιλεῦ, περὶ τοῦ πρήγματος τούτου καὶ τοιούτῳ μόρῃ “ἐχρήσατο ὁ παῖς.”

Ἄρπαγος μὲν δὴ τὸν ἰθὺν ἔφαινε λόγον. Ἀστυάγης 118  
 δὲ, κρύπτων τὸν οἱ ἐνείχεε χόλον διὰ τὸ γεγονὸς, πρῶτα  
 μὲν, κατὰπερ ἤκουσε αὐτὸς πρὸς τοῦ βουκόλου τὸ πρήγμα,  
 πάλιν ἀπηγγέετο τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ μετὰ δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἐπαλλυ-  
 λόγητο, κατέβαινε λέγων, ὥς "περίεστί τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ τὸ  
 "γεγονὸς ἔχει καλῶς. Τῷ τε γὰρ πεπονημένῳ, ἔφη λέγων,  
 "ἐς τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον ἔκαμνον μεγάλως, καὶ θυγατρὶ τῇ  
 "ἐμῇ διαβεβλημένος οὐκ ἐν ἐλαφρῷ ἐποιεῦμην. ὥς ὦν  
 "τῆς τύχης εὖ μετεστεώσης, τοῦτο μὲν, τὸν σεωυτοῦ  
 "παῖδα ἀπόπεμψον παρὰ τὸν παῖδα τὸν νεήλυδα· τοῦτο  
 "δὲ, (σῶστρα γὰρ τοῦ παιδὸς μέλλω θύειν τοῖσι θεῶν  
 "τιμὴ αὕτη προσκέεται,) πάρισθί μοι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον." Ἀρ- 119  
 παγος μὲν, ὥς ἤκουσε ταῦτα, προσκυνήσας, καὶ μεγάλη  
 ποιησάμενος ὅτι τε ἡ ἁμαρτὰς οἱ ἐς δέον ἐγγέγονε, καὶ ὅτι  
 ἐπὶ τύχησι χρηστῇσι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον κέκλητο, ἥτε ἐς τὰ οἰκία.  
 ἐσελθὼν δὲ τὴν ταχίστην, ἣν γὰρ οἱ παῖς εἰς μούνος, ἔτεα  
 τρία καὶ δέκα κου μάλιστα γεγονώς, τοῦτον ἐκπέμπει,  
 ἵεναι τε κελεύων ἐς Ἀστυάγεος, καὶ ποιέειν ὃ τι ἂν ἐκεῖνος  
 κελεύῃ. αὐτὸς δὲ περιχαρὴς ἔων, φράζει τῇ γυναικὶ τὰ  
 συγκυρήσαντα. Ἀστυάγης δὲ, ὥς οἱ ἀπῖκετο ὁ Ἀρπάγου  
 παῖς, σφάξας αὐτὸν, καὶ κατὰ μέλεα διελὼν, τὰ μὲν  
 ᾤπησε, τὰ δὲ ἔψησε τῶν κρεῶν εὐτυχτα δὲ ποιησάμενος,  
 εἶχε ἐτοῖμα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, τῆς ὥρης γινομένης τοῦ δείπνου,  
 πληρῆσαν οἱ τε ἄλλοι δαιτυμόνες καὶ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, τοῖσι  
 μὲν ἄλλοισι καὶ αὐτῷ Ἀστυάγει παρετιθέατο τράπεζαι  
 ἐπιπλέαι μηλείων κρεῶν Ἀρπάγῳ δὲ, τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ  
 ἑωυτοῦ, πλην κεφαλῆς τε καὶ ἄκρων χειρῶν τε καὶ ποδῶν,  
 τὰ ἄλλα πάντα· ταῦτα δὲ χωρὶς ἔκειτο ἐπὶ κανέῳ κατα-  
 κεκαλυμμένα. ὥς δὲ τῷ Ἀρπάγῳ ἐδόκεε ἄλλῃς ἔχειν τῆς  
 βορῆς, Ἀστυάγης εἵρετό μιν, εἰ ἡσθέη τι τῇ θοίνῃ  
 φαμένου δὲ Ἀρπάγου καὶ κάρτα ἡσθῆναι, παρέφερον,  
 τοῖσι προσέκειτο, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ παιδὸς κατακεκαλυμ-  
 μένην, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας Ἀρπαγον δὲ ἐκέ-  
 λευον προστάντες ἀποκαλύπτειν τε καὶ λαβεῖν τὸ βούλεται  
 αὐτῶν. πειθόμενος δὲ ὁ Ἄρπαγος, καὶ ἀποκαλύπτων,  
 ὁρᾷ τοῦ παιδὸς τὰ λείμματα· ἰδὼν δὲ, οὔτε ἐξεπλάγη,  
 ἐντός τε ἑωυτοῦ γίνεται. εἵρετο δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀστυάγης, εἰ  
 γινώσκου ὅτεν θηρίου κρέα βεβρώκοι. ὁ δὲ καὶ γινώσκειν

ἔφη, καὶ ἀρεστὸν εἶναι πᾶν τὸ ἂν βασιλεὺς ἔρδῃ. τούτοισι δὲ ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ ἀναλαβὼν τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν, ἦϊε ἐς τὰ οἰκία. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ ἐμελλε, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἀλίστας θάψειν τὰ πάντα.

120 Ἀρκάγῳ μὲν Ἀστυάγης δίκην ταύτην ἐπέθηκε. Κύρου δὲ πέρι βουλευόντων, ἐκάλεε τοὺς αὐτοὺς τῶν μάγων οἱ τὸ ἐνύπνιον οἱ ταύτῃ ἔκριναν. ἀπικομένους δὲ εἶρετο ὁ Ἀστυάγης τῇ ἔκριναν οἱ τὴν ὄψιν οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα εἶπαν, λέγοντες ὡς βασιλεῦσαι χρὴν τὸν παῖδα, εἰ ἐπέξωσε καὶ μὴ ἀπέθανε πρότερον. Ὁ δὲ ἀμείβεται αὐτοὺς τοῖσδε “Ἔστι τε ὁ παῖς, καὶ περίεστι καὶ μιν, ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ δια-  
“ τώμενον, οἱ ἐκ τῆς κώμης παῖδες ἐστήσαντο βασιλέα. ὁ  
“ δὲ πάντα, ὅσα περ οἱ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ βασιλέες, ἐτελέωσε  
“ ποιήσας. καὶ γὰρ δορυφόρους, καὶ θυρωροὺς, καὶ ἀγ-  
“ γελιηφόρους, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα διατάξας εἶχε. καὶ  
“ νῦν ἐς τί ὑμῖν ταῦτα φαίνεται φέρειν;” Εἶπαν οἱ μάγοι  
“ Εἰ μὲν περίεστί τε, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε ὁ παῖς μὴ ἐκ προ-  
“ νοίης τινός, θάρσει τε τούτου εἵνεκα, καὶ θυμὸν ἔχε  
“ ἀγαθόν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὸ δεύτερον ἄρξει. παρὰ σμικρὰ  
“ γὰρ καὶ τῶν λογίων ἡμῖν ἓν ἡ κεχώρηκε καὶ τὰ γε τῶν  
“ ὀνειράτων ἐχόμενα τέλειος ἐς ἀσθενὲς ἔρχεται.” Ἀμεί-  
“ βεται Ἀστυάγης τοῖσδε “Καὶ αὐτὸς, ὦ μάγοι, ταύτῃ  
“ πλείστος γνώμην εἰμὶ, βασιλέος ὀνομασθέντος τοῦ παι-  
“ δός, ἐξήκειν τε τὸν ὄνειρον, καὶ μοι τὸν παῖδα τούτου  
“ εἶναι δεινὸν οὐδὲν ἔτι. ὅμως μὲν γε τοι συμβουλευσάτέ  
“ μοι, εὐ περισκεψάμενοι, τὰ μέλλει ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι  
“ οἴκῳ τε τῷ ἐμῷ καὶ ὑμῖν.” Εἶπαν πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ μάγοι  
“ Ὡ βασιλεῦ, καὶ αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐστὶ κατορ-  
“ θοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν τὴν σὴν. κείνως μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοτριοῦνται,  
“ ἐς τὸν παῖδα τούτον περιϊοῦσα, ἔοντα Πέρσῃν καὶ ἡμεῖς,  
“ ἔοντες Μῆδοι, δουλούμεθά τε, καὶ λόγου οὐδενὸς γινόμεθα  
“ πρὸς Περσέων, ἔοντες ξείνοι· σέο δ’ ἐνεστεῶτος βασι-  
“ λέος, ἔοντος πολίητεω, καὶ ἄρχομεν τὸ μέρος, καὶ τιμὰς  
“ πρὸς σέο μεγάλας ἔχομεν. οὕτω ὦν πάντως ἡμῖν σέο τε  
“ καὶ τῆς σῆς ἀρχῆς προσπτόεν ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν εἰ φοβερὸν  
“ τι ἐωρῶμεν, πᾶν ἂν σοι προεφράζομεν νῦν δὲ ἀποσκή-  
“ ψαντος τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐς φλαῦρον, αὐτοί τε θαρσέομεν,  
“ καὶ σὺ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα παρακαλεῖσθε· τὸν δὲ παῖδα

“τούτον ἐξ οφθαλμῶν ἀπόπεμψαι ἐς Πέρσας τε καὶ τοὺς  
 “γειναμένους.” Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἐχάρη τε, 121  
 καὶ καλῆσας τὸν Κῦρον, ἔλεγέ οἱ τάδε “ὦ παῖ, σέ γάρ  
 “ἐγὼ δι’ ὄψιν ὀνείρου οὐ τελέην ἡδίκηον, τῇ σεωυτοῦ δέ  
 “μοίρῃ περίεις· νῦν ὦν ἴθι χαίρων ἐς Πέρσας, πομποὺς δ’  
 “ἐγὼ ἅμα πέμψω. ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖ, πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα  
 “εὐρήσεις, οὐ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην τε τὸν βουκόλον καὶ τὴν  
 “γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ.”

Ταῦτα εἶπας ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἀποπέμπει τὸν Κῦρον. 122  
 νοστήσαντα δέ μιν ἐς τοῦ Καμβύσεω τὰ οἰκία, ἐδέξαντο  
 οἱ γεινάμενοι καὶ δεξάμενοι, ὡς ἐπύθοντο, μεγάλως ἀσπάζοντο, οἷα δὴ ἐπιστάμενοι αὐτίκα τότε τελευτῆσαι· ἰσ-  
 τότηρέν τε ὅτεφ τρόπῳ περυγένοιτο. ὁ δὲ σφι ἔλεγε, φὰς  
 πρὸ τοῦ μὲν οὐκ εἰδέναι, ἀλλὰ ἡμαρτηκέναι πλείστον, κατ’  
 ὁδὸν δὲ πυθέσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ πάθην. ἐπίστασθαι  
 μὲν γάρ, ὡς βουκόλου τοῦ Ἀστυάγεος εἶη παῖς· ἀπὸ δὲ  
 τῆς κείθεν ὁδοῦ τὸν πάντα λόγον τῶν πομπῶν πυθέσθαι.  
 γραφῆναι δὲ ἔλεγε ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ βουκόλου γυναίκης. ἥϊέ  
 τε ταύτην αἰνέων διὰ παντός· ἦν τέ οἱ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τὰ  
 πάντα ἡ Κυνώ. οἱ δὲ τοκέες, παραλαβόντες τὸ οὔνομα  
 τοῦτο, ἵνα θειοτέρως δοκέῃ τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι περιεῖναι σφι ὁ  
 παῖς, κατέβαλον φάτιν ὡς ἐκκείμενον Κῦρον κύων ἐξέ-  
 θρεψε. ἐνθεύτεν μὲν ἡ φάτις αὕτη κεχώρηκε.

Κύρῳ δὲ ἀνδρευμένῳ, καὶ ἔοντι τῶν ἡλικίων ἀνδρειο- 123  
 γάτῳ καὶ προσφιλεστάτῳ, προσέκειτο ὁ Ἀρπαγος, δῶρα  
 τέμπων, τίσασθαι Ἀστυάγεα ἐπιθυμέων. ἀπ’ ἑωυτοῦ  
 γάρ, ἔοντος ἰδιώτεω, οὐκ ἐνεώρα τιμωρίην ἐσομένην ἐς  
 Ἀστυάγεα· Κῦρον δὲ ὀρέων ἐπιτρεφόμενον, ἐποιέετο σύμ-  
 μαχον, τὰς πάθας τὰς Κύρου τῇσι ἑωυτοῦ ὁμοιούμενος.  
 γὰρ δ’ ἔτι τούτου τάδε οἱ κατέργαστο· ἔοντος τοῦ Ἀστυ-  
 αγος πικροῦ ἐς τοὺς Μήδους, συμμίσγων ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ ὁ  
 Ἀρπαγος τῶν πρώτων Μήδων, ἀνέπειθε ὡς χρὴ Κῦρον  
 τροστησαμένους τὸν Ἀστυάγεα παῦσαι τῆς βασιλείης.  
 κατειργασμένου δὲ οἱ τούτου, καὶ ἔοντος ἐτοίμου, οὕτω δὴ  
 ὃ Κῦρῳ διαιτωμένῳ ἐν Πέρσῃσι βουλόμενος ὁ Ἀρπαγος  
 ἠλαῶσαι τὴν ἑωυτοῦ γνώμην, ἄλλως μὲν οὐδαμῶς εἶχε,  
 τε τῶν ὁδῶν φυλασσομένων ὁ δὲ ἐπιτεχνᾷται τοιόνδε.  
 σὸν μηχανησάμενος, καὶ ἀνασχίσας τούτου τὴν γασ-

τέρα, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀποτίδω, ὡς δὲ εἶχε, οὕτω ἐσέθηκε βιβλίον, γράψας τὰ οἱ ἐδόκει. ἀπορράψας δὲ τοῦ λαγοῦ τὴν γαστέρα, καὶ δίκτυα δούς, ἄτε θηρευτῇ, τῶν οἰκετῶν τῷ πιστοτάτῳ, ἀπέστειλε ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ἐντειλάμενός οἱ ἀπὸ γλώσσης, δίδόντα τὸν λαγὸν Κύρῳ ἐπειπεῖν, αὐτοχειρὴ μιν διελεῖν, καὶ μηδὲνα οἱ ταῦτα ποιεῖντι παρῆναι.

- 124 Ταῦτά τε δὴ ὦν ἐπιτελέα ἐγίνετο· καὶ ὁ Κύρος παραλαβὼν τὸν λαγὸν ἀνέσχισε. εὐρὼν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ βιβλίον ἐκκλόν, λαβὼν ἐπελέγετο· τὰ δὲ γράμματα ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ παῖ Καμβύσεω, σὲ γὰρ θεοὶ ἐπορέωσι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν κοτε ἐς τοσοῦτον τύχης ἀπίκου. σὺ νῦν Ἀστυάγεα τὸν σεωυτοῦ φονέα τίσαι. κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τούτου προθυμίην τέθνηκας· τὸ δὲ κατὰ θεοὺς τε καὶ ἐμὲ περίεις. τὰ σε καὶ πάλαι δοκέω πάντα ἐκμεμαθηκέναι, σέο τε αὐτοῦ πέρι ὡς ἐπρήχθη, καὶ οἷα ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος πέπονθα, ὅτι σε οὐκ ἀπέκτεινα, ἀλλὰ ἔδωκα τῷ βουκόλῳ. σὺ νῦν ἦν βούλῃ ἐμοὶ πείθεσθαι, τῆσπερ Ἀστυάγης ἄρχει χώρης, ταύτης ἀπάσης ἄρξεις. Πέρσας γὰρ ἀναπείσας ἀπίστασθαι, στρατηλάτεις ἐπὶ Μήδους· καὶ ἦν τε ἐγὼ ὑπὸ Ἀστυάγεος ἀποδεχθῶ στρατηγός· ἀστία σεῦ, ἔστι τοι τὰ σὺ βούλει, ἦν τε τῶν τις δοκίμων ἄλλος Μήδων. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἀποστάντες ἀπ’ ἐκείνου, καὶ γενόμενοι πρὸς σέο, Ἀστυάγεα καταρρέειν πειρήσονται· ὡς ὦν ἐτοίμου τοῦ γε ἐνθάδε ὄντος, πολὺς ταῦτα, καὶ πολὺς κατὰ τάχος.”

- 125 Ἀκούσας ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, ἐφρόντιζε ὅτεω τρόπῳ σοφωτάτῳ Πέρσας ἀναπείσει ἀπίστασθαι. φροντίζων δὲ, εὐρίσκεται ταῦτα καιριώτατα εἶναι· ἐποίησε δὲ τάδε. γράψας ἐς βιβλίον τὰ ἐβούλετο, ἀλίην τῶν Περσέων ἐποιήσατο μετὰ δὲ ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγέα μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύειν. “Νῦν, ἔφη τε λέγων, ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν, παρῆναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον.” Κύρος μὲν ταῦτα προηγόρευσε. “Ἔστι δὲ Περσέων συχνὰ γένεα· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ὁ Κύρος συνάλισε, καὶ ἀνέπεισε ἀπίστασθαι ἀπὸ Μήδων. ἔστι δὲ τάδε, ἐξ ὧν ὅλλοι πάντες ἀρτέαται Πέρσαι· Πασαργάδαι, Μαράφιοι, Μάσπιοι. τούτων Πασαργάδαι εἰσὶ ἀριστοὶ ἐν τοῖσι καὶ Ἀχαιμενίδαι εἰσὶ

φρήτρη, ἔνθεν οἱ βασιλεῖς οἱ Περσεῖδαι γεγόνασι. ἄλλοι δὲ Πέρσαι εἰσὶ οἷδε Πανθιαλαῖοι, Δηρουσιαῖοι, Γερμάνιοι· οὗτοι μὲν πάντες ἀροτῆρές εἰσι. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, νομάδες· Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοὶ, Σαγάρτιοι. Ὡς δὲ 126 παρήσαν ἅπαντες ἔχοντες τὸ προειρημένον, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ Κῦρος (ἦν γὰρ τις χώρος τῆς Περσικῆς ἀκαυθώδης ὅσον τε ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα σταδίοις ἢ εἴκοσι πάντη) τοῦτόν σφι τὸν χώρον προεῖπε ἐξημερῶσαι ἐν ἡμέρῃ. ἐπιτελεσάντων δὲ τῶν Περσέων τὸν προκείμενον ἀεθλον, δευτέρᾳ σφι προεῖπε, ἐς τὴν ὑστεραίην παρεῖναι λελουμένους. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ τε αἰπόλια καὶ τὰς ποιμένας καὶ τὰ βουκόλια ὁ Κῦρος πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς συναλίσας ἐς τῶντ', ἔθνε, καὶ παρεσκεύαζε ὡς δεξόμενος τῶν Περσέων τὸν στρατόν πρὸς δὲ οἶνω τε καὶ σιτίοισι ὡς ἐπιτηδεωτάτοις. ἀπικομένους δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίῃ τοὺς Πέρσας κατακλίνας ἐς λειμῶνα, εὐώχεε. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἦσαν, εἰρετό σφεας ὁ Κῦρος κότερα τὰ τῇ προτεραίῃ εἶχον, ἢ τὰ παρεόντα σφι εἶη αἰρετώτερα. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, πολλὸν εἶναι αὐτῶν τὸ μέσον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ προτέρην ἡμέρην πάντα σφι κακὰ ἔχειν· τὴν δὲ τότε παρεούσαν, πάντα ἀγαθὰ. Παραλαβὼν δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ὁ Κῦρος παρεγύμνου τὸν πάντα λόγον, λέγων “Ἄνδρες Πέρσαι, οὕτω ὑμῖν ἔχει. βου-  
 “λομένοισι μὲν ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, ἔστι ταδε τε καὶ ἄλλα  
 “μυρία ἀγαθὰ, οὐδένα πόνον δουλοπρεπέα ἔχουσι· μὴ  
 “βουλομένοισι δὲ ἐμέο πείθεσθαι, εἰσὶ ὑμῖν πόνοι τῷ  
 “χθιζῶ παραπλήσιοι ἀναρίθμητοι. νῦν ὦν ἐμέο πειθό-  
 “μενοι, γίνεσθε ἐλεύθεροι. αὐτὸς τε γὰρ δοκέω θεῇ τύχῃ  
 “γεγονῶς τάδε ἐς χεῖρας ἄγεσθαι· καὶ ὑμέας ἡγήμαι  
 “ἄνδρας Μήδων εἶναι οὐ φαυλοτέρους, οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα,  
 “οὔτε τὰ πολέμια. ὡς ὦν ἐχόντων ὧδε, ἀπίστασθε ἀπ’  
 “Ἀστυάγεος τὴν ταχίστην.”

Πέρσαι μὲν νῦν προστάτῃ ἐπιλαβόμενοι, ἄσμενοι 127 ἐλευθεροῦντο, καὶ πάλαι δεινὸν ποιούμενοι ὑπὸ Μήδων ἄρχεσθαι· Ἀστυάγης δὲ ὡς ἐπύθετο Κῦρον πρῆσσοινα ταῦτα, πέμψας ἄγγελον, ἐκάλεε αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Κῦρος ἐκέλευε τὸν ἄγγελον ἀπαγγέλλειν, ὅτι πρότερον ἤξοι παρ’ ἐκείνου ἢ αὐτὸς Ἀστυάγης βουλήσεται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀστυάγης Μήδους τε ὤπλισε πάντας, καὶ στρα-

τιγὸν αὐτῶν, ὥστε θεοβλαβῆς ἔων, ἀπέδεξε Ἄρπαγον, λήθην ποιούμενος τὰ μιν ἑόργεε. ὡς δ' οἱ Μῆδοι στρατευσάμενοι τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι συνέμισγον, οἱ μὲν τινες αὐτῶν ἐμάχοντο, ὅσοι μὴ τοῦ λόγου μετέσχον· οἱ δὲ αὐτομόλεον πρὸς τοὺς Πέρσας· οἱ δὲ πλείστοι ἐθελοκάκεόν τε

128 καὶ ἔφευγον. Διαλυθέντος δὲ τοῦ Μηδικοῦ στρατεύματος αἰσχροῦς, ὡς ἐπύθето τάχιστα ὁ Ἀστυάγης, ἔφη, ἀπειλείων τῷ Κύρῳ “Ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὡς ὁ Κύρός γε χαιρήσει.” Τοσαῦτα εἶπας, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν μάγων τοὺς ὄνειροπόλους, οἳ μιν ἀνέγνωσαν μετεῖναι τὸν Κύρον, τούτους ἀνεσκολόπισε. μετὰ δὲ, ὥπλισε τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τῶν Μήδων ἐν τῷ ἄστει, νέους τε καὶ πρεσβύτας ἄνδρας. ἐξωγαγὼν δὲ τούτους, καὶ συμβαλὼν τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι, ἐσσώθη· καὶ αὐτὸς τε Ἀστυάγης ἐξωγρήθη, καὶ

129 τοὺς ἐξήγαγε τῶν Μήδων ἀπέβαλε. Ἔοντι δὲ αἰχμαλῶτι τῷ Ἀστυάγῃ προστὰς ὁ Ἄρπαγος, κατέχαιρέ τε καὶ κατεκερτόμει, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων ἐς αὐτὸν θυμαλγέα ἔπασσε, καὶ δὴ καὶ εἶρετό μιν, πρὸς τὸ ἑωυτοῦ δείπνον, τὸ μιν ἐκεῖνος σαρεῖ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐθόλησε, “ὅ τι εἴη ἢ ἐκεῖνου δουλοσύνη ἀντὶ τῆς βασιληΐης.” ὁ δὲ μιν προσιδὼν ἀντειρετο, εἰ ἑωυτοῦ ποιέεται τὸ Κυρίου ἔργον. Ἄρπαγος δὲ ἔφη, αὐτὸς γὰρ γράψαι, τὸ πρῆγμα δὴ ἑωυτοῦ δικαίως εἶναι. Ἀστυάγης δὲ μιν ἀπέφαινε τῷ λογιῶ “σκαϊότατόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἔοντα πάντων ἀνθρώπων σκαϊότατον μὲν γε, εἰ παρεὼν αὐτῷ βασιλέα γενέσθαι, εἰ δὴ “δὲ ἑωυτοῦ γε ἐπρήχθη τὰ παρεόντα, ἄλλῳ περιέθηκε τὸ κράτος· ἀδικώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοῦ δείπνου εἴνακεν Μήδους κατεδούλωσε. εἰ γὰρ δὴ δέον πάντως περιθεῖναι ἄλλῳ τέφ τὴν βασιληΐην, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἔχειν, “δικαιότερον εἶναι Μήδων τέφ περιβαλεῖν τοῦτο τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ Περσέων. νῦν δὲ Μήδους μὲν, ἀναιτίους τούτου ἔοντας, δούλους ἀπὲρ δεσποτέων γεγονέναι· Πέρσας δὲ, “δούλους ἔοντας τὸ πρὶν Μήδων, νῦν γεγονέναι δεσπότης.”

130 Ἀστυάγης μὲν νυν, βασιλεύσας ἐπ' ἑτα πέντε καὶ τριήκοντα, οὕτω τῆς βασιληΐης κατεπαύσθη· Μῆδοι δὲ ὑπέκυψαν Πέρσῃσι διὰ τὴν τούτου πικρότητα, ἄρξαντες τῆς ἅνῃ Ἄλως ποταμοῦ Ἀσίης ἐπ' ἑτα τριήκοντα καὶ

ἐκατὸν δυνῶν δέοντα, παρέξ ἡ ὅσον οἱ Σκύθαι ἤρχον. Ὅτ' ἐρρω μέντοι χρόνῳ μετεμέλησέ τέ σφι ταῦτα ποιήσασι, καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου ἀποστάντες δέ, ὀπίσω κατεστράφησαν, μάχῃ νικηθέντες. τότε δὲ ἐπὶ Ἀστυάγεος οἱ Πέρσαι τε καὶ ὁ Κῦρος ἐπαναστάντες τοῖσι Μήδοισι, ἤρχον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς Ἀσίας. Ἀστυάγεα δὲ Κῦρος, κακὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιήσας, εἶχε παρ' ἐωυτῷ ἐς ὃ ἐτελεύτησε. Οὕτω δὲ Κῦρος γενόμενός τε καὶ τραφεὶς ἐβασίλευσε καὶ Κροῖσον ὕστερον τούτων ἄρξαντα ἀδικίῃς κατεστρέψατο, ὡς εἴρηται μοι τὸ πρότερον. τούτον δὲ καταστρεψάμενος, οὕτω πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας ἤρξε.

Πέρσας δὲ οἶδα νόμοισι τοῖσδε χρεωμένους ἀγάλ- 181  
ματα μὲν καὶ νηοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς οὐκ ἐκ νόμῳ ποιευμένους ἰδρύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖσι ποιεῦσι μωρίην ἐπιφέρειν οἷσι· ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνθρωποφυέας ἐνόμισαν τοὺς θεοὺς, κατὰπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, εἶναι. οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν, ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότεα τῶν οὐρέων ἀναβαίνοντες, θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες· θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῇ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ μουνιοῖσι θύουσι ἀρχήθεν. ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρὰ τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων. καλέουσι δὲ Ἀσσύριοι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, Μίλιττα· Ἀράβιοι δὲ, Ἀλίττα· Πέρσαι δὲ, Μίτραν. Θυσίῃ δὲ τοῖσι 182  
Πέρσησι περὶ τοὺς εἰρημένους θεοὺς ἦδε κατέστηκε. οὔτε βωμοὺς ποιεῦνται, οὔτε πῦρ ἀνακαίουσι, μέλλοντες θύειν οὐ σπονδῇ χρέωνται, οὐκ αὐλῷ, οὐ στέμμασι, οὐκ οὐλῇσι. τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θέλει, ἐς χώρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτήνος, καλεῖ τὸν θεόν, ἐστεφανωμένος τὸν τιάραν μυρσίῃ μάλιστα. ἐωυτῷ μὲν δὴ τῷ θύοντι ἰδίῃ μόνῳ οὐ οἱ ἐγγίνεται ἀρᾶσθαι ἀγαθὰ· ὁ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖσι Πέρσησι κατεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι, καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι Πέρσησι καὶ αὐτὸς γίνεται. ἐπεὶ δὲ διαμιστύλας κατὰ μέρεα τὸ ἱρήϊον ἐφήσῃ τὰ κρέα, ὑποπάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ τριφυλλον, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἔθηκε ὦν πάντα τὰ κρέα· διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστὼς ἐπαιδεῖ θεογονίην, οἷν

δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπασιδὴν ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μίγον  
 οὐ σφί νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι. ἐπισχῶν δὲ ὁλόγον  
 χρόνον, ἀποφέρεται ὁ θύσας τὰ κρέα, καὶ χρᾶται ὃ τι  
 133 μὲν λόγος αἰρέει. Ἡμέρην δὲ ἀπασέων μάλιστα ἐκείνην  
 τιμᾶν νομίζουσι, τῇ ἕκαστος ἐγένετο. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ πλεον  
 δαῖτα τῶν ἄλλων δικαιοῦσι προτίθεσθαι· ἐν τῇ οἱ εὐδαί-  
 μονες αὐτῶν βούν καὶ ἵππον καὶ κάμηλον καὶ ὄνον προ-  
 τιθέαται, ὅλους ὀπτοὺς ἐν καμίνουσι· οἱ δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν  
 τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων προτιθέαται. σίτοισι δὲ ὁλό-  
 γοις χρέωνται, ἐπιφορήμασι δὲ πολλοῖσι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλέσσι  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο φασὶ Πέρσαι “ τοὺς Ἕλληνας σιτεομένους,  
 “ πεινῶντας παύεσθαι, ὅτι σφί ἀπὸ δεῖπνου παραφορέ-  
 “ εται οὐδὲν λόγου ἄξιον· εἰ δὲ τι παραφέροιτο, ἐσθίωντας  
 “ ἂν οὐ παύεσθαι.” οἶνω δὲ κάρτα προσκέαται· καὶ σφί  
 οὐκ ἐμέσαι ἔξεστι, οὐκὶ οὐρήσαι ἀντίον ἄλλου. ταῦτα  
 μὲν νῦν οὕτω φυλάσσεται. μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βου-  
 λείεσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων· τὸ δ’ ἂν  
 ἄδη σφί βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι  
 προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευώνται  
 καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτέφῃ ἦν δὲ  
 μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ’ ἂν νήφοντες προβουλεύσωνται,  
 134 μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι. Ἐντυγχάνοντες δ’ ἀλ-  
 λήλοισι ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, τῷδε ἂν τις διαγνοίῃ εἰ ὁμοῖοι  
 εἰσὶ οἱ συντυγχάνοντες· ἀντὶ γὰρ τοῦ προσαγορεύειν  
 ἀλλήλους, φιλέουσι τοῖσι στόμασι. ἦν δὲ ἢ οὐτερος  
 ὑποδεέστερος ὁλόγῳ, τὰς παρειὰς φιλέονται· ἦν δὲ πολλῷ  
 ἢ οὐτερος ἀγεννέστερος, προσπίπτων προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἔτε-  
 ρον. τιμῶσι δὲ ἐκ πάντων τοὺς ἄγχιστα ἐωυτῶν οἰκέ-  
 οντας, μετὰ γε ἐωυτούς· δεύτερα δὲ, τοὺς δευτέρους· μετὰ  
 δὲ, κατὰ λόγον προβαίνοντες τιμῶσι· ἥκιστα δὲ τοὺς  
 ἐωυτῶν ἑκαστάτῳ οἰκημένους ἐν τιμῇ ὄγονται· νομίζοντες  
 ἐωυτούς εἶναι ἀνθρώπων μακρῷ τὰ πάντα ἀρίστους, τοὺς  
 δὲ ἄλλους κατὰ λόγον τὸν λεγόμενον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντέχε-  
 σθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑκαστάτῳ οἰκέοντας ἀπὸ ἐωυτῶν κακίστους  
 εἶναι. Ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδων ἀρχόντων, καὶ ἤρχε τὰ ἔθνη  
 ἀλλήλων. συναπάντων μὲν Μῆδοι, καὶ τῶν ἄγχιστα  
 οἰκόντων σφίσι· οὗτοι δὲ, καὶ τῶν ὁμούρων· οἱ δὲ,  
 μάλιστα τῶν ἐχομένων. κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ λόγον καὶ

οἱ Πέρσαι τιμ  
 καὶ ἐπιτροπεύς  
 ἀνδρῶν μάλισ  
 νομίσαντες τῇ  
 τοὺς πολέμους.  
 τε παντοδαπὰς  
 ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων  
 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν  
 δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας  
 ἀποδέδεκται, μ  
 λους ἀποδέξη  
 νῦντι, δῶρα ἐκ  
 λὸν δ' ἡγάταται  
 ἀπὸ πενταέτεο  
 ἱππεύειν, καὶ  
 ταέτης γένητα  
 παρὰ τῇσι γι  
 οὔτω ποίεεται,  
 τῷ πατρὶ προσ  
 Αἰνέω μὲν  
 τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτ  
 φονεύειν, μήτε  
 οἰκετέων ἐπὶ  
 λογισάμενος ἦ  
 εόντα τῶν ὑπο  
 κτεῖναι δὲ οὐδ'  
 μητέρα, ἀλλὰ  
 τὴν φασὶ ἀνα  
 βολιμαῖα εόντα  
 ὄν γε ἀληθέω  
 κκειν. "Ἄσσα  
 ἔγειν ἔξεστι.  
 ισται· δεύτερ  
 ἄλλων εἵνεκα,  
 φείδοντα καὶ  
 ἔπρην ἢ λεύκ  
 δὲ συμμίσγει  
 τὸν ἥλιον ἀμ.

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- Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικόν, καὶ λόγου εὐλαχίστου ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληθῆσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι. αἱ δὲ δυώδεκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο, καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον· ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις· Ἰῶνων οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι
- 144 μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς, πρότερον δὲ Ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὦν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀγῶνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκίους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὦν Ἀλικαρνησεὺς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας, τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε· φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐσωτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνῖδος, ἐξεκλήϊσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησόν. τούτοις μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζη-
- 145 μίην ἐπέθηκαν. Δυώδεκα δὲ μοι δοκεῖν πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι πλεῖνας ἐσδέξασθαι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἴκεον, δυώδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα· κατάπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας, δυώδεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Πελλήνη μὲν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος· μετὰ δὲ, Αἰγείρα, καὶ Αἰγαί· (ἐν τῇ Κράθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστι, ἀπ' οὗ ὅ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε) καὶ Βοῦρα, καὶ Ἑλίκη, (ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες,) καὶ Αἰγιον, καὶ Ῥύπες, καὶ Πατρές, καὶ Φαρές, καὶ Ὠλενος, (ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστὶ) καὶ Δύμη,
- 146 καὶ Τριταῖες, οἱ μόνον τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυώδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τότε γε Ἰῶνων

οἱ Πέρσαι τιμῶσι· προέβαινε γὰρ δὴ τὸ ἔθνος ἄρχον τε καὶ ἐπιτροπεύον. Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμια Πέρσαι προσίενται 135 ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, νομίσαντες τῆς ἐωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίω, φορέουσι· καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας. καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι· καὶ δὴ καί, ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες, παισὶ μίσγονται. γαμέουσι δ' ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πολλὰς μὲν κουριδίας γυναῖκας, πολλὰ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας παλλακὰς κτῶνται. Ἀνδραγαθίῃ δ' αὕτη 136 ἀποδέδεκται, μετὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι ἀγαθόν, ὃς ἂν πολλοὺς ἀποδέξῃ παῖδας· τῷ δὲ τοὺς πλείστους ἀποδεικνύντι, δῶρα ἐκπέμπει ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος. τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέεται ἰσχυρόν εἶναι. παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι εἰκοσαέτεος, τρία μῶνα, ἱππεύειν, καὶ τοξεύειν, καὶ ἀληθίζεσθαι. πρὶν δὲ ἢ πενταέτης γένηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναῖξιν διαίταν ἔχει. τοῦ δὲ εἵνεκα τοῦτο οὕτω ποιεῖται, ἵνα ἦν ἀποθάνῃ τρεφόμενος, μηδεμίαν ἄσπην τῷ πατρὶ προσβάλῃ.

Αἰνέω μὲν νυν τόνδε τὸν νόμον· αἰνέω δὲ καὶ τόνδε, 137 τὸ μὴ μῆς αἰτίας εἵνεκα μήτε αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα μηδένα φονεύειν, μήτε τῶν ἄλλων Περσέων μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ οἰκετέων ἐπὶ μῇ αἰτίῃ ἀνήκεστον πάθος ἔρδειν· ἀλλὰ λογισάμενος ἦν εὐρίσκη πλέω τε καὶ μέζω τὰ ἀδικήματα ἔοντα τῶν ὑπουργημάτων, οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται. Ἀποκτείνει δὲ οὐδένα κω λέγουσι τὸν ἐωυτοῦ πατέρα, οὐδὲ μητέρα, ἀλλὰ ὅκόσα ἤδη τοιαῦτα ἐγένετο, πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην φασὶ ἀναζητούμενα ταῦτα ἀνευρεθῆναι ἥτοι ὑποβολιμαῖα ἔοντα, ἢ μοιχίδια· οὐ γὰρ δὴ φασὶ οἶκός εἶναι τὸν γε ἀληθῶς τοκέα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐωυτοῦ παιδὸς ἀποθνήσκειν. Ἄσσα δὲ σφί ποιεῖν οὐκ ἔξεστι, ταῦτα οὐδὲ 138 λέγειν ἔξεστι. αἰσχιστοῦ δὲ αὐτοῖσι τὸ ψεύδεσθαι νενόμισται· δεύτερα δὲ, τὸ ὀφείλειν χρέος πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων εἵνεκα, μάλιστα δὲ ἀναγκαίην φασὶ εἶναι, τὸν ὀφείλοντα καὶ τι ψεύδος λέγειν. Ὅς ἂν δὲ τῶν ἀστῶν λέπρην ἢ λεύκην ἔχῃ, ἐς πόλιν οὗτος οὐ κατέρχεται, οὐδὲ συμμίσγεται τοῖσι ἄλλοις· Πέρσῃσι φασὶ δὲ μὴ ἐς τὸν ἥλιον ἀμαρτόντα τι, ταῦτα ἔχειν. ξεῖνον δὲ πάντα,

τὸν λαμβανόμενον ὑπὸ τούτων, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐλαύνουσι ἐκ τῆς χώρας καὶ τὰς λευκὰς περιστερὰς, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίην ἐπιφέροντες. Ἐς ποταμὸν δὲ οὔτε ἐνουρέουσι, οὔτε ἐμπνύουσι, οὐ χεῖρας ἐναπονίζονται, οὐδὲ ἄλλον οὐδένα

139 περιορέωσι, ἀλλὰ σέβονται ποταμούς· μάλιστα. Καὶ τότε ἄλλο σφι ὧδε συμπέπτωκε γίνεσθαι, τὸ Πέρσας μὲν αὐτοὺς λέληθε, ἡμέας μέντοι οὐ. τὰ οὐνόματά σφι, ὄντα ὁμοῖα τοῖσι σώμασι καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ, τελευτῶσι πάντα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ γράμμα, τὸ Δωριέες μὲν Σὰν καλέουσι, Ἴωνες δὲ Σίγμα. ἐς τοῦτο διζήμενος εὐρήσεις τελευτῶντα τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοίως.

140 Ταῦτα μὲν ἀτρεκέως ἔχω περὶ αὐτῶν εἰδὼς εἰπεῖν. τάδε μέντοι ὡς κρυπτόμενα λέγεται, καὶ οὐ σαφηνέως, περὶ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος ὡς οὐ πρότερον θάπτεται ἀνδρὸς Πέρσεω ὁ νέκυς, πρὶν ἂν ὑπ' ὄρνιθος ἢ κυνὸς ἐλκυσθῇ. μάγους μὲν γὰρ ἀτρεκέως οἶδα ποιέοντας ταῦτα· ἐμφανέως γὰρ δὴ ποιεῦσι. κατακηρώσαντες δὴ ὦν τὸν νέκυν Πέρσαι, γῇ κρύπτουσι. Μάγοι δὲ κεχωριδαται πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἱρέων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνεύουσι ἔμφυχον μηδὲν κτείνειν, εἰ μὴ ὅσα θύουσι. οἱ δὲ δὴ μάγοι αὐτοχειρήν πάντα, πλὴν κυνὸς καὶ ἀνθρώπου, κτείνουσι καὶ ἀγωνισμα μέγα τοῦτο ποιεῦνται, κτείνοντες ὁμοίως μύρμηκας τε καὶ ὄφεις, καὶ τᾶλλα ἔρπετά καὶ πετεινά. καὶ ἀμφὶ μὲν τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ ἔχεται ὡς καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐνομίσθη. ἀνεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν πρότερον λόγον.

141 Ἴωνες δὲ καὶ Αἰολέες, ὡς οἱ Λυδοὶ τάχιστα κατεστράφατο ὑπὸ Περσέων, ἔπεμπον ἀγγέλους ἐς Σάρδις παρὰ Κύρον, ἐθέλοντες ἐπὶ τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι καὶ Κροίσῳ ἦσαν κατήκοοι. ὁ δὲ, ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὰ προσχεόντο, ἔλεξέ σφι λόγον· “Ἄνδρα, φάς, αὐλητὴν, ἰδόντα “ ἰχθὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, αὐλέειν, δοκέοντά σφεας ἐξελεύ- “ σεσθαι ἐς γῆν. ὡς δὲ ψευσθῆναι τῆς ἐλπίδος, λαβεῖν “ ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ περιβαλεῖν τε πλῆθος πολλὸν τῶν “ ἰχθύων καὶ ἐξειρύσαι. ἰδόντα δὲ παλλομένους, εἰπεῖν “ ἄρα αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἰχθῦς Παύεσθέ μοι ὀρχεόμενοι, “ ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἐμὸν αὐλέοντος ἠθέλετε ἐκβαίνειν ὀρχεόμενοι.”

Κῦρος μὲν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τοῖσι Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Αἰ-  
 ολεῦσι τῶνδε εἵνεκα ἔλεξε, ὅτι δὴ οἱ Ἰωνες πρότερον, αὐ-  
 τοῦ Κύρου δεηθέντος δι' ἀγγέλων ἀπίστασθαι σφεας ἀπὸ  
 Κροίσου, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο· τότε δέ, κατεργασμένων τῶν  
 πρηγμάτων, ἦσαν ἐτοιμοὶ πείθεσθαι Κύρῳ. ὁ μὲν δὴ,  
 ὀργῇ ἐχόμενος, ἔλεγέ σφι τάδε. Ἰωνες δέ ὥς ἤκουσαν  
 τούτων ἀνεκχιθέντων ἐς τὰς πόλιας, τείχεά τε περιε-  
 βάλλοντο ἕκαστοι, καὶ συνελέγοντο ἐς Πανιώνιον οἱ  
 ἄλλοι πλην Μιλησίων· πρὸς μούρους γὰρ τούτους ὄρκιον  
 Κῦρος ἐποίησατο, ἐπ' οἷσί περ ὁ Λυδός. τοῖσι δέ λοι-  
 ποῖσι Ἰωσι ἔδοξε κοινῶ λόγῳ πέμπειν ἀγγέλους ἐς Σπάρ-  
 την, δεησομένους Ἰωσι τιμωρέειν.

Οἱ δὲ Ἰωνες οὗτοι, τῶν καὶ τὸ Πανιώνιον ἐστί, τοῦ 142  
 μὲν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν ὥρέων ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ ἐτίγχανον  
 ἰδρυσάμενοι πόλιας πάντων ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.  
 οὔτε γὰρ τὰ ἄνω αὐτῆς χωρία τῶντὸ ποιεῖ τῇ Ἰωνίῃ,  
 οὔτε τὰ κάτω, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, οὔτε τὰ πρὸς τὴν  
 ἐσπέρην· τὰ μὲν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ πιεζό-  
 μενα· τὰ δέ, ὑπὸ τοῦ θερμοῦ τε καὶ ἀνχμῶδες. Γλῶσ-  
 σαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὗτοι νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους  
 τέσσαρας παρρηγογέων. Μιλητος μὲν αὐτῶν πρώτη κέ-  
 εται πόλις πρὸς μεσιμβρίην μετὰ δέ, Μιους τε καὶ  
 Πριήνη· αὗται μὲν ἐν τῇ Καρίῃ κατοικηνται, κατὰ ταῦτά  
 διαλεγόμεναί σφι. αἶδε δὲ ἐν τῇ Λυδίῃ Ἐφεσος, Κολο-  
 φᾶν, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια. αὗται δὲ  
 αἱ πόλεις τῇσι πρότερον λεχθείησι ὁμολογέουσι κατὰ  
 γλῶσσαν οὐδέν, σφι δὲ ὁμοφωνέουσι. ἔτι δὲ τρεῖς ὑπό-  
 λοιποι Ἰάδες πόλεις, τῶν αἱ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται,  
 Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον· ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῇ ἠπειρῷ ἰδρυται, Ἐρυ-  
 θραί. Χῖοι μὲν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραῖοι κατὰ τῶντὸ δια-  
 λέγονται, Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μούνοι. οὗτοι χαρα-  
 κτήρες γλῶσσης τέσσαρες γίνονται.

Τούτων δὴ ὧν τῶν Ἰόνων οἱ Μιλήσιοι μὲν ἦσαν 143  
 ἐν σκέπη τοῦ φόβου, ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι. τοῖσι δὲ αὐ-  
 τῶν νησιώτῃσι ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· οὔτε γὰρ Φοίνικες ἦσαν  
 καὶ Περσέων κατήκοοι, οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Πέρσαι ναυβάται.  
 Ἀπεσχίσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων Ἰόνων οὗτοι κατ'  
 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ἀσθενέος δὲ ἐόντος τοῦ παντός τότε

- Ἑλληνικοῦ γένεος, πολλῶ δὲ ἦν ἀσθενέστατον τῶν ἐθνέων τὸ Ἴωνικόν, καὶ λόγου ἐλαχίστου ὅτι γὰρ μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα λόγιμον. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκλησθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι. αἱ δὲ δυνάδεκα πόλεις αὗται τῷ τε οὐνόματι ἠγάλλοντο, καὶ ἱρὸν ἰδρύσαντο ἐπὶ σφέων αὐτῶν, τῷ οὖνομα ἔθεντο Πανιώνιον ἐβουλεύσαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ μεταδοῦναι μηδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις· Ἴωνων οὐδ' ἐδεήθησαν δὲ οὐδαμοὶ μετασχεῖν, ὅτι
- 144 μὴ Σμυρναῖοι. Κατάπερ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Πενταπόλιος νῦν χώρας Δωριεῖς, πρότερον δὲ Ἐξαπόλιος τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης καλεομένης, φυλάσσονται ὦν μηδαμοὺς ἐσδέξασθαι τῶν προσοίκων Δωριέων ἐς τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱρὸν· ἀλλὰ καὶ σφέων αὐτῶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἀνομήσαντας ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς. ἐν γὰρ τῷ ᾧῳνι τοῦ Τριοπίου Ἀπόλλωνος ἐτίθεσαν τὸ πάλαι τρίποδας χαλκέους τοῖσι νικῶσι· καὶ τούτους χρῆν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας ἐκ τοῦ ἱροῦ μὴ ἐκφέρειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀνατιθέναι τῷ θεῷ. ἀνὴρ ὦν Ἀλικαρνησσεὺς, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Ἀγασικλῆς, νικήσας, τὸν νόμον κατηλόγησε φέρων δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἑωυτοῦ οἰκία προσεπασσάλευσε τὸν τρίποδα. διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίην αἱ πέντε πόλεις, Λίνδος, καὶ Ἰήλυσσός τε καὶ Κάμειρος, καὶ Κῶς τε καὶ Κνῖδος, ἐξεκλήσαν τῆς μετοχῆς τὴν ἕκτην πόλιν Ἀλικαρνησσόν. τοῖτοις μὲν νυν οὗτοι ταύτην τὴν ζη-
- 145 μίην ἐπέθηκαν. Δυνάδεκα δὲ μοι δοκέουσι πόλιας ποιήσασθαι οἱ Ἴωνες, καὶ οὐκ ἐβελῆσαι πλεῦνας ἐσδέξασθαι, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι καὶ ὅτε ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ οἶκεον, δυνάδεκα ἦν αὐτῶν μέρεα· κατάπερ νῦν Ἀχαιῶν, τῶν ἐξελασάντων Ἴωνας, δυνάδεκά ἐστι μέρεα. Πελλήνη μὲν τε πρώτη πρὸς Σικυῶνος μετὰ δὲ Αἰγείρα, καὶ Αἰγαί· (ἐν τῇ Κρᾶθις ποταμὸς ἀένναός ἐστι, ἀπ' οὗ ὅ ἐν Ἰταλίῃ ποταμὸς τὸ οὖνομα ἔσχε) καὶ Βοῦρα, καὶ Ἑλίκη, (ἐς τὴν κατέφυγον Ἴωνες ὑπὸ Ἀχαιῶν μάχῃ ἐσσωθέντες,) καὶ Αἰγίον, καὶ Ῥύπες, καὶ Πατρές, καὶ Φαρές, καὶ Ὀλενος, (ἐν τῷ Πείρῳ ποταμὸς μέγας ἐστί) καὶ Δύμη,
- 146 καὶ Τριταιές, οἱ μόννοι τούτων μεσόγαιοι οἰκέουσι. Ταῦτα δυνάδεκα μέρεα νῦν Ἀχαιῶν ἐστί, καὶ τότε γε Ἴωνων

ἦν. τούτων δὴ εἵνεκα καὶ οἱ Ἴωνες δυνάδεκα πόλιας ἐποίησαντο· ἐπεὶ, ὥς γε τι μᾶλλον οὗτοι Ἴωνες εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἢ κάλλιον τι γεγόνασι, μωρὴ πολλή λέγειν τῶν Ἀβαντες μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίης εἰσὶ οὐκ ἐλαχίστη μοῖρα, τοῖσι Ἰωνίης μετὰ οὐδὲ τοῦ οὐνόματος οὐδὲν Μινύαι δὲ Ὀρχομένιοι ἀναμεμίχεται, καὶ Καδμεῖοι, καὶ Δρύοπες, καὶ Φωκῆες ἀποδάσμιοι, καὶ Μολοσσοί, καὶ Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί, καὶ Δωριεῖς Ἐπιδαύριοι, ἄλλα τε ἔθνεα πολλὰ ἀναμεμίχεται. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανήτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὀρμηθέντες, καὶ νομίζοντες γενναϊότατοι εἶναι Ἰώνων, οὗτοι δὲ οὐ γυναῖκας ἠγάγοντο ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην, ἀλλὰ Κασίρας ἔσχον, τῶν ἐφόνευσαν τοὺς γονέας. διὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν φόνον αἱ γυναῖκες αὐται, νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὄρκους ἐπήλασαν, καὶ παρέδοσαν τῇσι θυγατράσι, μὴ κοτε ὁμοσιτῆσαι τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, μηδὲ οὐνόματι βῶσαι τὸν ἐωυτῆς ἄνδρα· τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ἐφόνευσαν σφέων τοὺς πατέρας καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ παῖδας, καὶ ἔπειτεν, ταῦτα ποιήσαντες, αὐτῇσι συνοίκεον. ταῦτα δὲ ἦν γινόμενα ἐν Μιλήτῳ. Βασιλέας δὲ ἐστήσαντο, οἱ 147 μὲν αὐτῶν, Λυκίους, ἀπὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἴππολόχου γεγονότας· οἱ δὲ, Καύκωνας Πυλίου, ἀπὸ Κόδρου τοῦ Μελάνθου· οἱ δὲ, καὶ συναμφοτέρους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ περιέχονται τοῦ οὐνόματος μᾶλλον τι τῶν ἄλλων Ἰώνων, ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες· εἰσὶ δὲ πάντες Ἴωνες, ὅσοι ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν γεγόνασι, καὶ Ἀπατούρια ἄγουσι ὀρτῇ. ἄγουσι δὲ πάντες, πλὴν Ἐφεσίων καὶ Κολοφωνίων· οὗτοι γὰρ μῦνοι Ἰώνων οὐκ ἄγουσι Ἀπατούρια· καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ φόνου τινα σκῆψιν. Τὸ δὲ 148 Πανιώνιον ἐστὶ τῆς Μυκάλης χῶρος ἱρὸς πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένος, κοινῇ ἐξαραιρημένος ὑπὸ Ἰώνων Ποσειδέωνι Ἑλικωνίῳ ἢ δὲ Μυκάλῃ ἐστὶ τῆς ἠπείρου ἄκρῃ, πρὸς ξέφυρον ἄνεμον κατήκουσα Σάμῳ, ἐς τὴν συλλεγόμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν Ἴωνες, ἄγασκον ὀρτῇ, τῇ ἔθεντο οὐνομα Πανιώνια. πεπόνθασι δὲ οὐτι μῦναι αἱ Ἰώνων ὀρται τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλήνων πάντων ὁμοίως πᾶσαι ἐς ταῦτ' ἡράμματα τελευτῶσι, κατὰπερ τῶν Περσέων τὰ οὐνόματα.

Αὗται μὲν αἱ Ἰάδες πόλιες εἰσι. Αἴδε δὲ αἱ Αἰολίδες, 149

- Κύμη, ἡ Φρικωνίς καλεομένη, Λήρισσαι, Νέον τεῖχος, Τήμνος, Κίλλα, Νότιον, Λίγυρόεσσα, Πιτάνη, Αἰγαίαι, Μύρινα, Γρύνεια· αὗται ἑνδεκα Αἰολέων πόλεις αἱ ἀρχαῖαι. μία γάρ σφεων παρελύθη ὑπὸ Ἰώνων, Σμύρνη. ἦσαν γὰρ καὶ αὗται δυνάδεκα αἱ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῃ. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ Αἰολεὺς χώρην μὲν ἔτυχον κτίσαντες ἀμεινω Ἰώνων,
- 150 ὥρέων δὲ ἤκουσαν οὐκ ὁμοίως. Σμύρνην δὲ ὠδε ἀπέβαλον Αἰολεὺς. Κολοφωνίους ἄνδρας στάσι ἐσσωθέντας, καὶ ἐκπεσόντας ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, ὑπεδέξαντο. μετὰ δέ, οἱ φυγάδες τῶν Κολοφωνίων φυλάξαντες τοὺς Σμυρναίους ὀρθὴν ἔξω τείχεος ποιευμένους Διούσῳ, τὰς πύλας ἀποκληίσαντες, ἔσχον τὴν πόλιν. βοηθησάντων δὲ πάντων Αἰολέων, ὁμολογίῃ ἐχρήσαντο, τὰ ἐπιπλα ἀποδόντων τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐκλιπεῖν Σμύρνην Αἰολέας. ποιησάντων δὲ ταῦτα Σμυρναίων, ἐπιδιείλοντό σφεας αἱ ἑνδεκα πόλεις,
- 151 καὶ ἐποιήσαντο σφέων αὐτέων πολίητας. Αὗται μὲν νυν αἱ ἡπειρώτιδες Αἰολίδες πόλεις, ἔξω τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ οἰκημένων κεχωρῖδται γὰρ αὗται. αἱ δὲ τὰς νήσους ἔχουσαι, πέντε μὲν πόλεις τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ ἑκτην ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ οἰκεομένην Ἀρίσβαν ἠνδραπόδισαν Μηθυμναῖοι, εἶοντας ὁμαίμους. ἐν Τενέδῳ δὲ μία οἰκέεται πόλις, καὶ ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νήσοισι καλεομένησι ἄλλη μία. Λεσβίοισι μὲν νυν καὶ Τενεδίοισι, κατὰπερ Ἰώνων τοῖσι τὰς νήσους ἔχουσι, ἦν δεινὸν οὐδέν· τῇσι δὲ λοιπῇσι πόλισι ἄδε κοινῇ Ἰωσι ἐπεσθαι, τῇ ἂν οὗτοι ἐξηγγέλωνται.
- 152 Ὡς δὲ ἀπικέατο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην τῶν Ἰώνων καὶ Αἰολέων οἱ ἄγγελοι, (κατὰ γὰρ δὴ τάχος ἦν ταῦτα πρησόμενα,) εἶλοντο πρὸ πάντων λέγειν τὸν Φωκαέα, τῷ ὄνομα ἦν Πύθερμος. ὁ δὲ, πορφύρεόν τε εἶμι περιβαλόμενος, ὡς ἂν πυνθανόμενοι πλείστοι συνέλθοιεν Σπαρτιγτέων, καὶ καταστάς, ἔλεγε πολλὰ, τιμωρέειν ἑωυτοῖσι χρήζων. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐ κως ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξέ σφι μὴ τιμωρέειν Ἰωσι. οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀπαλλάσσοντο· Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἀπωσάμενοι τῶν Ἰώνων τοὺς ἀγγέλους, ὁμῶς ἀπέστειλαν πεντηκοντέρῳ ἄνδρας, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, κατασκόπους τῶν τε Κύρου πρηγμάτων καὶ Ἰωνίης. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ οὗτοι ἐς Φώκαιαν, ἐπεμπον ἐς Σάρδεις σφέων αὐτῶν τὸν δοκιμώτατον, τῷ ὄνομα ἦν Λακρίνης,

ἀπερέοντα Κύρῳ Λακεδαιμονίων ῥῆσιν, “ γῆς τῆς Ἑλλά-  
 “ δος μηδεμίαν πόλιν σιναμωρέειν, ὥς αὐτῶν οὐ περιοίσο-  
 “ μένων.” Ταῦτα εἰπόντος τοῦ κήρυκος, λέγεται Κύρον 153  
 ἐπέλρεσθαι τοὺς παρεόντας οἱ Ἑλλήνων “ τίνες ἐόντες  
 “ ἄνθρωποι Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ κόσιοι πλήθος, ταῦτα  
 “ ἐωυτῷ προαγορεύουσι.” πυυθανόμενον δέ μιν, εἰπεῖν  
 πρὸς τὸν κήρυκα τὸν Σπαρτιήτην· “ Οὐκ ἔδεισά κω ἄν-  
 “ δρας τοιούτους, τοῖσι ἐστὶ χώρος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει  
 “ ἀποδεδεγμένος, ἐς τὸν συλλεγόμενοι ἀλλήλους ὁμοῦντες  
 “ ἔξαπατῶσι. τοῖσι, ἣν ἐγὼ ὑγιαίνω, οὐ τὰ Ἰώνων πάθρα  
 “ ἔσται ἔλλεσχα, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήια.” Ταῦτα ἐς τοὺς πάν-  
 τας Ἑλληνας ἀπέρριψε ὁ Κύρος τὰ ἔπρα, ὅτι ἀγορὰς  
 κτησάμενοι ὦνῃ τε καὶ πρήσει χρέωνται. αὐτοὶ γὰρ οἱ  
 Πέρσαι ἀγορῇσι οὐδὲν ἐώθασι χρῆσθαι, οὐδέ σφί ἐστι τὸ  
 παράπαν ἀγορῇ. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἐπιτρέψας τὰς μὲν Σάρδις  
 Ταβάλῳ ἀνδρὶ Πέρσῃ, τὸν δὲ χρυσόν, τὸν τε Κροῖσου  
 καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων Λυδῶν, Πακτῆ ἀνδρὶ Λυδῷ κομίζειν,  
 ἀπήλαυε αὐτὸς ἐς Ἀγβάτανα, Κροῖσόν τε ἅμα ἀγόμενος,  
 καὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ποιησάμενος τὴν πρώτην  
 εἶναι. ἥ τε γὰρ Βαβυλῶν οἱ ἦν ἐμπόδιος, καὶ τὸ Βά-  
 κτριον ἔθνος, καὶ Σάκαι τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπ’ οὓς ἐπέιχε  
 τε στρατηλατέειν αὐτὸς, ἐπὶ δὲ Ἴωνας ἄλλον πέμπειν  
 στρατηγόν.

Ὡς δὲ ἀπήλασε ὁ Κύρος ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, τοὺς Λυ- 154  
 δοὺς ἀπέστησε ὁ Πακτῆς ἀπὸ τε Ταβάλου καὶ Κύρου  
 καταβάς δὲ ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἅτε τὸν χρυσὸν ἔχων πάντα  
 τὸν ἐκ τῶν Σαρδίων, ἐπικούρους τε ἐμισθοῦτο, καὶ τοὺς  
 ἐπιθαλασσίους ἀνθρώπους ἐπειθε σὺν ἐωυτῷ στρατεύ-  
 εσθαι. ἐλάσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδις ἐπολιόρκεε Τάβαλον,  
 ἀπεργγμένον ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. Πυθόμενος δὲ κατ’ ὁδόν 155  
 ταῦτα ὁ Κύρος, εἶπε πρὸς Κροῖσον τάδε. “ Κροῖσε, τί  
 “ ἔσται τὸ τέλος τῶν γινομένων τούτων ἐμοί; οὐ παύ-  
 “ σονται Λυδοὶ, ὥς οἴκασι, πρήγματα παρέχοντες, καὶ  
 “ αὐτοὶ ἔχοντες. φροντίξω, μὴ ἀριστον ἢ ἐξανδραποδί-  
 “ σασθαί σφρας. ὁμοίως γὰρ μοι νῦν γε φαίνομαι πε-  
 “ ποιηκέναι, ὥς εἴ τις πατέρα ἀποκτείνας, τῶν παίδων  
 “ αὐτοῦ φείσασθαι· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Λυδῶν τὸν μὲν πλέον  
 “ τι ἢ πατέρα ἐόντα σὲ λαβὼν ἄγω, αὐτοῖσι δὲ Λυδοῖσι

- “τὴν πόλιν παρέδωκα· καὶ ἔπειτα θωμάζω εἰ μοι ἀπε-  
 “στασι;” Ὁ μὲν δὴ τὰ περ νύεε, ἔλεγε· ὁ δ’ ἀμείβετο  
 τοῖσδε, δέσας μὴ ἀναστάτους ποιήσῃ τὰς Σάρδεις· “ὦ  
 “βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν οἰκόντα εἰρηκας· σὺ μέντοι μὴ πάντα  
 “θυμῷ χρέω, μηδὲ πόλιν ἀρχαίην ἐξαναστήσης, ἀναμάρ-  
 “τητον εἶδους καὶ τῶν πρότερον, καὶ τῶν νῦν ἐστεώτων.  
 “τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἐγὼ τε ἐπρηξα, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐμῇ  
 “κεφαλῇ ἀναμάξας φέρω. τὰ δὲ νῦν παρεόντα, Πακτύης  
 “γὰρ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀδικῶν, τῷ σὺ ἐπέτρεψας Σάρδεις, οὗτος  
 “δότης τοι δίκην. Λυδοῖσι δὲ συγγνώμην ἔχων, τάδε  
 “αὐτοῖσι ἐπιτάξον, ὥς μήτε ὑποστέωσι, μήτε δεινοὶ τοι  
 “ἔωσι. ἄπειπε μὲν σφὶ πέμψας ὅπλα ἀρήϊα μὴ ἐκτῇ-  
 “σθαι· κέλευε δὲ σφεας κιθωνάς τε ὑποδύνειν τοῖσι εἰ-  
 “μασι, καὶ κοθόρνους ὑποδέεσθαι· πρόειπε δ’ αὐτοῖσι  
 “κιθαρίζειν τε καὶ ψάλλειν καὶ καπηλεύειν παιδεύειν  
 “τοὺς παῖδας. καὶ ταχέως σφέας, ὦ βασιλεῦ, γυναῖκας  
 “ἀντ’ ἀνδρῶν ὄψεαι γεγονότας, ὥστε οὐδὲν δεινοὶ τοι  
 156 “ἔσονται μὴ ἀποστέωσι.” Κροῖσος μὲν δὴ ταῦτά οἱ  
 ὑπετίθετο, αἰρετώτερα ταῦτα εὐρίσκων Λυδοῖσι, ἢ ἀνδρα-  
 ποδισθέντας πρηθῆναι σφέας· ἐπιστάμενος ὅτι ἦν μὴ  
 ἀξιοχρεῶν προφασιν προτελεῖν, οὐκ ἀναπελσει μὴ μετα-  
 βουλευσασθαι· ἀρρωδέων δὲ, μὴ καὶ ὕστερόν κοτε οἱ  
 Λυδοὶ, ἦν τὸ παρεὸν ὑπεκδράμωσι, ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τῶν  
 Περσέων ἀπόλωνται. Κύρος δὲ ἤσθεις τῇ ὑποθήκῃ, καὶ  
 ὑπεὶς τῆς ὀργῆς, ἔφη οἱ πείθεσθαι. καλέσας δὲ Μαζάρεα  
 ἄνδρα Μῆδον, ταῦτά οἱ ἐντείλατο προειπεῖν Λυδοῖσι, τὰ  
 ὁ Κροῖσος ὑπετίθετο· καὶ πρὸς, ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι τοὺς  
 ἄλλους πάντας, οἱ μετὰ Λυδῶν ἐπὶ Σάρδεις ἐστρατεύ-  
 σαντο, αὐτὸν δὲ Πακτύην πάντως ζῶντα ἀγαγεῖν παρ’  
 ἐωυτὸν.
- 157 Ὁ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐντείλαμενος, ἀπῆλυνε  
 ἐς ἡθεα τὰ Περσέων. Πακτύης δὲ πυθόμενος ἀγχοῦ εἶναι  
 στρατὸν ἐπ’ ἐωυτὸν ἰόντα, δέσας ὄψετο φεύγων ἐς Κύμην.  
 Μαζάρης δὲ ὁ Μῆδος ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὰς Σάρδεις, τοῦ Κύρου  
 στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὀσηνδῆκοτε ἔχων, ὥς οὐκ εὖρε ἔτι ἔοντας  
 τοὺς ἀμφὶ Πακτύην ἐν Σάρδισι, πρῶτα μὲν τοὺς Λυδοὺς  
 ἠρώκασε τὰς Κύρου ἐντολὰς ἐπιτελέειν ἐκ τούτου δὲ  
 κελευσμοσύνης Λυδοὶ τὴν πᾶσαν δίαιταν τῆς ζῆς μετέ-

βαλον. Μαξίρης δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔπεμπε ἐς τὴν Κύμην ἀγγέλους, ἐκδιδόναι κελεύων Πακτύνην οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖοι ἔγνωσαν, συμβουλῆς πέρι ἐς θεὸν ἀνῶσαι τὸν ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτόθι μαντήιον ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἱδρυμένον, τῷ Ἰωνέσι τε πάντες καὶ Αἰολέες ἐώθεσαν χρέεσθαι. ὁ δὲ χώρος οὗτος ἐστὶ τῆς Μιλησίης ὑπὲρ Πανόρμου λιμένος. Πέμψαντες ὧν οἱ Κυμαῖοι ἐς τοὺς Βραγχίδας θεοπρόπους, 158 εἰρώτευν “περὶ Πακτύνην ὁκοῖόν τι ποιεόντες θεοῖσι μέλλ’ ἵκειν χαριεῖσθαι.” ἐπειρωτῶσι δὲ σφί ταῦτα χρηστήριον ἐγένετο “ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσῃσι.” Ταῦτα δὲ ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, ὀρμέατο ἐκδιδόναι. ὀρμεωμένου δὲ ταύτῃ τοῦ πλήθους, Ἀριστόδικος ὁ Ἡρακλίδεω, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν ἐὼν δόκιμος, ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους, ἀπιστέων τε τῷ χρησμῷ, καὶ δοκῶν τοὺς θεοπρόπους οὐ λέγειν ἀληθῆρας ἐς ὃ, τὸ δεύτερον περὶ Πακτύεω ἐπειρησόμενοι, ἦσαν ἄλλοι θεοπρόποι, 159 τῶν καὶ Ἀριστόδικος ἦν. Ἀπικομένων δὲ ἐς Βραγχίδας, ἐχρηστηριάζετο ἐκ πάντων Ἀριστόδικος, ἐπειρωτέων ταῦτα “ὦ ναξ, ἦλθε παρ’ ἡμέας ἱκέτης Πακτύης ὁ Ἀνδρὸς, φεύγων θάνατον βίαιον πρὸς Περσέων οἱ δὲ μιν ἐξαιτέονται, προεῖναι Κυμαίους κελεύοντες ἡμεῖς δὲ δειμαίνοντες τὴν Περσέων δύναμιν, τὸν ἱκέτην ἐς τόδε οὐ τετολμήκαμεν ἐκδιδόναι, πρὶν ἂν τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ ἡμῖν δηλωθῇ ἀτρικέως ὁκότερα ποιέωμεν.” Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα ἐπειρώτα ὁ δ’ αὖτις τὸν αὐτὸν σφί χρησμὸν ἔφαινε, κελεύων ἐκδιδόναι Πακτύνην Πέρσῃσι. πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Ἀριστόδικος ἐκ προνοίας ἐποίησε τάδε περιύων τὸν νηὸν κύκλῳ, ἐξαίρει τοὺς στρουθοὺς, καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἦν νεοσσευμένα ὀρνίθων γένεα ἐν τῷ νηῷ. ποιέοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα, λέγεται φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ αἵντου γενέσθαι, φέρουσιν μὲν πρὸς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, λέγουσαν δὲ τάδε “Ἀνοσιώτατε ἀνθρώπων, τί τάδε τολμᾷς ποιεῖν; τοὺς ἱκέτας μου ἐκ τοῦ νηοῦ κερατίζεις;” Ἀριστόδικον δὲ, οὐκ ἀπορήσαντα, πρὸς ταῦτα εἰπεῖν “ὦ ναξ, αὐτὸς μὲν οὕτω τοῖσι ἱκέτῃσι βοηθείς Κυμαίους δὲ κελεύεις τὸν ἱκέτην ἐκδιδόναι;” Τὸν δὲ αὖτις ἀμείψασθαι τοῖσδε. “Ναὶ κελεύω, ἵνα γε ἀσεβήσαντες θάσσον ἀπόλησθε ὡς μὴ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ ἱκετέων ἐκδόσιος ἔλθῃτε ἐπὶ τὸ

- 160 "χρηστήριον." Ταῦτα ὡς ἀπενειχθέντα ἤκουσαν οἱ Κυμαῖοι, οὐ βουλόμενοι οὔτε ἐκδόντες ἱπολέσθαι, οὔτε παρ᾽ ἐαυτοῖσι ἔχοντες πολιορκέεσθαι, ἐς Μυτιλήνην αὐτοὶ ἐκπέμπουσιν. οἱ δὲ Μυτιληναῖοι, ἐπιπέμποντος τοῦ Μαζάρους ἀγγελίας ἐκδιδόναι τὸν Πακτῆν, παρσκευάζοντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ ὅσῳ δὴ· οὐ γὰρ ἔχω τοῦτό γε εἰπεῖν ἀτρεκέως οὐ γὰρ ἐτελεώθη. Κυμαῖοι γὰρ, ὡς ἔμαθον ταῦτα πρησόμενα ἐκ τῶν Μυτιληναίων, πέμψαντες πλοῖον ἐς Λέσβον, ἐκκομίζουσι Πακτῆν ἐς Χίον. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐξ ἱεροῦ Ἀθηναίης Πολιούχου ἀποσπασθεὶς ὑπὸ Χίων, ἐξεδόθη· ἐξέδοσαν δὲ οἱ Χῖοι ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ τοῦ δὲ Ἀταρνέος τούτου ἐστὶ χώρος τῆς Μυσίης, Λέσβου ἀντίος. Πακτῆν μὲν νυν παραδεξάμενοι οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον ἐν φυλακῇ, θέλοντες Κύρῳ ἀποδέξαι. ἦν δὲ χρόνος οὗτος οὐκ ὀλίγος γενόμενος, ὅτε Χίων οὐδεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταρνέος τούτου οὔτε οὐλὰς κριθῶν πρόχυσιν ἐποιέετο θεῶν οὐδενί, οὔτε πέμματα ἐπέσσετο καρποῦ τοῦ ἐνθεῦτεν, ἀπείχετό τε τῶν πάντων ἱρῶν τὰ πάντα ἐκ τῆς χώρας ταύτης γινόμενα.
- 161 Χῖοι μὲν νυν Πακτῆν ἐξέδοσαν. Μαζάρης δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐστρατεύετο ἐπὶ τοὺς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλαν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, Πριηνέας ἐξηνδραποδίσαστο· τοῦτο δὲ, Μαϊάνδρου πεδῖον πᾶν ἐπέδραμε, ληθῆν ποιεύμενος τῷ στρατῷ Μαγνησίην δὲ ὡσαύτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτίκα
- 162 νούσω τελευτᾷ. Ἀποθανόντος δὲ τούτου, Ἀρπαγος κατέβη διάδοχος τῆς στρατηγίης, γένος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐὼν Μῆδος, τὸν ὁ Μήδων βασιλεὺς Ἀστυάγης ἀνόμῳ τραπέξῃ ἔδαισε, ὁ τῷ Κύρῳ τὴν βασιληίην συγκατεργασάμενος. οὗτος ὁ ἦν τότε ὑπὸ Κύρου στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθεὶς, ὡς ἀπείκετο ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, αἶρεε τὰς πόλεις χῶμασι ὅκως γὰρ τειχήρεας ποιήσῃ, τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν χῶματα χῶν πρὸς τὰ τείχεα ἐπόρθει. πρώτη δὲ Φωκαίῃ Ἰωνίης ἐπεχείρησε.
- 163 Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες οὗτοι ναυτιλήσῃ μακρῇσι πρῶτοι Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τὸν τε Ἀδρίην καὶ τὴν Τυρσηνίην καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίην καὶ τὸν Ταρτησσὸν οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες. ἐναυτίλλοντο δὲ οὐ στρογγύλῃσι νηυσὶ, ἀλλὰ πεντηκοντέροισι. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν Ταρτησσὸν,

προσφιλέες ἐγένοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταρτησίων, τῷ οὐνομα μὲν ἦν Ἀργανθώνιος· ἐτυράννευσε δὲ Ταρτησσοῦ ὀγδῶκοντα ἔτεα, ἐβίωσε δὲ πάντα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνδρὶ προσφιλέες οἱ Φωκαῖές οὕτω δὴ τι ἐγένοντο, ὥς τὰ μὲν πρῶτά σφεας ἐκλιπόντας Ἰωνίην ἐκέλευε τῆς ἐνωτοῦ χώρης οἰκῆσαι ὅκου βούλονται· μετὰ δὲ, ὥς τοῦτό γε οὐκ ἔπειθε τοὺς Φωκαῖεας, ὁ δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Μῆδον παρ' αὐτῶν ὥς αὖξοιτο, ἐδίδου σφι χρήματα τείχος περιβαλέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. ἐδίδου δὲ ἀφειδέως· καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἡ περίοδος τοῦ τείχεος οὐκ ὀλίγοι στάδιοι εἰσι· τοῦτο δὲ πᾶν λίθων μεγάλων καὶ εὖ συναρμοσμένων. Τὸ μὲν δὴ τείχός τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι τρόπῳ 164 τοιῷδε ἐξεποιήθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀρπαγος ὥς ἐπήλασε τὴν στρατιήν, ἐπολιόρκει αὐτοὺς, προῖσχύμενος ἔπεα “ὥς οἱ κατα-  
“χρᾶ, εἰ βούλονται Φωκαῖές προμαχεῶνα ἓνα μῦνον  
“τοῦ τείχεος ἐρεῖψαι, καὶ οἴκημα ἐν κατιρῶσαι.” οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές, περιημεκτέοντες τῇ δουλοσίῃ, ἔφασαν “θέ-  
“λειν βουλευσασθαι ἡμέρην μίαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ὑποκρι-  
“νέεσθαι. ἐν ᾧ δὲ βουλευόνται αὐτοὶ, ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐκείνον  
“ἐκέλευον τὴν στρατιήν ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος.” Ὁ δ' Ἀρ-  
παγος ἔφη “εἰδέναι μὲν εὖ τὰ ἐκείνοι μέλλοιεν ποιεῖν,  
“ὅμως δὲ σφι παρίεναι βουλευσασθαι.” Ἐν ᾧ ὦν ὁ  
Ἀρπαγος ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχεος ἀπήγαγε τὴν στρατιήν, οἱ Φωκαῖές ἐν τούτῳ κατασπάσαντες τὰς πεντηκοντέρους, ἐσθήμενοι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ ἔπιπλα πάντα, πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα, χωρὶς ὅ τι χαλκὸς ἢ λίθος ἢ γραφὴ ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα ἐσθέντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐσβάντες, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ Χίου. τὴν δὲ Φωκαίην ἐρημωθείσαν ἀνδρῶν ἔσχον οἱ Πέρσαι. Οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖές, ἐπεὶ τε σφι Χίοι τὰς νήσους τὰς Οἰ- 165  
νούσας καλεομένας οὐκ ἐβούλonto ὠνεομένοισι πωλέειν, δειμαίνοντες μὴ αἱ μὲν ἐμπόριον γένωνται, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν νήσος ἀποκληῖσθῃ τούτου εἵνεκα, πρὸς ταῦτα οἱ Φωκαῖές ἐστέλλοντο ἐς Κύρνον (ἐν γὰρ τῇ Κύρῳ εἴκοσι ἔτεσι πρότερον τούτων ἐκ θεοπροπίου ἀνεστήσαντο πόλιν, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Ἀλαλίη· Ἀργανθώνιος δὲ τηνικαῦτα ἤδη τετελευτήκει) στελλόμενοι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, πρῶτα καταπλεύσαντες ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην, κατεφόνευσαν τῶν Περσέων

- τὴν φυλακὴν, ἣ ἐφρούρει παραδεξαμένη παρὰ Ἀρπάγου τὴν πόλιν. μετὰ δέ, ὡς τοῦτο σφί ἐξέργαστο, ἐποίησαν ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας τῷ ὑπολειπομένῳ ἐωυτῶν τοῦ στόλου πρὸς δὲ ταύτησι, καὶ μύδρον σιδήρεον κατεπόντωσαν, κῶμοσαν “μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φωκαίην ἤξειν, πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύδρον τοῦτον ἀναφῆναι.” Στελλομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Κύρνον, ὑπὲρ ἡμίσεας τῶν ἀστῶν ἔλαβε πόθος τε καὶ οἶκτος τῆς πόλιος καὶ τῶν ἡθέων τῆς χώρης ψευδόρκει δὲ γενόμενοι, ἀπέπλεον ὀπίσω ἐς τὴν Φωκαίην. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ ὄρκιον ἐφύλασσαν, ἀερθέντες ἐκ τῶν Οἰνυσι
- 166 σέων ἔπλεον. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐς τὴν Κύρνον ἀπίκοντο, οἱ κεον κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν πρότερον ἀπικομένων ἐπ’ ἕτεα πέντε καὶ ἰρὰ ἐνιδρύσαντο. καὶ ἄγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον τοὺς περιούκους ἅπαντας, στρατεύονται ὧν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς κοινῇ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι Τυρσηνοὶ καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι, νηυσὶ ἐκάτεροι ἐξήκοντα. οἱ δὲ Φωκαῖες πληρώσαντες καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πλοῖα, ὄντα ἀριθμὸν ἐξήκοντα, ἀντίζον ἐς τὸ Σαρδόνιον καλούμενον πέλαγος. συμμασιγόντων δὲ τῇ ναυμαχίῃ, Καδμείῃ τις νίκη τοῖσι Φωκαεῦσι ἐγένετο. αἱ δὲ μὲν γὰρ τεσσεράκοντά σφί νῆες διεφθάρησαν. αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι αἱ περιεούσαι, ἦσαν ἄχρηστοι· ἀπεστράφατο γὰρ τοὺς ἐμβόλους. καταπλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀλαλίην, αὐτὰ ἔλαβον τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κτῆσιν ὅσην οἱαὶ τε ἐγίνοντο αἱ νῆες σφί ἄγειν καὶ ἔπειτα
- 167 ἀφέντες τὴν Κύρνον ἔπλεον ἐς Ῥήγιον. Τῶν δὲ διαφθαρείσέων νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἳ τε Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πολλῷ πλείους, καὶ τούτους ἐξαγαγόντες κατέλευσαν. μετὰ δὲ Ἀγυλλαίοισι πάντι τὰ παριόντα τὸν χώρον, ἐν τῷ οἱ Φωκαῖες καταλευσθέντες ἐκέατο, ἐγένετο διάστροφα καὶ ἔμπηρα καὶ ἀπὸ πληκτα, ὁμοίως πρόβατα καὶ ὑποζύγια καὶ ἄνθρωποι. οἱ δὲ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἐς Δελφοὺς ἔπεμπον, βουλόμενοι ἀκέσασθαι τὴν ἁμαρτάδα. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφέας ἐκέλευσε ποιεῖν τὰ καὶ νῦν οἱ Ἀγυλλαῖοι ἔτι ἐπιτελέουσιν· καὶ γὰρ ἐναγίζουσί σφί μεγάλως, καὶ ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικὸν ἐπιστᾶσι. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Φωκαίων τοιούτῳ μὸν διεχρήσαντο. οἱ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐς τὸ Ῥήγιον καταφυγοντες ἐνθεῦτεν ὀρμεύμενοι, ἐκτῆσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίας

ταύτην, ἣτις νῦν Ἰέλη καλέεται. ἔκτισαν δὲ ταύτην, πρὸς ἀνδρὸς Ποσειδωνιήτεω μαθόντες, ὡς τὸν Κύρνον σφί ἡ Πυθίη ἔχρησε κτίσαι ἥρων ἑόντα, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν νήσον.

Φωκαίης μὲν νυν πέρι τῆς ἐν Ἰωνίῃ οὕτως ἔσχε. Παραπλήσια δὲ τούτοισι καὶ Τήϊοι ἐποίησαν. ἐπεὶ τε 168 γάρ σφεων εἶλε χώματι τὸ τεῖχος Ἀρπαγος, ἐσβάντες πάντες ἐς τὰ πλοῖα, οἰχοντο πλέοντες ἐπὶ τῆς Θρηκίης, καὶ ἐνθαῦτα ἔκτισαν πόλιν Ἀβδήρα, τὴν πρότερος τούτων Κλαζομένιος Τιμήσιος κτίσας, οὐκ ἀπώνητο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Θρηκίων ἐξελασθεὶς τιμὰς νῦν ὑπὸ Τητίων τῶν ἐν Ἀβδήροις ὡς ἥρως ἔχει.

Οὗτοι μὲν νυν Ἰώνων μῦνοι, τὴν δουλοσύνην οὐκ 169 ἀνεχόμενοι, ἐξέλιπον τὰς πατρίδας. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι Ἴωνες, πλὴν Μιλησίων, διὰ μάχης μὲν ἀπικέατο Ἀρπάγω, κατὰπερ οἱ ἐκλιπόντες, καὶ ἄνδρες ἐγένοντο ἀγαθοὶ, περὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ἕκαστος μαχόμενοι ἐσσωθέντες δὲ καὶ ἀλόντες, ἔμενον κατὰ χώραν ἕκαστοι, καὶ τὰ ἐπιτασσόμενα ἐπετέλεον. Μιλήσιοι δὲ, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν μοι εἴρηται, αὐτῷ Κύρῳ ὄρκιον ποιησάμενοι, ἡσυχίην ἄγον. Οὕτω δὲ τὸ δεύτερον Ἰωνίῃ ἐδεδούλωτο. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Ἴωνας ἐχειρώσατο Ἀρπαγος, οἱ τὰς νήσους ἔχοντες Ἴωνες, καταρρωδήσαντες ταῦτα, σφέας αὐτοὺς ἔδοσαν Κύρῳ.

Κεκακωμένων δὲ Ἰώνων, καὶ συλληγομένων οὐδὲν 170 ἦσσαν ἐς τὸ Πανιώνιον, πυνθάνομαι γνώμην Βίαντα ἀνδρα Πριηνέα ἀποδέξασθαι Ἴωσι χρησιμωτάτην τῇ εἰ ἐπείθοντο, παρεῖχε ἂν σφί εὐδαιμονέειν Ἑλλήνων μάλιστ' ὅς ἐκέλευε "κοινῷ στόλῳ Ἴωνας ἀερθέντας πλέειν "ἐς Σαρδῶ, καὶ ἔπειτα πόλιν μίαν κτίζειν πάντων Ἰώνων. καὶ οὕτω ἀπαλλαχθέντας σφέας δουλοσύνης εὐ- "δαιμονήσειν, νήσων τε ἀπασέων μεγίστην νεμομένους, "καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλων μένουσι δὲ σφί ἐν τῇ Ἰωνίῃ οὐκ "ἔφη ἐνορᾶν ἐλευθερίην ἔτι ἔσομένην." Αὕτη μὲν Βίαντος τοῦ Πριηνέος γνώμη, ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοις Ἴωσι γενομένη. χρηστὴ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἢ διαφθαρῆναι Ἰωνίην Θάλεω ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου ἐγένετο, τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γένος ἑόντος Φοίνικος ὅς ἐκέλευε ἐν βουλευτήριον Ἴωνας ἐκτῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ

εἶναι ἐν Τέων· Τέων γὰρ μέσον εἶναι Ἰωνίης. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας πόλεις οἰκεομένας μηδὲν ἦσσαν νομίζεσθαι κατὰ-  
περ εἰ δῆμοι εἰεν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ σφί γυνώμας τοιάσδε ἀπεδέξαντο.

- 171 Ἄρπαγος δὲ καταστρεψάμενος Ἰωνίην, ἐποίεετο στρα-  
τηνὴν ἐπὶ Κᾶρας καὶ Καυνίους καὶ Λυκίους, ἅμα ἀγό-  
μενος καὶ Ἴωνας καὶ Αἰολέας. Εἰσὶ δὲ τούτων Κᾶρες  
μὲν ἀπιγμένοι ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον ἐκ τῶν νήσων. τὸ γὰρ  
παλαιὸν εἶντες Μίνω τε κατήκοοι, καὶ καλεόμενοι Λέ-  
λεγεσ, εἶχον τὰς νήσους, φόρον μὲν οὐδένα ὑποτελέοντες,  
ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δυνατός εἰμι μακρότατον ἐξικέσθαι ἀκοῇ·  
οἱ δὲ, ὅπως Μίνως δέοιτο, ἐπλήρουν οἱ τὰς νέας. ἅτε δὲ  
δὴ Μίνω τε κατεστραμμένου γῆν πολλήν, καὶ εὐτυχέον-  
τος τῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ Καρικὸν ἦν ἔθνος λογιμώτατον τῶν  
ἐθνέων ἀπάντων κατὰ τοῦτον ἅμα τὸν χρόνον μακρῷ  
μάλιστα. καὶ σφί τριζὰ ἐξευρήματα ἐγένετο, τοῖσι οἱ  
Ἕλληνες ἐχρήσαντο. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κράνεα λόφους ἐπι-  
δέεσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας  
τὰ σημήϊα ποιεέσθαι. καὶ ὕχανα ἀσπίσι οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ  
ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι· τέως δὲ ἀνευ ὀχάνων ἐφόρεον τὰς  
ἀσπίδας πάντες οἵπερ ἐώθεσαν ἀσπίσι χρέεσθαι, τελα-  
μῶσι σκυτίνοισι υἱηκίζοντες, περὶ τοῖσι αὐχέσι τε καὶ  
τοῖσι ἀριστεροῖσι ὤμοισι περικείμενοι. Μετὰ δὲ, τοὺς  
Κᾶρας χρόνῳ ὕστερον πολλῷ Δωριέες τε καὶ Ἴωνες  
ἐξανέστησαν ἐκ τῶν νήσων καὶ οὕτω ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον  
ἀπίκοντο. Κατὰ μὲν δὴ Κᾶρας οὕτω Κρήτες λέγουσι  
γενέσθαι. οὐ μέντοι αὐτοὶ γε ὁμολογέουσι τούτοις οἱ  
Κᾶρες· ἀλλὰ νομίζουσι αὐτοὶ ἐωντοὺς εἶναι αὐτόχθονας  
ἡπειρώτας, καὶ τῷ οὐνόματι τῷ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ διαχρεωμένους  
τῷπερ νῦν. ἀποδεικνύσι δὲ ἐν Μυλίσουσιν Διὸς Καρίου  
ἱερὸν ἀρχαῖον, τοῦ Μυσοῖσι μὲν καὶ Λυδοῖσι μέτεστι, ὡς  
κασσηγητοῖσι εἶναι τοῖσι Καρσί. τὸν γὰρ Λυδὸν καὶ τὸν  
Μυσὸν λέγουσι εἶναι Καρὸς ἀδελφεοὺς. τοῖτοις μὲν  
δὴ μέτεστι· ὅσοι δὲ, εἶντες ἄλλου ἔθνεος, ὁμόγλωσσοι
- 172 τοῖσι Καρσί ἐγένοντο, τούτοις δὲ οὐ μέτα. Οἱ δὲ  
Καινῖοι αὐτόχθονες, δοκέειν ἐμοί, εἰσὶ αὐτοὶ μέντοι ἐκ  
Κοήτης φασὶ εἶναι. προσκεχωρήκασι δὲ γλῶσσαν μὲν  
πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος, ἢ οἱ Κᾶρες πρὸς τὸ Καυνικόν

τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως διακρίναι. νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται κεχωρισμένοισι πολλὸν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ Καρῶν. τοῖσι γὰρ κάλλιστόν ἐστι κατ' ἡλικίην τε καὶ φιλότῃτα εἰλαδὸν συγγίνεσθαι ἐς πόσιν, καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶ. ἰδρυθέντων δὲ σφι ἱρῶν ξεινικῶν, μετέπειτα ὥς σφι ἀπέδοξε, (ἔδοξε δὲ τοῖσι πατρίοισι μόνον χρᾶσθαι θεοῖσι,) ἐνδύντες τὰ ὄπλα ἅπαντες Καύνιοι ἤβηδόν, τύπτοντες δούρασι τὸν ἥερα, μέχρι οὖρων τῶν Καλυνδικῶν ἔποντο, καὶ ἔφασαν ἐκβάλλειν τοὺς ξεινικοὺς θεοὺς. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τρόποισι τοιούτοις χρέωνται. Οἱ δὲ Λύκιοι ἐκ Κρήτης τῶρχαῖον γεγόνασι. τὴν γὰρ 173 Κρήτην εἶχον τὸ παλαιὸν πᾶσαν βάρβαροι. διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληΐης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων, Σαρπηδόνοσ τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσει Μίνωσ, ἐξήλασε αὐτὸν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες, ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλυάδα· τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς· οἱ δὲ Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδῶν ἦρχε· οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο, τό περ τε ἠνέικαντο οὖνομα, καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι. ὥς δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων Λύκος ὁ Πανδίωνος, ἐξελαθεὶς καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ Αἰγέως, ἀπίκετο ἐς τοὺς Τερμίλας παρὰ Σαρπηδόνα, οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τοῦ Λύκου τὴν ἐπωνυμίην Λύκιοι ἀνὰ χρόνον ἐκλήθησαν. νόμοισι δὲ, τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἐν δὲ τῷδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι, καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοις συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένοι δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον, τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. καὶ ἦν μὲν γε γυνὴ ἀστὴ δούλῳ συνοικῆσῃ, γενναῖα τὰ τέκνα νενόμοστα· ἦν δὲ ἀνὴρ ἀστὸς, καὶ ὁ πρῶτος αὐτῶν, γυναικα ξείνην ἢ παλλακὴν ἔχῃ, ἄτιμα τὰ τέκνα γίνεται.

Οἱ μὲν νυν Κᾶρες οὐδὲν λαμπρὸν ἔργον ἀποδεξάμενοι, 174 ἐδουλώθησαν ὑπὸ Ἀρπᾶγον οὔτε αὐτοὶ οἱ Κᾶρες ἀποδεξάμενοι οὐδὲν, οὔτε ὅσοι Ἑλλήνων ταύτην τὴν χώραν οἰκεύουσι. οἰκεύουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποικοὶ Κυλιδιοί, τῆς χώρας τῆς σφετέρης τετραμμένης ἐς

πάντων, τὸ δὴ Τριόπιον καλέεται, ἀργμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίδος, ἐούσης τε πάσης τῆς Κνιδίδος, πλὴν ὀλίγης, περιρροῦν (τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον ὁ Κεραμεικὸς κόλπος ἀπέργει· τὰ δὲ πρὸς νότον, ἢ κατὰ Σύμην τε καὶ Ῥόδον θάλασσα) τὸ ὦν δὴ ὀλίγον τοῦτο, ἐὼν ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πέντε στάδια, ὥρυσσον οἱ Κνίδιοι, ἐν ᾧ Ἄρπαγος τὴν Ἰωνίην κατεστρέφετο, βουλόμενοι νῆσον τὴν χώραν ποιῆσαι. ἐντὸς δὲ πᾶσά σφι ἐγένετο· τῇ γὰρ ἡ Κνιδίη χώρα ἐς τὴν ἡπειρον τελευτᾷ, ταύτῃ ὁ ἰσθμὸς ἐστί τὸν ὥρυσσον καὶ δὴ πολλῇ χειρὶ ἐργαζομένων τῶν Κνιδίων, μᾶλλον γάρ τι καὶ θειότερον ἐφαίνοντο τιτρώσκεσθαι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τοῦ οἰκότος τὰ τε ἄλλα τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς θραυομένης τῆς πέτρης, ἔπεμπον ἐς Δελφοὺς θεοπρόπους ἐπερησομένους τὸ ἀντίξουν. ἡ δὲ Πυθίη σφι, ὡς αὐτοὶ Κνίδιοι λέγουσι, χρᾶ ἐν τριμέτρῳ τόνῳ τάδε·

Ἴσθμὸν δὲ μὴ πυργοῦτε, μήδ' ὀρύσσετε·  
Ζεὺς γάρ κ' ἔθηκε νῆσον, εἴ κ' ἐβούλετο.

Κνίδιοι μὲν, ταῦτα τῆς Πυθίδος χρησάσης, τοῦ τε ὀρύγματος ἐπαύσαντο· καὶ Ἄρπάγῳ, ἐπιόντι σὺν τῷ στρατῷ, 175 ἀμαχητὶ σφεας αὐτοὺς παρέδωκαν. Ἦσαν δὲ Πηδασέες οἰκοῦντες ὑπὲρ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦ μεσόγαιαν τοῖσι ὅκως τι μέλλοι ἀνεπιτήδεον ἔσεσθαι, αὐτοῖσί τε καὶ τοῖσι περιόικοις, ἢ ἱερείῃ τῆς Ἀθηναίης πάγωνα μέγαν ἴσχει. τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. οὗτοι τῶν περὶ Καρίην ἀνδρῶν μούνοί τε ἀντέσχον χρόνον Ἄρπάγῳ, καὶ πρήγματα παρέσχον πλείστα, ὅρος τειχίσαντες, τῷ οὐνομά ἐστι Λίδῃ.

176 Πηδασέες μὲν νῦν χρόνῳ ἐξαιρέθησαν. Λύκιοι δὲ, ὡς ἐς τὸ Ξάνθιον πεδίον ἤλασε ὁ Ἄρπαγος τὸν στρατὸν, ὑπεξίοντες, καὶ μαχόμενοι ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς, ἀρετὰς ἀπεδείκνυντο· ἐσσωθέντες δὲ, καὶ κατειληθέντες ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, συνήλυσαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὰς τε γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας· καὶ ἔπειτα ὑπήψαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν πᾶσαν ταύτην καίεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες καὶ συνομόσαντες ὅρκους δεινοὺς, ὑπεξελθόντες ἀπέθανον πάντες Ξανθίων μαχόμενοι. τῶν δὲ νῦν Λυκίων φαμένων Ξανθίων εἶναι, οἱ πολλοὶ, πλὴν ὀγδώκοντα ἰστιάων, εἰσὶ ἐπήλυδες· αἱ δὲ ὀγδώκοντα ἰστίαι

αὐται ἔτυχον τηνικαῦτα ἐκδημέουσαι, καὶ οὕτω περιεγέ-  
νοντο. τὴν μὲν δὴ Ξάνθον οὕτως ἔσχε ὁ Ἄρπαγος.  
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν Καῦνον ἔσχε. καὶ γὰρ οἱ Καῦ-  
νιοὶ τοὺς Λυκίους ἐμμήσαντο τὰ πλέω.

Τὰ μὲν νυν κάτω τῆς Ἀσίης Ἄρπαγος ἀνάστατα 177  
ἐποίησε· τὰ δὲ ἄνω αὐτῆς, αὐτὸς Κῦρος, πᾶν ἔθνος κατα-  
στρεφόμενος, καὶ οὐδὲν παριείς. τὰ μὲν νυν αὐτῶν πλέω  
παρήσομεν· τὰ δὲ οἱ παρέσχε πόνον τε πλείστον, καὶ  
ἀξιαπηγητότατά ἐστι, τούτων ἐπιμνήσομαι.

Κῦρος ἐπεὶ τε τὰ πάντα τῆς ἡπείρου ὑποχείρια ἐποίη- 178  
σατο, Ἀσσυρίοισι ἐπετίθετο. Τῆς δὲ Ἀσσυρίας ἐστὶ τὰ  
μὲν κού καὶ ἄλλα πόλιστα μεγάλα πολλά· τὸ δὲ ὀνο-  
μαστότατον καὶ ἰσχυρότατον, καὶ ἔνθα σφι, Νίνου ἀνα-  
στάτου γενομένης, τὰ βασιλῆα κατεστήκει, ἦν Βαβυλῶν  
ἐούσα τοιαύτη δὴ τις. πόλις κέεται ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ,  
μέγαθος ἐούσα μέτωπον ἑκαστον εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν στα-  
δίῳ, ἐούσης τετραγώνου· οὗτοι στάδιοι τῆς περιόδου τῆς  
πόλιος γίνονται συνάπαντες ὀγδώκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι.  
τὸ μὲν νυν μέγαθος τοσοῦτόν ἐστι τοῦ ἄστεος τοῦ Βαβυ-  
λωνίου. ἐκεκόσμητο δὲ ὥς οὐδὲν ἄλλο πόλισμα τῶν  
ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν. τάφος μὲν πρῶτά μιν βαθέα τε καὶ εὐρέα  
καὶ πλήρῃ ὕδατος περιθέει· μετὰ δὲ, τεῖχος πεντήκοντα  
μὲν πηχέων βασιλῆων ἐὼν τὸ εὖρος, ὕψος δὲ, διηκοσίῳ  
πηχέων. ὁ δὲ βασιλῆος πῆχυς τοῦ μετρίου ἐστὶ πῆχεος  
μέζων τρισὶ δακτύλοισι. Δεῖ δὴ με πρὸς τούτοις 179  
φράσαι, ἵνα τε ἐκ τῆς τάφρου ἡ γῆ ἀναισιμώθῃ, καὶ τὸ  
τεῖχος ὅντινα τρόπον ἔργαστο. ὀρύσσοντες ἅμα τὴν τά-  
φρον, ἐπλύνθουν τὴν γῆν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἐκφερο-  
μένην· ἐλκύσαντες δὲ πλύνθους ἱκανὰς, ὥπτησαν αὐτὰς  
ἐν καμίνοισι· μετὰ δὲ, τέλματι χρεώμενοι ἀσφάλτῳ  
θερμῇ, καὶ διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλύνθου ταρσοὺς καλὰ-  
μων διαστοιβαζόντες, ἔδειμαν πρῶτα μὲν τῆς τάφρου τὰ  
χεῖλεα· δεύτερα δὲ, αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον.  
ἐπάνω δὲ τοῦ τείχεος παρὰ τὰ ἔσχατα, οἰκήματα μουνί-  
κωλα ἔδειμαν, τετραμμένα ἐς ἄλληλα· τὸ μέσον δὲ τῶν  
οἰκημάτων ἔλιπον τεθρίπῳ περιέλασιν. πύλαι δὲ ἐνε-  
στάσι περίξ τοῦ τείχεος ἑκατὸν, χάλκεαι πάσαι καὶ  
σταθμοὶ τε καὶ ὑπέρθυρα ὡσαύτως. ἐστὶ δὲ ἄλλη πόλις

- ἀπέχουσα ὀκτὶ ἡμέρων ὁδὸν ἀπὸ Βαβυλῶνος· Ἴς οὖνομα αὐτῇ. ἔνθα ἐστὶ ποταμὸς οὐ μέγας· Ἴς καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τὸ οὖνομα· ἐσβάλλει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν τὸ ρέεθρον. οὗτος ὢν ὁ Ἴς ποταμὸς, ἅμα τῷ ὕδατι θρόμβους ἀσφάλτου ἀναδιδόει πολλούς· ἔνθεν ἡ ἀσφαλτος ἐς
- 180 τὸ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τεῖχος ἐκομίσθη. Τετείχιστο μὲν νυν ἡ Βαβυλὼν τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἔστι δὲ δύο φύρσεα τῆς πόλιος· τὸ γὰρ μέσον αὐτῆς ποταμὸς διέργει, τῷ οὖνομά ἐστι Εὐφρήτης. ῥέει δὲ ἐξ Ἀρμενίων, ἐὼν μέγας, καὶ βαθύς, καὶ ταχύς· ἐξίει δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. τὸ ὢν δὴ τεῖχος ἐκάτερον τοὺς ἀγκῶνας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλήλαται. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, αἱ ἐπικαμπαὶ παρὰ χεῖλος ἐκάτερον τοῦ ποταμοῦ, αἵμασιῇ πλύνθων ὀπτέων παρατείνει. τὸ δὲ ἄστυ αὐτὸ, ἐὼν πλήρες οἰκίῶν τριορόφων τε καὶ τετρωρόφων, κατατέμνεται τὰς ὁδοὺς ἰθιέας, τὰς τε ἄλλας, καὶ τὰς ἐπικαρσίας τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐχούσας. κατὰ δὴ ὢν ἐκάστην ὁδὸν ἐν τῇ αἵμασιῇ τῇ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδες ἐπῆσαν, ὅσαι περ αἱ λαῦραι, τοσαῦται ἀριθμόν. ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὗται χάλκεαι, φέρουσαι καὶ
- 181 αὐταὶ ἐς αὐτὸν τὸν ποταμὸν. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ τεῖχος θώρηξ ἐστί. ἕτερον δὲ ἔσωθεν τεῖχος περιθεῖ, οὐ πολλῷ τέφρῳ ἀσθενέστερον τοῦ ἐτέρου τεύχεος, στεινότερον δέ. Ἐν δὲ φάρσει ἐκατέρῃ τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιλῆα, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ, Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμέ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὼν, δύο σταδίων πάντῃ, ἐὼν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὐ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀνάβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποιήται. μεσοῦντι δὲ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιός ἐστι καταγωγὴ τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπρεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὐ ἐστρωμένη, καὶ οἱ τράπεζαι παρακείμεναι χρυσεῇ. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἐνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν αὖ ὁ θεὸς

ἐληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἔοντες ἱρέες 182  
 τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ  
 πιστὰ λέγοντες, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν φοιτᾶν τε ἐς τὸν νηὸν, καὶ  
 ἀμπαύεσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης, κατὰπερ ἐν Θήβησι τῇσι  
 Αἰγυπτίησι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Αἰγύ-  
 πτιοι· καὶ γὰρ δὴ ἐκεῖθι κοιμᾶται ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ  
 Θηβαίεος γυνή· ἀμφοτέραι δὲ αὐταὶ λέγονται ἀνδρῶν  
 οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν καὶ κατὰπερ ἐν Πατάροισι  
 τῆς Λυκίης ἢ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται· οὐ γὰρ  
 ὦν αἰεὶ ἐστὶ χρηστήριον αὐτόθι· ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε  
 ὦν συγκατακληῖται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ. Ἔστι 183  
 δὲ τοῦ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἱεροῦ καὶ ἄλλος κάτω νηὸς· ἔνθα  
 ἄγαλμα μέγα τοῦ Διὸς ἐνὶ κατήμενον χρύσειον, καὶ οἱ  
 τράπεζα μεγάλη παρακείμεται χρυσῇ, καὶ τὸ βᾶθρον οἱ  
 καὶ ὁ θρόνος χρυσεὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Χαλδαῖοι,  
 τάλαντων ὀκτακοσίων χρυσίου πεποιεῖται ταῦτα. ἔξω δὲ  
 τοῦ νηοῦ, βωμὸς ἐστὶ χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος βωμὸς  
 μέγας, ὅπου θύεται τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων. ἐπὶ γὰρ  
 τοῦ χρυσεοῦ βωμοῦ οὐκ ἔξεστι θύειν, ὅτι μὴ γαλαθηνὰ  
 μούνα. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ μέζονος βωμοῦ καὶ καταγίξουσι λιβα-  
 νωτοῦ χίλια τάλαντα ἔτεος ἐκάστου οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, τότε  
 ἐπεὰν τὴν ὀρτὴν ἄγωσι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ. Ἦν δὲ ἐν τῷ  
 τεμένει τούτῳ ἔτι τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνδρίας δωδέκα  
 πηχέων, χρύσεος, στερεός. ἐγὼ μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον τὰ δὲ  
 λέγεται ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων, ταῦτα λέγω. τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδριάντι  
 Δαρείος μὲν ὁ Ὑστάσπεος ἐπιβουλεύσας, οὐκ ἐτόλμησε  
 λαβεῖν· Ξέρξης δὲ ὁ Δαρείου ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἱεῖα ἀπέ-  
 κτεινε, ἀπαγορεύοντα μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνδριάντα. τὸ μὲν  
 δὴ ἱερὸν τοῦτο οὕτω κεκόσμητο. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἴδια ἀνα-  
 θήματα πολλά.

Τῆς δὲ Βαβυλωνος ταύτης πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι 184  
 ἐγένοντο βασιλεῖς, τῶν ἐν τοῖσι Ἀσσυρίοισι λόγοισι  
 μνήμην ποιήσομαι, οἱ τὰ τείχεά τε ἐπεκόσμησαν καὶ  
 τὰ ἱερά· ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ γυναῖκες δύο. ἡ μὲν πρότερον  
 ἄρξασα, τῆς ὑστερον γενεῇσι πάντε πρότερον γενομένη,  
 τῇ οὐνομα ἦν Σεμίραμις. αὕτη μὲν ἀπεδέξατο χώματα  
 ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον ἔοντα ἀξιοθέητα· πρότερον δὲ εἴθεε ὁ  
 ποταμὸς ἀνὰ τὸ πεδῖον πᾶν πελαγίξειν. Ἡ δὲ δὴ δεύ- 185

τερον γενομένη ταύτης βασιλεία, τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Νίτωκρις,  
 (αὕτη δὲ συνετωτέρη γενομένη τῆς πρότερον ἀρξάσης,) τοῦτο μὲν,  
 μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ ἐγὼ ἀπηγγέσσομαι τοῦτο δὲ, τὴν  
 Μήδων ὁρώσα ἀρχὴν μεγάλην τε καὶ οὐκ ἀτρεμίζουσαν,  
 ἀλλὰ τε ἀραιρημένα ἄστεα αὐτοῖσι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν Νῆον,  
 προεφυλάξατο ὅσα ἐδύνατο μά-  
 λιστα. Πρῶτα μὲν τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, ρέοντα  
 πρότερον ἰθὺν, ὅς σφι διὰ τῆς πόλιος μέσης ρέει, τοῦτον,  
 ἀνωθεν διώρυχας ὀρύξασα, οὕτω δὴ τι ἐποίησε σκολιὸν,  
 ὥστε δὴ τρεῖς ἐς τῶν τινὰ κωμῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίῃ  
 ἀπικνύεται ῥέων. τῇ δὲ κώμῃ οὖνομά ἐστι, ἐς τὴν ἀπι-  
 κνύεται ὁ Εὐφρήτης, Ἀρδέρικκα. καὶ νῦν οἱ ἂν κομίζονται  
 ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς θαλάσσης ἐς Βαβυλῶνα, καταπλέοντες  
 ἐς τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν, τρεῖς τε ἐς τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην  
 κώμην παραγίνονται, καὶ ἐν τρισὶ ἡμέρησι. τοῦτο μὲν  
 δὴ τοιοῦτο ἐποίησε. Χῶμα δὲ παρέχωσε παρ' ἐκάτερον  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ χεῖλος, ἄξιον θώματος, μέγαθος καὶ  
 ὕψος ὅσον τί ἐστι. κατύπερθε δὲ πολλῷ Βαβυλῶνος  
 ὥρυσσε ἑλκτρον λίμνη, ὀλίγον τι παρατείνουσα ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ, βάθος μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα,  
 εὖρος δὲ τὸ περίμετρον αὐτοῦ ποιεύσα εἴκοσί τε καὶ  
 τετρακοσίων σταδίων τὸν δὲ ὀρυσσόμενον χοῦν ἐκ τού-  
 του τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀναισίμου παρὰ τὰ χεῖλα τοῦ πο-  
 ταμοῦ παραχέουσα. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ οἱ ὥρυκτο, λίθους ἀγα-  
 γομένη, κρηπίδα κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὴν ἤλασε. Ἐποίηε δὲ  
 ἀμφότερα ταῦτα, τὸν τε ποταμὸν σκολιὸν, καὶ τὸ ὀρυγμα  
 πᾶν ἔλος ὥς ὃ τε ποταμὸς βραδύντερος εἴη, περὶ  
 καμπὰς πολλὰς ἀγνύμενος, καὶ οἱ πλόοι ἔωσι σκολιοὶ  
 ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα· ἔκ τε τῶν πλόων ἐκδέκῃται περίοδος  
 τῆς λίμνης μακρὴ. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ εἰργάζετο τῆς χώρας  
 τῇ αἰ τε ἐσβολαὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ σύντομα τῆς ἐκ Μήδων  
 ὁδοῦ, ἵνα μὴ ἐπιμισγόμενοι οἱ Μῆδοι ἐκμανθάνοιεν αὐτῆς  
 186 τὰ πρήγματα. Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἐκ βάθεος περιεβάλετο  
 τοιγόνδε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν παρενθήκην ἐποιήσατο. Τῆς πόλιος  
 ἐούσης δύο φαρσέων, τοῦ δὲ ποταμοῦ μέσον ἔχοντος,  
 ἐπὶ τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων ὅπως τις ἐθέλοι ἐκ τοῦ  
 ἐτέρου φάρσεος ἐς τοῦτερον διαβῆναι, χρῆν πλοῖον δια-  
 βαίνειν. καὶ ἦν, ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ὀχληρὸν τοῦτο· αὕτη

δὲ καὶ τοῦτο προεΐδε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ὤρυσσε τὸ ἑλντρον τῇ λίμνῃ, μνημόσυνον τόδε ἄλλο ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἔργου ἐλίπετο. ἐτάμνετο λίθους περιμήκεας ὥς δέ οἱ ἦσαν οἱ λίθοι ἐτοιμοί, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὀρώρυκτο, ἐκτρέψασα τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὸ ρέεθρον πᾶν ἐς τὸ ὤρυσσε χωρίον, ἐν τῷ ἐπίμπλατο τοῦτο, ἐν τούτῳ ἀπεξηρασμένου τοῦ ἀρχαίου ρέεθρου, τοῦτο μὲν, τὰ χεῖλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰς καταβάσις, τὰς ἐκ τῶν πυλίδων ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας, ἀνοικοδόμησε πλίνθοισι ὀπτήσιν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ τείχεϊ· τοῦτο δὲ, κατὰ μέσσην καὶ μάλιστα τὴν πόλιν, τοῖσι λίθοισι, τοὺς ὠρύξατο, οἰκοδόμει γέφυραν, δέουσα τοὺς λίθους σιδήρῳ τε καὶ μολύβδῳ. ἐπιτείνεσκε δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὴν, ὅπως μὲν ἡμέρη γένοιτο, ξύλα τετράγωνα, ἐπ' ὧν τὴν διάβασιν ἐποιεῦντο οἱ Βαβυλωνῖοι· τὰς δὲ νύκτας τὰ ξύλα ταῦτα ἀπαίρεσκον, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ἵνα μὴ διαφοιτέοντες τὰς νύκτας κλέπτοιεν παρ' ἀλλήλων. ὥς δὲ τό τε ὀρυχθέν λίμνη πλήρης ἐγεγονεε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν γέφυραν ἐκεκόσμητο, τὸν Εὐφρήτην ποταμὸν ἐς τὰ ἀρχαῖα ρέεθρα ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐξήγαγε καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὀρυχθέν, ἔλος γενομένου, ἐς δέον ἐδόκει γεγονέναι, καὶ τοῖσι πολίτησι γέφυρα ἦν κατεσκευασμένη.

Ἡ δ' αὐτὴ αὕτη βασιλεία καὶ ἀπάτην τοιήνδε τινὰ 187 ἐμψαυήσατο. Ὅτι τῶν μάλιστα λεωφόρων πυλέων τοῦ ἄστεος τάφον ἐνυτῇ κατεσκευάσατο μετέωρον ἐπιπολῆς αὐτέων τῶν πυλέων ἐνεκόλαψε δὲ ἐς τὸν τάφον γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε ΤΩΝ ΤΙΣ ΕΜΕΤ ὙΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, ΗΝ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΗΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ, ΑΝΟΙΞΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΤΑΦΟΝ, ΛΑΒΕΤΩ ὍΚΟΣΑ ΒΟΤΛΕΤΑΙ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ. ΜΗ ΜΕΝΤΟΙ ΓΕ ΜΗ ΣΠΑΝΙΣΑΣ ΓΕ, ΑΛΛΩΣ ΑΝΟΙΞΗΙ. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ. Οὗτος ὁ τάφος ἦν ἀκίνητος, μέχρι οὗ ἐς Δαρείον περιήλθε ἡ βασιλεὺς. Δαρεῖον δὲ καὶ δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῇσι πύλῃσι ταύτης μηδὲν χρεέσθαι καὶ χρημάτων κειμένων, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν χρημάτων ἐπικαλεομένων, μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. τῇσι δὲ πύλῃσι ταύτης οὐδὲν ἐχράτο, τοῦδε εἵνεκα, ὅτι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς οἱ ἐγένετο ὁ νεκρὸς διεξελαύ-

νῦντι. ἀνοίξας δὲ τὸν τάφον, εὔρε χρήματα μὲν οὐ,  
τὸν δὲ νεκρὸν, καὶ γράμματα λέγοντα τάδε· Εἰ μὴ  
ἀπληστός τε εἶας χρημάτων καὶ αἰσ-  
χροκερδῆς, οὔκ ἂν νεκρὸν θήκας ἀνε-  
Ωιγῆς.

188 Αὕτη μὲν νῦν ἡ βασιλεία τοιαύτη τις λέγεται γεν-  
έσθαι. Ὁ δὲ δὴ Κῦρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γυναικὸς τὸν  
παῖδα ἐστρατεύετο, ἔχοντά τε τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐώντου  
τοῦνομα Λαβυνήτου καὶ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων ἀρχήν. Στρα-  
τεύεται δὲ δὴ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας καὶ σιτίοισι εὖ ἐσκευ-  
ασμένοισι ἐξ οἴκου, καὶ προβάτοισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ὕδωρ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Χοάσπεω ποταμοῦ ἅμα ἄγεται τοῦ παρὰ Σοῦσα  
ρέοντος, τοῦ μούνου πίνει βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἄλλου οὐδενὸς  
ποταμοῦ. τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χοάσπεω τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπεψη-  
μένου πολλὰ καὶ κάρτα ἅμαξαι τετράκυκλοι ἡμιόνειαι κομί-  
ζουσαι ἐν ἀγγείοισι ἀργυρέοισι, ἔπονται ὅπη ἂν ἐλαύνῃσι  
ἐκάστοτε.

189 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ὁ Κῦρος πορευόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν  
Βαβυλῶνα ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ, τοῦ αἰ μὲν πηγαὶ  
ἐν Ματιηνοῖσι οὖρεσι, ῥέει δὲ διὰ Δαρδανέων. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ  
ἐς ἕτερον ποταμὸν Τύγγιν· ὁ δὲ παρὰ Ὀπιν πόλιν ῥέων  
ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν ἐκδιδοὶ· τούτου δὲ τὴν  
Γύνδην ποταμὸν ὡς διαβαίνειν ἐπειράτο ὁ Κῦρος, ἐόντα  
νηυσικέρητον, ἐνθαυτὰ οἱ τῶν τις ἱρῶν ἵππων τῶν  
λευκῶν ὑπὸ ὕβριος ἐσβὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν, διαβαίνειν  
ἐπειράτο. ὁ δὲ μιν συμψήσας, ἵποβρύχιον οἰχώκεε  
φέρων. κάρτα τε δὴ ἐχαλέπαινε τῷ ποταμῷ ὁ Κῦρος  
τούτο ὑβρίσαντι, καὶ οἱ ἐπηπειλήσε, οὕτω δὲ μιν ἀσθενέα  
ποιήσιν, ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καὶ γυναικᾶς μιν εὐπετέως,  
τὸ γόνυ οὐ βρεχούσας, διαβήσεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπει-  
λὴν, μετεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα στρατεύουσιν, διαίρειε τὴν  
στρατιὴν δίχα. διελθὼν δὲ, κατέτεινε σχοινοτενέας ὑπο-  
δέξας διώρυχας ὀγδώκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν παρ' ἑκάτερον τὸ  
χεῖλος τετραμμένας τοῦ Γύνδεω πάντα τρόπον. διατάξας  
δὲ τὸν στρατὸν, ὀρύσσειν ἐκέλευε. οἷα δὲ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ  
ἐργαζομένου, ἦνετο μὲν τὸ ἔργον, ὅμως μέντοι τὴν θερεῖην  
πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διέτριψαν ἐργαζόμενοι.

190 Ὡς δὲ τὸν Γύνδην ποταμὸν ἐτίσατο Κῦρος, ἐς τριη-  
κοσίας καὶ ἐξήκοντά μιν διώρυχας διαλαβὼν, καὶ τὸ

δεύτερον ἔαρ ὑπέλαμπε, οὕτω δὴ ἤλανε ἐπὶ τὴν Βαβυ-  
 λῶνα. οἱ δὲ Βαβυλωνῖοι ἐκστρατευσάμενοι, ἔμενον αὐ-  
 τόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἐλαύνων ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλιος, συν-  
 βαλόν τε οἱ Βαβυλωνῖοι, καὶ ἐσσωθέντες τῇ μάχῃ,  
 κατειλήθησαν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ. οἳ δὲ ἐξεπιστάμενοι ἐτι-  
 πρότερον τὸν Κῦρον οὐκ ἀτρεμίζοντα, ἀλλ' ὀρέοντες αὐ-  
 τὸν παντὶ ἔθνει ὁμοίως ἐπιχειρέοντα, προεσάξαντο σιτία  
 καὶ κάρτα πολλῶν. Ἐνθαῦτα οὗτοι μὲν λόγον εἶχον  
 τῆς πολιορκίας οὐδένα. Κῦρος δὲ ἀπορίῃσι ἐνείχετο, ἅτε  
 χρόνου τε ἐγγινομένου συχνοῦ, ἀνωτέρω τε οὐδὲν τῶν  
 τραγημάτων προκοπτομένων. Εἴτε δὴ ὦν ἄλλος οἱ ἀπο- 191  
 ῥέοντι ὑπεθήκατο, εἴτε καὶ αὐτὸς ἔμαθε τὸ ποιητέον οἱ  
 ἄνθρωποι, ἐποίησε δὴ τοιόνδε. τάξας τὴν στρατιὴν ἅπασαν ἐξ  
 ἑκατομμυρίων τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τῇ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσβάλλει, καὶ  
 ἐπισθε αὐτὶς τῆς πόλιος τάξας ἐτέρους, τῇ ἐξίει ἐκ τῆς  
 πόλιος ὁ ποταμὸς προεῖπε τῷ στρατῷ, ὅταν διαβατὸν  
 ὁ ῥέεθρον ἴδωνται γενόμενον, ἐσιέναι ταύτῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν.  
 οὕτω τε δὴ τάξας, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα παραινέσας, ἀπήλανε  
 αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ ἀχρητῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν λίμνην, τὰ περὶ ἣ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλεία ἐποίησε  
 κατὰ τε τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κατὰ τὴν λίμνην, ἐποίησε καὶ ὁ  
 Κῦρος ἕτερα τοιαῦτα. τὸν γὰρ ποταμὸν διώρυχι ἐσαγα-  
 γὼν ἐς τὴν λίμνην ἐοῦσαν ἕλος, τὸ ἀρχαῖον ῥέεθρον  
 διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε, ὑπονοστήσαντος τοῦ ποταμοῦ.  
 ἐνομένου δὲ τούτου τοιούτου, οἱ Πέρσαι, οἵπερ ἐτετά-  
 νησιν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατὰ τὸ ῥέεθρον τοῦ Εὐφρήτεω  
 ποταμοῦ, ὑπονενοστηκότος ἀνδρὶ ὡς ἐς μέσον μηρὸν  
 ἀλίστα κη, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσῆσαν ἐς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα. Εἰ-  
 ἰέν νυν προεπύθοντο, ἣ ἔμαθον οἱ Βαβυλωνῖοι τὸ ἐκ  
 τοῦ Κύρου ποιούμενον, οὐδ' ἂν, περιιδόντες τοὺς Πέρσας  
 τελευτᾶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, διέφθειραν κάκιστα. κατακλητ-  
 ῶντες γὰρ ἂν πάσας τὰς ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν πυλίδας ἐχού-  
 ντας, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τὰς αἵμασιδὲς ἀναβάντες τὰς παρὰ τὰ  
 εἰλεα τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐληλαμένας, ἔλαβον ἂν σφεας ὡς ἐν  
 ὕρτῃ. νῦν δὲ ἐξ ἀπροσδοκίτου σφὶ παρέστησαν οἱ Πέρ-  
 σαι. ὑπὸ δὲ μεγάθεος τῆς πόλιος, ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν  
 αὐτῇ οἰκημένων, τῶν περὶ τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς πόλιος ἐαλω-  
 τῶν, τοὺς τὸ μέσον οἰκούντας τῶν Βαβυλωνίων οὐ

μαυθάνειν ἐαλωκότας· ἀλλὰ (τυχεῖν γάρ σφι εἶδυσαν ὀρτήν) χορεύειν τε τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον, καὶ ἐν εὐπαθείῃσι εἶναι, ἐς δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ κάρτα ἐπύθοντο.

- 192** Καὶ Βαβυλῶν μὲν οὕτω τότε πρῶτον ἀραίρητο. Τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῶν Βαβυλωνίων πολλοῖσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλοισι δηλώσω ὅση τις ἐστί, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε. Βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς τροφήν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς στρατιῆς διαραίρηται, παρέξ τοῦ φόρου, γῇ πᾶσα ὅσης ἀρχεῖ. δυνάδεκα ὧν μηνῶν ἑόντων ἐς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, τοὺς τέσσερας μῆνας τρέφει μιν ἡ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ τῶν μηνῶν, ἡ λοιπὴ πᾶσα Ἀσίῃ. οὕτω τριτημορίῃ ἡ Ἀσσυρίη χώρα τῇ δυνάμει τῆς ἄλλης Ἀσίης· καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς χώρας ταύτης, τὴν οἱ Πέρσαι σατραπήην καλέουσι, ἐστὶ ἀπασέων τῶν ἀρχέων πολλὸν τι κρατίστη· ὅκου Τριτανταίχμῃ τῷ Ἀρταβάζου ἐκ βασιλέως ἔχοντι τὸν νομὸν τοῦτον, ἀργυρίου μὲν προσθεῖ ἐκάστης ἡμέρης ἀρτάβῃ μεστή· ἡ δὲ ἀρτάβῃ, μέτρον ἑὸν Περσικόν, χωρεῖ μεδίμνου Ἀττικῆς πλεῖον χοίνιξι τρισὶ Ἀττικῇσι. ἵπποι δὲ οἱ αὐτοῦ ἦσαν ἰδίῃ, παρέξ τῶν πολεμιστηρίων, οἱ μὲν ἀναβαίνοντες τὰς θηλέας, ὀκτακόσιοι· αἱ δὲ βαινώμεναι, ἑξακισχίλια καὶ μύρια. ἀνέβαινε γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν ἑρσένων τούτων εἴκοσι ἵππους. κυνῶν δὲ Ἰνδικῶν τοσούτο δὴ τι πλῆθος ἐτρέφετο, ὥστε τέσσερες τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ κῶμαι μεγάλαι, τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι ἀτελεές, τοῖσι κυσὶ προσετετάχατο σιτία παρέχειν. τοιαῦτα μὲν τῷ ἄρχοντι τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ὑπῆρχε εἶντα.
- 193** Ἡ δὲ γῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔεται μὲν ὀλίγη, καὶ τὸ ἐκτρέφον τὴν ῥίζαν τοῦ σίτου ἐστὶ τοῦτο. ἀρδόμενον μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀδρύνεται τε τὸ λήϊον, καὶ παραγίνεται ὁ σῖτος· οὐ, κατάπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναβαίνοντος ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας, ἀλλὰ χερσὶ τε καὶ κηλωνητοῖσι ἀρδόμενος. ἡ γὰρ Βαβυλωνίη χώρα πᾶσα, κατάπερ ἡ Αἰγυπτία, κατατέτμηται ἐς διωρύχας· καὶ ἡ μεγίστη τῶν διωρύχων ἐστὶ νηυσυπέροητος, πρὸς ἥλιον τετραμμένη τὸν χειμερινόν· ἐστέχει δὲ ἐς ἄλλον ποταμὸν ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφρῆτεω, ἐς τὸν Τίγριν, παρ' ὃν Νῖνος πόλις οἰκητο. ἐστὶ δὲ χωρέων αὕτη ἀπασέων μακρῶς ἀρίστη, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, Δήμητρος καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. τὰ γὰρ δὴ ἄλλα δένδρεα οὐδὲ πειράται

ρχὴν φέρειν, οὔτε συκέην, οὔτε ἄμπελον, οὔτε ἐλαίην  
 ὃν δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καρπὸν ὧδε ἀγαθὴ ἐκφέρειν ἐστὶ  
 ὥστε ἐπὶ διηκόσια μὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀποδίδοι· ἐπεὰν δὲ  
 ῥίστα αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς ἐνείκη, ἐπὶ τριηκόσια ἐκφέρει. τὰ δὲ  
 ῥύλλα αὐτόθι τῶν τε πυρῶν καὶ τῶν κριθέων τὸ πλάτος  
 γίνεται τεσσέρων εὐπετέως δακτύλων. ἐκ δὲ κέγχρου καὶ  
 τησάμου ὅσον τι δένδρον μέγαθος γίνεται, ἐξεπιστάμενος,  
 ῥήμην οὐ ποιήσομαι· εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῖσι μὴ ἀπυγμένοισι  
 ἐς τὴν Βαβυλωνίην χώραν καὶ τὰ εἰρημένα καρπῶν ἐχό-  
 μενα ἐς ἀπιστὴν πολλὴν ἀπύκται. χρέονται δὲ οὐδὲν  
 λαίφ, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν σησάμων ποιεῖντες. εἰς δὲ σφι  
 φοίνικες πεφυκότες ἀνὰ πᾶν τὸ πεδίων· οἱ πλεῦνες αὐτῶν  
 καρποφόροι, ἐκ τῶν καὶ σιτία καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέλι ποιεῖν-  
 ται· τοὺς συκέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ  
 φοινίκων τοὺς ἔρσενας Ἕλληνες καλέουσι, τούτων τὸν  
 καρπὸν περιδέουσι τῇσι βαλμηφόροισι τῶν φοινίκων,  
 ὡς πεπαίη τέ σφι ὁ ψῆν τὴν βάλανον ἐσδύνων, καὶ μὴ  
 ἵππορρέῃ ὁ καρπὸς ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος. ψῆνας γὰρ δὴ φορέουσι  
 ἐν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατὰπερ δὴ οἱ ὀλυνθοί.

Τὸ δὲ ἀπάντων θῶμα μέγιστόν μοι ἐστὶ τῶν ταύτη, 191  
 μετὰ γε αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν, ἔρχομαι φράσων. τὰ πλοῖα  
 ὧς τοῖσι ἐστὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πορευόμενα ἐς τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα, ὅντα κυκλοτερέα, πάντα σκύτινα. ἐπεὰν γὰρ  
 ἐν τοῖσι Ἀρμενίοισι, τοῖσι κατ' ὑπερθε Ἀσσυρίων οἰκημέ-  
 νοις, νομέας ἰτέης ταμόμενοι ποιήσωνται, περιτείνουσι  
 οὗτοι διφθέρας στεγαστρίδας ἔξωθεν, ἐδάφεος τρόπον,  
 οὔτε πρύμνην ἀποκρίνοντας, οὔτε πρῶρην συνάγοντες,  
 ἀλλ' ἀσπίδος τρόπον κυκλοτερέα ποιήσαντες. καὶ καλὰ-  
 νης πλήσαντες πᾶν τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο, ἀπιασι κατὰ τὸν  
 ποταμὸν φέρεσθαι, φορτίων πλήσαντες· μάλιστα δὲ  
 βίκους φοινικηίου κατὰγουσι οἶνου πλέους. ἰθύνεται δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τε δύο πλήκτρων, καὶ δύο ἀνδρῶν ὀρθῶν ἐστεάτων·  
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔσω ἔλκει τὸ πλήκτρον, ὁ δὲ ἔξω ὠθέει. ποίεεται  
 καὶ κάρτα μεγάλα ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ ἐλάσσω· τὰ δὲ  
 μέγιστα αὐτῶν, καὶ πεντακισχιλίων ταλάντων γόμον  
 χεῖ. ἐν ἐκάστῳ δὲ πλοίῳ ὄνος ζωὸς ἔνεστι, ἐν δὲ τοῖσι  
 ἔξωσι πλεῦνες. ἐπεὰν ὦν ἀπύκωνται πλείοντες ἐς τὴν  
 Βαβυλῶνα, καὶ διαθέονται τὸν φόρτον, νομέας μὲν τοῦ

- πλοίου καὶ τὴν καλὰ μὲν πᾶσαν ἀπ' ὧν ἐκήρυξαν τὰς δὲ διφθέρας ἐπισάξαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄνους, ἀπελαύνουσι ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους. ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν γὰρ δὴ οὐκ οἶά τέ ἐστι πλέειν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ, ὑπὸ τάχεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ οὐκ ἐκ ξύλων ποιεῖνται τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλ' ἐκ διφθερέων. ἐπεὰν δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἐλαύνοντες ἀπίκωνται ὀπίσω ἐς τοὺς Ἀρμενίους, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ τῷ αὐτῷ ποιεῖνται
- 195 πλοῖα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πλοῖα αὐτοῖσί ἐστι τοιαῦτα. Ἐσθῆτι δὲ τοιγῆδε χρέωνται, κιθῶνι ποδηνεκῇ λινῶ· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον ἄλλον εἰρίνεον κιθῶνα ἐπενδύνει, καὶ χλανίδιον λευκὸν περιβαλλόμενος, ὑποδήματα ἔχων ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῇσι ἐμβάσι. κομώντες δὲ, τὰς κεφαλὰς μίτρησι ἀναδέονται, μεμυρισμένοι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα. σφρηγίδα δὲ ἕκαστος ἔχει, καὶ σκῆπτρον χειροποίητον ἐπ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ σκῆπτρῳ ἔπεστι πεποιημένον ἢ μῆλον, ἢ ῥόδον, ἢ κρίνον, ἢ αἰετός, ἢ ἄλλο τι. ἀνευ γὰρ ἐπισήμου οὐ σφι νόμος ἐστι ἔχειν σκῆπτρον. αὕτη μὲν δὴ σφι ἄρτισις περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐστί.
- 196 Νόμοι δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε κατεστέαται. ὁ μὲν σοφώτατος ὧδε, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἡμετέραν, τῷ καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν Ἑνετοῦς πυνθάνομαι χρῆσθαι. κατὰ κώμας ἐκάστας ἀπαξ τοῦ ἔτεος ἐκάστου ἐποιέετο τάδε. ὡς ἂν αἱ παρθέναι γυνόιατο γάμων ὥραϊαι, ταύτας ὅκως συναγάγοιεν πάσας, ἐς ἃν χωρίον ἐσάγεσκον ἀλέας· πέριξ δὲ αὐτὰς ἴστατο ὄμιλος ἀνδρῶν. ἀνιστὰς δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην κήρυξ πωλέεσκε, πρῶτα μὲν τὴν εὐειδεστάτην ἐκ πασέων μετὰ δὲ, ὅκως αὕτη εὐροῦσα πολλὸν χρυσίον πρηθείη, ἄλλην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ἢ μετ' ἐκείνην ἔσκε εὐειδεστάτη. ἐπωλέοντο δὲ ἐπὶ συνοικῆσει. ὅσοι μὲν δὴ ἔσκον εὐδαίμονες τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἐπίγαμοι, ὑπερβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐξωνέοντο τὰς καλλιστενούσας· ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἔσκον ἐπίγαμοι, οὗτοι δὲ εἶδος μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδέοντο χρηστοῦ, οἱ δ' ἂν χρήματά τε καὶ αἰσχίονας παρθένους ἐλάμβανον. ὡς γὰρ διεξέλθοι ὁ κήρυξ πωλέων τὰς εὐειδεστάτας τῶν παρθένων, ἀνίστη ἂν τὴν ἀμορφεστάτην, ἢ εἴ τις αὐτέων ἐμπηρος ᾗν, καὶ ταύτην ἀνεκήρυσσε, ὅστις θέλοι, ἐλάχιστον χρυσίον λαβὼν, συνοικεῖν αὐτῇ· ἐς δὲ τῷ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὑπισταμένῳ προσεκέετο. τὸ δὲ

ἂν χρυσίον ἐγίνετο ἀπὸ τῶν εὐειδέων παρθένων καὶ  
 οὕτω αἱ εὐμορφοὶ τὰς ἀμόρφους καὶ ἐμπήρους ἐξεδίδουσιν.  
 ἐκδοῦναι δὲ τὴν ἑωυτοῦ θυγατέρα ὅτε βούλοιτο ἕκαστος  
 οὐκ ἐξῆν, οὐδὲ ἄνευ ἐγγυητέω ἀπαγαγέσθαι τὴν παρθένον  
 πρίμιμενον, ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς χρῆν καταστήσαντα, ἥ μιν  
 συνοικήσειν αὐτῇ, οὕτω ἂν ἄγεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ συμ-  
 φεροίαιτο, ἀποφέρειν τὸ χρυσίον ἐκέετο νόμος. ἐξῆν δὲ  
 καὶ ἐξ ἄλλης ἐλθόντα κώμης τὸν βουλόμενον ὠνέεσθαι.  
 ὁ μὲν νυν κάλλιστος νόμος, οὗτός σφι ἦν οὐ μέντοι  
 νυν γε διετέλεσε ἑὼν. ἄλλο δὲ τι ἐξευρήκασιν νεωστὶ  
 γενέσθαι, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικοῖεν αὐτὰς, μὴδ' ἐς ἐτέραν πόλιν  
 ἄγωνται· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἀλόντες ἐκακώθησαν καὶ οἰκο-  
 φθορήθησαν, πᾶς τις τοῦ δήμου, βίου σπανίζων, κατα-  
 πορνεύει τὰ θήλεα τέκνα. Δεύτερος δὲ σοφίῃ ὅδε ἄλλος 197  
 σφι νόμος κατεστήκει. τοὺς κάμνοντας ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν  
 ἐκφορέουσιν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ χρέωνται ἱητροῖσι· προσιόντες  
 ὦν πρὸς τὸν κάμνοντα, συμβουλεύουσι περὶ τῆς νοῦσου,  
 εἰ τις καὶ αὐτὸς τοιοῦτον ἔπαθε, ὁκοῖον ἔχει ὁ κάμνων,  
 ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε παθόντα. ταῦτα προσιόντες συμβουλεύ-  
 ονσι, καὶ παραινέουσι ἅσσα αὐτὸς ποιήσας ἐξέφυγε  
 ὁμοίην νοῦσον, ἢ ἄλλον εἶδε ἐκφυγόντα. σιγῇ δὲ παρ-  
 ἐξελθεῖν τὸν κάμνοντα οὐ σφι ἐξεστι, πρὶν ἂν ἐπείρηται  
 ἦντινα νοῦσον ἔχει. Ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι. θρήνοι 198  
 δὲ παραπλήσιοι τοῖσι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ὅσακις δ' ἂν μιχθῇ  
 γυναικὶ τῇ ἑωυτοῦ ἀνὴρ Βαβυλωνίος, περὶ θυμήμα κα-  
 ταγιζόμενον ἵζει· ἐτέρωθι δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τῶντὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖ.  
 ἱρθροῦ δὲ γενομένου, λούνται καὶ ἀμφοτέροι· ἄγγεος  
 γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἄψονται πρὶν ἂν λούσωνται. ταῦτα δὲ  
 ταῦτα καὶ Ἀραβιοὶ ποιεῖσι.

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἔστι τοῖσι Βαβυ- 199  
 λωνίοις ὅδε. δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἱζομένην  
 ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης, ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ  
 ξένῳ. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἀξιεύμεναι ἀναμίσγασθαι  
 τῇσι ἄλλῃσι, οἷα πλούτῳ ὑπερφρονέουσιν, ἐπὶ ζευγέων  
 ἐν καμάρῃσι ἐλάσασθαι, πρὸς τὸ ἱρὸν ἐστᾶσιν· θεραπητῇ  
 δὲ σφι ὀπισθεν ἔπεται πολλή. αἱ δὲ πλεῖνες ποιεῦσι  
 ὥδε. ἐν τεμένει Ἀφροδίτης κατέαται, στέφανον περὶ  
 τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἔχουσιν θώμυγος, πολλὰς γυναῖκας· αἱ

μὲν γὰρ προσέρχονται, αἱ δὲ ἀπέρχονται. σχοινοτενέες δὲ διέφοδοι πάντα τρόπον ὁδῶν ἔχουσι διὰ τῶν γυναικῶν, δι' ὧν οἱ ξεῖνοι διεξιόντες ἐκλέγονται. ἔνθα ἐπεὰν ἴζηται γυνή, οὐ πρότερον ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία, ἢ τις οἱ ξείνων ἀργύριον ἐμβαλὼν ἐς τὰ γούνατα, μυχθῇ ἔξω τοῦ ἱροῦ. ἐμβαλόντα δὲ δεῖ εἰπεῖν τοσόνδε "Ἐπικαλέω "τοι τὴν θεὸν Μύλιττα." Μύλιττα δὲ καλέουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Ἀσσύριοι. τὸ δὲ ἀργύριον μέγαθός ἐστι ὅσον ἂν οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἀπώσσηται· οὐ γὰρ οἱ θέμις ἐστὶ γίνεσθαι γὰρ ἱρὸν τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον. τῷ δὲ πρώτῳ ἐμβαλόντι ἐπεται, οὐδὲ ἀποδοκιμᾷ οὐδένα. ἐπεὰν δὲ μυχθῇ, ἀποσιωσαμένη τῇ θεῷ, ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐς τὰ οἰκία· καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτου οὐκ οὕτω μέγα τί οἱ δώσεις ὥς μιν λάμψαι. ὅσαι μὲν νυν εἰδὲός τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσὶ καὶ μεγάθεος, ταχὺ ἀπαλλάσσονται· ὅσαι δὲ ἄμορφοι αὐτέων εἰσὶ, χρόνον πολλὸν προσμένουσι, οὐ δυνάμεναι τὸν νόμον ἐκπλῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ τριέτεα καὶ τετραέτεα μετεξέτεραι χρόνον μένουσι. Ἐνιαχῇ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιός τούτῳ νόμος.

200 Νόμοι μὲν δὴ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι οὗτοι κατεστέασι. Εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῶν πατριαὶ τρεῖς, αἱ οὐδὲν ἄλλο σιτέονται εἰ μὴ ἰχθὺς μούνον· τοὺς ἐπεὶ τε ἂν θηρεύσαντες αὐτῇνωσι πρὸς ἥλιον, ποιεύσι τάδε. ἐσβάλλουσι ἐς ὄλμον, καὶ λεήναντες ὑπέροισι, σῶσι διὰ σινδόνης· καὶ ὃς μὲν ἂν βούληται αὐτῶν, ἅτε μάξαν μαζάμενος ἔχει· ὁ δὲ, ἄρτον τρόπον ὀπτήσας.

201 Ὡς δὲ τῷ Κύρῳ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος κατέργαστο, ἐπεθύμησε Μασσαγέτας ὑπ' ἐωυτῷ ποιήσασθαι. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτο, καὶ μέγα λέγεται εἶναι καὶ ἄλκιμον, οἰκη-  
 μένον δὲ πρὸς ἡῷ τε καὶ ἡλίου ανατολᾶς, πέρην τοῦ Ἀράξου ποταμοῦ, ἀντίον δὲ Ἰσσηδόνων ἀνδρῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ

202 οἳ τινες καὶ Σκυθικὸν λέγουσι τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης λέγεται καὶ μέζων καὶ ἐλάσσων εἶναι τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νήσους δ' ἐν αὐτῷ, Λέσβῳ μεγάθεα παραπλη-  
 σίας, συχνὰς φύσι εἶναι. ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι ἀνθρώπους, οἱ σιτέονται μὲν ῥίζας τὸ θέρος ὀρύσσοντες παντοίας· καρ-  
 πούς δὲ ἀπὸ δαυδρέων ἐξευρημένους σφι ἐς φορβὴν κατα-  
 τίθεσθαι ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους σιτέεσθαι τὴν χειμερινήν.

ἀλλὰ δὲ σφί ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρεα, καρποὺς τοιούσδε τιναὺς φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τῶντὸ συνέλθωσι κατὰ εἰλας, καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται, κύκλῳ περιῖζομένους ἐπιβάλλειν ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ· ὁσφραινομένους δὲ καταγιζομένου τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου, μεθύσκεσθαι τῇ ὁσμῇ, κατάπερ Ἑλλήνας τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος δὲ ἐπιβαλλομένου τοῦ καρποῦ, μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι· ἐς δὲ ἐς ὄρχησίν τε ἀνίστασθαι, καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνεέσθαι. τούτων μὲν αὕτη λέγεται δίαίτα εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης ποταμὸς ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Ματιηνῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης, τὸν ἐς τὰς διώρυχας τὰς ἐξήκοντά τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ Κύρος· στομασι δὲ ἐξερεύγεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τὰ πάντα, πλην ἐνός, ἐς ἑλεά τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδιδοῖ· ἐν τοῖσι ἀνθρώπους κατοικεῖσθαι λέγουσι ἰχθῦς ὠμούς σιτεομένους, ἐσθῆτι δὲ νομίζοντας χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐς τὴν Κασπίην θάλασσαν. ἡ δὲ Κασπίη θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ' ἐωτῆς, οὐ συμμίσχουσα τῇ ἐτέρῃ θαλάσῃ. τὴν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλληνες ναυτὶλλονται πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἔξω στηλέων θάλασσα ἡ Ἀτλαντὶς καλεομένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ, μία τυγχάνει ἐούσα. Ἡ δὲ Κασπίη, 203 ἐστὶ ἐτέρη ἐπ' ἐωτῆς· ἐούσα μῆκος μὲν πλόου, εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμερέων εὖρος δὲ, τῇ εὐρυτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἐωτῆς, ὀκτῶ ἡμερέων. Καὶ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης ὁ Καύκασος παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ πλήθει μέγιστον, καὶ μεγάθει ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρώπων πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα ἐν ἐωτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος· τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἀπ' ὕλης ἀγρίης ζῶοντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ δένδρεα φύλλα τοιῆσδε ἰδέης παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται, τὰ τρίβοντάς τε καὶ παραμίσχοντας ὕδωρ, ζῶα ἐωυτοῖσι ἐς τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐγγράφειν· τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συγκαταγηράσκειν τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ, κατάπερ ἐνυφανθέντα ἀρχήν. μίξιν δὲ τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι ἐμφανέα, κατάπερ τοῖσι προβάτοισι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τῆς θαλάσσης ταύτης, τῆς 204 Κασπίης καλεομένης, ὁ Καύκασος ἀπέργει· τὰ δὲ πρὸς ἠῷ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα, πεδῖον ἐκδέκεται, πλήθος ἀπειρον ἐς ἀποψιν τοῦ ὧν δὴ πεδίου τοῦ μεγάλου οὐκ

ἐλαχίστην μοίρην μετέχουσι οἱ Μασσαγέται, ἐπ' οὓς ὁ Κῦρος ἔσχε προθυμίην στρατεύσασθαι. πολλά τε γάρ μιν καὶ μεγάλα τὰ ἐπαείροντα καὶ ἐποτρύνοντα ἦν. πρῶτον μὲν ἡ γένεσις, τὸ δοκέειν πλέον τι εἶναι ἀνθρώπου· δεύτερα δέ, ἡ εὐτυχία ἡ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους γενομένη· ἃ καὶ γὰρ ἰδίῃσει στρατεύεσθαι Κῦρος, ἀμήχανον ἦν ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἔθνος διαφυγέειν.

205 Ἦν δέ, τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποθανόντος, γυνὴ τῶν Μασσαγетέων βασιλεια· Τόμυρις οἱ ἦν οὖνομα. ταύτην πέμπων ὁ Κῦρος ἐμνάτο τῷ λόγῳ, θέλων γυναῖκα ἣν ἔχειν. ἡ δὲ Τόμυρις συνιέισα οὐκ αὐτήν μιν μνώμενον, ἀλλὰ τὴν Μασσαγетέων βασιλῆην, ἀπέπειτο τὴν πρόσοδον. Κῦρος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὥς οἱ δόλω οὐ προεχώρει, ἐλάσας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, ἐποιέετο ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανέος ἐπὶ τοὺς Μασσαγέτας στρατηήν, γεφύρας τε ζευγνύων ἐπὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, διάβασιν τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ πύργους ἐπὶ πλοίοις τῶν δια-

206 πορθομένων τὸν ποταμὸν οἰκοδομοῦμενος. Ἐχοντι δέ οἱ τοῦτον τὸν πόνον, πέμψασα ἡ Τόμυρις κήρυκα, ἔλεγε τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ Μήδων, παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδείης εἰ τοι ἐς καιρὸν ἔσται ταῦτα· τελεύμενα· παυσάμενος δέ, βασιλεύε τῶν σεωυτοῦ, καὶ ἡμέας ἀνέχου ὁρέων ἄρχοντας τῶν περ ἄρχομεν. Οὐκ ὦν ἐβελήσεις ὑποθήκησι τῇσινδε χρέεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἡσυχίης εἶναι. σὺ δέ εἰ μεγάλως προθυμέαι Μασσαγетέων πειρηθῆναι, φέρε, μόχθον μὲν, τὸν ἔχεις ζευγνὺς τὸν ποταμὸν, ἄφες· σὺ δέ, ἡμέων ἀναχωρησάντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τριῶν ἡμερέων ὁδὸν, διαβαίνας ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεν. εἰ δ' ἡμέας βούλει ἐσδέξασθαι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν ὑμετέρεν, σὺ τὸν ποταμὸν ποιεῖς.” Ταῦτα δὲ ἀκούσας ὁ Κῦρος, συνεκάλεσε Περσέων τοὺς πρῶτους· συναγείρας δὲ τούτους, ἐς μέσον σφί προετίθει τὸ πρῆγμα, συμβουλευόμενος ὁκότερα ποιέη. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν ποταμὸν αἰγνώμαι συνεξέπιπτον, κελευόντων ἐσδέκεσθαι Τόμυριν τε

207 καὶ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτῆς ἐς τὴν χώραν. Παρεὼν δὲ καὶ μεμφόμενος τὴν γνώμην ταύτην Κροῖσος ὁ Λυδὸς, ἀπεδείκνυτο ἐναντίῃ τῇ προκειμένη γνώμῃ, λέγων τάδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, εἶπον μὲν καὶ πρότερόν τοι, ὅτι ἐπεὶ με Ζεὺς ἔδωκε τοι, τὸ ἂν ὁρᾷ σφάλμα εἶναι οἴκῳ τῷ σῷ,

"κατὰ δύναμιν ἀποτρέψειν. τὰ δέ μοι παθήματα, ἔοντα  
 "ἀχάρита, μαθήματα γηγόνεε. Εἰ μὲν ἀθάνατος δοκέεις  
 "εἶναι, καὶ στρατιῆς τοιαύτης ἄρχειν, οὐδὲν ἂν εἴη πρῆγ-  
 "μα γνώμας ἐμέ σοι ἀποφαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ ἔγνωκας ὅτι  
 "ἄνθρωπος καὶ σὺ εἰς, καὶ ἐτέρων τοιῶνδε ἄρχεις, ἐκείνο  
 "πρῶτον μάθε, ὡς κύκλος τῶν ἀνθρωπηῶν ἐστὶ πρηγμά-  
 "των· περιφερόμενος δὲ, οὐκ ἔῃ αἰεὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς εὐτυ-  
 "χέειν. ἤδη ὦν ἐγὼ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ τοῦ προκειμένου  
 "πρήγματος τὰ ἔμπαλιν ἢ οὗτοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλησομεν  
 "ἐσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὅδε τοι ἐν  
 "αὐτῷ κίνδυνος ἐνι· ἐσσωθεῖς μὲν, προσαπολλύεις πᾶσαν  
 "τὴν ἀρχήν· δῆλα γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι νικῶντες Μασσαγέται  
 "οὐ τὸ ὀπίσω φεύξονται, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀρχὰς τὰς σὰς ἐλῶσι.  
 "νικῶν δὲ, οὐ νικᾷς τοσοῦτον, ὅσον εἰ διαβὰς ἐς τὴν  
 "ἐκείνων, νικῶν Μασσαγέτας, ἔποιο φεύγουσι· τῷτ' οὖν γὰρ  
 "ἀντιθήσω ἐκείνῳ, ὅτι νικήσας τοὺς ἀντιουμένους ἐλᾷς  
 "ἰθὺ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς Τομύριος. Χωρὶς τε τοῦ ἀπηγημέ-  
 "νου, αἰσχρὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν, Κῦρόν γε τὸν Καμβύσειω  
 "γυναικὶ εἴξαντα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῆς χώρας. Νῦν ὦν μοι  
 "δοκέει, διαβάντας προελθεῖν ὅσον ἂν ἐκεῖνοι διεξίωσι·  
 "ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ τάδε ποιεῦντας. πειρᾶσθαι ἐκείνων περὶ-  
 "γενέσθαι. ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, Μασσαγέται εἰσὶ  
 "ἀγαθῶν τε Περσικῶν ἄπειροι, καὶ καλῶν μεγάλων ἀπα-  
 "θές. τούτοισι ὦν τοῖσι ἀνδράσι, τῶν προβάτων ἀφει-  
 "δέως πολλὰ κατακόψαντας, καὶ σκευάσαντας, προθεῖναι  
 "ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δαῖτα· πρὸς δὲ, καὶ κρη-  
 "τῆρας ἀφειδέως οἶνου ἀκρήτου, καὶ σιτία παντοῖα.  
 "ποιήσαντας δὲ ταῦτα, ὑπολειπομένους τῆς στρατιῆς τὸ  
 "φλαυρότατον, τοὺς λοιποὺς αἷτις ἐξαναχωρέειν ἐπὶ τὸν  
 "ποταμόν. ἦν γὰρ ἐγὼ γνώμης μὴ ἀμάρτω, κείνοι ἰδομέ-  
 "νοι ἀγαθὰ πολλὰ, τρέφονται τε πρὸς αὐτὰ, καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ  
 "ἐνθεῦτεν λείπεται ἀπόδεξις ἔργων μεγάλων."

Γνώμαι μὲν αὗται συνέστασαν. Κῦρος δὲ, μετεῖς τὴν 208  
 προτέρην γνώμην, τὴν Κροίσου δὲ ἐλόμενος, προηγόρευε  
 Τομύρι· ἐξαναχωρέειν, ὡς αὐτοῦ διαβησομένου ἐπ' ἐκείνην.  
 ἢ μὲν δὴ ἐξαναχώρει, κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα. Κῦρος δὲ,  
 Κροίσον ἐς τὰς χεῖρας ἐσθλὴς τῷ ἐκρυπτοῦ παιδὶ Καμβύσῃ,  
 τῷ περ τὴν βασιληῆν ἐδίδου, καὶ πολλὰ ἐντειλέμενός οἱ

- τιμᾶν τε αὐτὸν καὶ εὖ ποιέειν, ἣν ἡ διάβασις ἢ ἐπὶ Μασσαγέτας μὴ ὀρθωθῇ· ταῦτα ἐντειλάμενος, καὶ ἀποστείλας τουτούς ἐς Πέρσας, αὐτὸς διέβαινε τὸν ποταμὸν, καὶ ὁ
- 200 στρατὸς αὐτοῦ. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ ἐπεραιώθη τὸν Ἀράξεα, νυκτός ἐπελθούσης, εἶδε ὄψιν, εὐδων ἐν τῶν Μασσαγητέων τῇ χώρῃ, τοιήνδε. ἐδόκεε ὁ Κῦρος ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ ὁρᾶν τῶν Ὑστάσπεος παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. Ὑστάσπεϊ δὲ τῷ Ἀρσάμεος, ἔοντι ἀνδρὶ Ἀχαιμενίδῃ, ἣν τῶν παίδων Δαρείος πρεσβύτατος, ἔων τότε ἡλικίην ἐς εἰκοσὶ κου μάλιστα ἔτεα. καὶ οὗτος καταλέλειπτο ἐν Πέρσῃσι· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε κω ἡλικίην στρατεύεσθαι. ἐπεὶ ὧν δὴ ἐξεγέρθη ὁ Κῦρος, ἐδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ περὶ τῆς ὄψιος. ὥς δὲ οἱ ἐδόκεε μεγάλη εἶναι ἡ ὄψις, καλέσας Ὑστάσπεα, καὶ ἀπολαβὼν μούνον, εἶπε
- “Ὑστάσπεες, παῖς σὸς ἐπιβουλεύων ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ἀρχῇ ἐάλωκε ὥς δὲ ταῦτα ἀτρεκέως οἶδα, ἐγὼ σημανέω. ἐμεῦ θεοὶ κήδονται, καὶ μοι πάντα προδεικνύουσι τὰ ἐπιφερόμενα· ἤδη ὧν ἐν τῇ παροιχομένῃ νυκτὶ εὐδων, εἶδον τῶν σῶν παίδων τὸν πρεσβύτατον ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτέρυγας· καὶ τουτέων τῇ μὲν τὴν Ἀσίην, τῇ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπισκιάζειν. οὐκὼν ἐστὶ μηχανὴ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψιος ταύτης οὐδεμία, τὸ μὴ κείνον ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐμοί. σὺ τοίνυν τὴν ταχίστην πορεύεο ὀπίσω ἐς Πέρσας, καὶ ποίεις ὅκως ἐπεὰν ἐγὼ τάδε καταστρεψάμενος ἔλθω ἐκεῖ,
- 210 “ὥς μοι καταστήσης τὸν παῖδα ἐς ἔλεγχον.” Κῦρος μὲν δοκέων Δαρείῳ οἱ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἔλεγε τάδε· τῷ δὲ ὁ δαίμων προέφαινε, ὥς αὐτὸς μὲν τελευτήσῃ αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ μέλλοι, ἡ δὲ βασιληΐῃ αὐτοῦ περιχωρεῖο ἐς Δαρείον. Ἀμείβεται οἱ δὴ ὧν ὁ Ὑστάσπης τοῖσδε· “ὦ βασιλεῦ, μὴ εἴῃ ἀνὴρ Πέρσης γεγονώς, ὅστις τοι ἐπιβουλεύσει· εἰ δ' ἔστι, ἀπόλοιτο ὡς τάχιστα· ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν δούλων, ἐποίησας ἐλευθέρους Πέρσας εἶναι· ἀντὶ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἄρχειν ἀπάντων. εἰ δὲ τίς τοι ὄψις ἀπαγγέλλει παῖδα τὸν ἐμὸν νεώτερα βουλεύειν περὶ σέο, ἐγὼ τοι παραδίδωμι χρῆσθαι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ὃ τι σὺ βούλῃαι.” Ὑστάσπης μὲν τούτοις ἀμειψάμενος, καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἀράξεα, ἦε ἐς Πέρσας, φυλάξων Κῦρον τὸν παῖδα Δαρείον.

Κῦρος δὲ προελθὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀράξεω ἡμέρης ὁδὸν, 211  
ἐποίησε τὰς Κροισοῦ ὑποθήκας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, Κῦρου τε  
καὶ Περσέων τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ ἀπελάσαντος ὀπίσω  
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀράξεα, λειφθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἀχρηίου, ἐπελθούσα  
τῶν Μασσαγετέων τριτημορις τοῦ στρατοῦ, τοὺς τε λει-  
φθέντας τῆς Κῦρου στρατιῆς ἐφόνευσεν ἀλεξομένους, καὶ τὴν  
προκειμένην ἰδόντες δαῖτα, ὡς ἐχειρώσαντο τοὺς ἐναντίους  
κλιθέντες δαίνυντο· πληρωθέντες δὲ φορβῆς καὶ οἴνου,  
εὗδον. οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐπελθόντες πολλοὺς μὲν σφειων  
ἐφόνευσαν, πολλῷ δ' ἔτι πλεῦνας ἐξώγρησαν, καὶ ἄλλους,  
καὶ τὸν τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖδα, στρατηγέοντα  
Μασσαγετέων, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σπαργαπίσης. Ἡ δὲ, 212  
πυθομένη τὰ τε περὶ τὴν στρατιὴν γεγονότα καὶ τὰ περὶ  
τὸν παῖδα, πέμπουσα κήρυκα παρὰ Κῦρον, ἔλεγε τάδε·  
“Ἀπληστε αἵματος Κῦρε, μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς τῷ γεγονότι  
“τῷδε πρήγματι, εἰ ἀμπελίνῳ καρπῷ, τῷπερ αὐτοὶ ἐμπι-  
“πλάμενοι μαίνεσθε οὕτω, ὥστε κατιόντος τοῦ οἴνου ἐς  
“τὸ σῶμα, ἐπαναπλῶειν ὑμῖν ἔπεα κακὰ, τοιοῦτῳ φαρ-  
“μάκῳ δολώσας, ἐκράτησας παιδὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ  
“μάχη κατὰ τὸ καρτερόν. νῦν ὦν μευ εὖ παραινέουσας  
“ὑπόλαβε τὸν λόγον. ἀποδοὺς μοι τὸν παῖδα, ἅπιθι ἐκ  
“τῆσδε τῆς χώρας ἀζήμιος, Μασσαγετέων τριτημοριδί-  
“τοῦ στρατοῦ κατυβρίσας. εἰ δὲ μὴ ταῦτα σὺ ποιήσεις,  
“ἥλιον ἐπόμενυμί τοι τὸν Μασσαγετέων δεσπότην, ἢ μὴν  
“σὲ ἐγὼ, καὶ ἀπληστον ἔοντα, αἵματος κορέσω.” Κῦρος 213  
μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐπέων οὐδένα τούτων ἀνενειχθέντων ἐποιέετο  
λόγον. ὁ δὲ τῆς βασιλείης Τομύριος παῖς Σπαργαπίσης,  
ὥς μιν ὁ τε οἶνος ἀνῆκε, καὶ ἔμαθε ἵνα ἦν κακοῦ, δεηθεὶς  
Κῦρου ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν λυθῆναι, ἔτυχεν ὡς δὲ ἐλύθη τε  
τάχιστα καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκράτησε, διεργάζεται ἐωυτόν.  
καὶ δὴ οὗτος μὲν τρόπῳ τοιοῦτῳ τελευτᾷ. Τομυρις δὲ, 214  
ὥς οἱ ὁ Κῦρος οὐκ ἐσήκουσε, συλλέξασα πᾶσαν τὴν  
ἐωυτῆς δύναμιν, συνέβαλε Κῦρῳ. ταύτην τὴν μάχην,  
ᾧσαι δὴ βαρβάρων ἀνδρῶν μάχαι ἐγένοντο, κρίνω ἰσχυρο-  
τάτην γενέσθαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ πυνθάνομαι οὕτω τοῦτο γενό-  
μενον. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ λέγεται αὐτοὺς διαστάντας ἐς ἄλ-  
λήλους τοξεύειν μετὰ δὲ, ὡς σφι τὰ βέλεα ἐξετετόξευτο,  
συμπεσόντας τῷσι αἰχμῇσί τε καὶ τοῖσι ἐγχειριδίοις

συνέχεσθαι χρόνον τε δὴ ἐπὶ πολλὸν συνεστάναι μαχομένους, καὶ οὐδετέρους ἐθέλειν φεύγειν τέλος δὲ, οἱ Μασσαγέται περιεγενέατο ἢ τε δὴ πολλὰ τῆς Περσικῆς στρατιῆς αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ διεφθάρη, καὶ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς Κύρος τελευτᾷ, βασιλεύσας τὰ πάντα ἑνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα ἔτεα. ἀσκὸν δὲ πλήσασα αἵματος ἀνθρωπηίου Τόμυρις, ἐδίλκτο ἐν τοῖσι τεθνεώσι τῶν Περσέων τὸν Κύρου νέκυν. ὡς δὲ εὖρε, ἐναπῆπτε αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν λυμαινωμένη δὲ τῷ νεκρῷ, ἐπέλεγε τάδε· “Σὺ μὲν ἐμὲ “ζώουσάν τε καὶ νικῶσάν σε μάχῃ ἀπάλεσας, παῖδα τὸν “ἐμὸν ἐλὼν δόλῳ σέ δ’ ἐγὼ, κατὰπερ ἠπειλησα, αἵματος “κορέσω.” Τὰ μὲν δὴ κατὰ τὴν Κυρου τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου, πολλῶν λόγων λεγομένων, ὕδα μοι ὁ πιθανώτατος εἴρηται.

- 215 Μασσαγέται δὲ ἐσθιῆτά τε ὁμοίην τῇ Σκυθικῇ φορέουσι, καὶ διαίταν ἔχουσι. ἵππόται δὲ εἰσι καὶ ἄνιπποι, (ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι,) καὶ τοξόται τε καὶ αἰχμοφόροι, σαγάρις νομίζοντες ἔχειν. χρυσῷ δὲ καὶ χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἐς αἰχμάς, καὶ ἄρδεις, καὶ σαγάρις, χαλκῷ τὰ πάντα χρέωνται· ὅσα δὲ περὶ κεφαλὴν, καὶ ζωστήρας, καὶ μασχαλιστήρας, χρυσῷ κοσμέονται. ὡς δ’ αὐτως τῶν ἵππων τὰ μὲν περὶ τὰ στέρνα, χαλκέους θώρηκας περιβάλλουσι· τὰ δὲ περὶ τοὺς χαλινούς καὶ στόμια καὶ φάλαρα, χρυσῷ. σιδήρῳ δὲ οὐδ’ ἀργύρῳ χρέωνται οὐδέν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδέ σφί ἐστι ἐν τῇ
- 216 χώρῃ· ὁ δὲ χρυσὸς καὶ ὁ χαλκὸς, ἄπλετος. Νόμοισι δὲ χρέωνται τοιοῖσδε γυναῖκα μὲν γαμέει ἕκαστος, ταύτησι δὲ ἐπὶ κούνα χρέωνται. ὁ γὰρ Σκύθας φασὶ· Ἕλληνας ποιεῖν, οὐ Σκυθαί εἰσι οἱ ποιέοντες, ἀλλὰ Μασσαγέται· τῆς γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσει γυναικὸς Μασσαγέτης ἀνὴρ, τὸν φαρρετρεῶνα ἀποκρεμάσας πρὸ τῆς ἀμάξης, μίσγεται ἀδεῶς. Οὗρος δὲ ἡλικίης σφί προκέεται ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς· ἐπεὶ δὲ γέρον γένηται κάρτα, οἱ προσήκοντές οἱ πάντες συνελθόντες θύουσὶ μιν, καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα ἅμα αὐτῷ ἐψήσαντες δὲ τὰ κρέα, κατευωχέονται. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ὀλβιώτατά σφί νεόμισται. τὸν δὲ νοῦσφ τελευτήσαντα οὐ κατασιτέονται, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτουσι, συμφορὴν ποιούμενοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔκετο ἐς τὸ τυθῆναι. Σπείρουσι δὲ οὐδέν, ἀλλ’

ἀπὸ κτηνέων ζώουσι καὶ ἰχθύων οἱ δὲ, ἄφθονοὶ σφί ἐκ  
τοῦ Ἀράξεω ποταμοῦ παραγίνονται· γαλακτοπόται δὲ  
εἰσὶ. Θεῶν δὲ μόνον ἥλιον σέβονται, τῷ θύουσι ἵππους.  
νόμος δὲ οὗτος τῆς θυσίης τῶν θεῶν τῷ ταχίστῳ, πάν-  
των τῶν θνητῶν τὸ τάχιστον δατέονται.

### ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Α.

# ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ

## ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ.

### ΕΥΤΕΡΠΗ.

- 1 ΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ δὲ Κύρου, παρέλαβε τὴν βασι-  
λητὴν Καμβύσης, Κύρου ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κασσανδάνης, τῆς  
Φαρνάσπεω θυγατρὸς τῆς προαποθανούσης, Κύρος αὐτὸς  
τε μέγα πένθος ἐποίησατο, καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε  
πᾶσι, τῶν ἦρχε, πένθος ποιέεσθαι. ταύτης δὲ τῆς γυναι-  
κὸς ἐὼν παῖς καὶ Κύρου Καμβύσης, Ἴωνας μὲν καὶ  
Αἰολέας ὡς δούλους πατρῴους ἔοντας ἐνόμιζε· ἐπὶ δὲ  
Αἴγυπτον ἐποίετο στρατηλασίην, ἄλλους τε παραλαβὼν  
τῶν ἦρχε, καὶ δὴ καὶ Ἑλλήνων, τῶν ἐπεκράτεε.
- 2 Οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, πρὶν μὲν ἢ Ψαμμίτιχον σφέων  
βασιλεῦσαι, ἐνόμιζον ἐωυτοὺς πρώτους γενέσθαι πάντων  
ἀνθρώπων. ἐπεὶ δὲ Ψαμμίτιχος βασιλεύσας ἠθέλησε  
εἶδεναι οἳ τινες γενοῖατο πρώτοι, ἀπὸ τούτου νομίζουσι  
Φρύγας προτέρους γενέσθαι ἐωυτῶν, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐωυ-  
τοῖς. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ὡς οὐκ ἐδύνάτο πυνθανόμενος  
πόρον οὐδένα τούτου ἀνευρεῖν, οἳ γενοῖατο πρώτοι ἀνθρώ-  
πων, ἐπιτεχνᾶται τοιόνδε. Παιδία δύο νεογνὰ ἀνθρώπων  
τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων διδοῖ ποιμένι τρέφειν ἐς τὰ ποιμνία  
τροφὴν τινα τοιήνδε· ἐντειλάμενος μηδένα αὐτῶν  
μηδεμίαν φωνὴν ἰέναι, ἐν στέγῃ δὲ ἐρήμῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν  
κέεσθαι αὐτὰ, καὶ τὴν ὥρην ἐπαγινέειν σφι αἰγας· πλή-  
σαντα δὲ τοῦ γάλακτος, τᾶλλα διαπρήσσεσθαι. ταῦτα δ'  
ἐποίησε καὶ ἐνετέλλετο ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, θέλων ἀκοῦσαι  
τῶν παιδίων, ἀπαλλαχθέντων τῶν ἀσῆμων κνυζημάτων,  
ἦντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρώτην. τάπερ ὦν καὶ ἐγένετο.  
ὡς γὰρ διέτης χρόνος ἐγγόνεε ταῦτα τῷ ποιμένι πρήσ-  
σονται, ἀνοήγοντι τὴν θύρην καὶ ἐσιόντι τὰ παιδία ἀμφό-  
τερα προσπίπτοντα βεκός ἐφώνεον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας.

τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα ἀκούσας, ἥσυχος ἦν ὁ ποιμήν. ὥς δὲ πολλάκι φοιτέοντι καὶ ἐπιμελομένῳ πολλὸν ἦν τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος, οὕτω δὴ σημήνας τῷ δεσπότῃ, ἤγαγε τὰ παιδία κελεύσαντος ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἐκείνου. ἀκούσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐπυνθάνετο οἵτινες ἀνθρώπων βεκὸς τί καλέουσι. πυνθανόμενος δὲ, εὔρισκε Φρύγας καλέοντας τὸν ἄρτον. οὕτω συνεχώρησαν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τοιούτῳ σταθμισάμενοι πρήγματι, τοὺς Φρύγας πρεσβυτέρους εἶναι ἑωυτῶν. Ὡδε μὲν γενέσθαι τῶν ἱρέων τοῦ Ἡφαίστου ἐν 3 Μέμφι ἤκουον. Ἕλληνες δὲ λέγουσι ἄλλα τε μάταια πολλὰ, καὶ ὥς γυναικῶν τὰς γλώσσας ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος ἐκταμών, τὴν δίαιταν οὕτως ἐποίησατο τῶν παίδων παρὰ ταύτησι τῇσι γυναιξί. κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὴν τροφήν τῶν παίδων τοσαῦτα ἔλεγον. Ἦκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐν Μέμφι, ἐλθὼν ἐς λόγους τοῖσι ἱρεύσι τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐς Θήβας τε καὶ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν αὐτῶν τούτων εἵνεκεν ἐτραπόμην, ἐθέλων εἰδέναι εἰ συμβήσονται τοῖσι λόγοισι τοῖσι ἐν Μέμφι. οἱ γὰρ Ἡλιουπολίται λέγονται Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι λογιώτατοι. Τὰ μὲν νυν θεῖα τῶν ἀπηρημάτων οἷα ἤκουον, οὐκ εἰμὶ πρόθυμος ἐξηγέσθαι, ἔξω ἢ τὰ οὐνόματα αὐτῶν μούνον· νομίζων πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἴσον περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι· τὰ δ' ἂν ἐπιμνησθῶ αὐτῶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ἐξαναγκαζόμενος ἐπιμνησθήσομαι.

Ὅσα δὲ ἀνθρωπῆια πρήγματα, ὧδε ἔλεγον ὁμολο- 4 γέοντες σφίσι. Πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ἐξευρέειν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, δυνάδεκα μέρεα δασαμένους τῶν ὠρέων ἐς αὐτόν. ταῦτα δὲ ἐξευρέειν ἐκ τῶν ἀστρῶν ἔλεγον. ἄγουσι δὲ τοσῶδε σοφώτερον Ἕλλήνων, ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, ὅσω Ἕλληνες μὲν διὰ τρίτου ἔτεος ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι, τῶν ὠρέων εἵνεκεν· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ τριηκοντημέρους ἄγοντες τοὺς δυνάδεκα μῆνας, ἐπάγουσι ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος πέντε ἡμέρας πάρεξ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, καὶ σφί ὁ κύκλος τῶν ὠρέων ἐς ταῦτ' ἐπιπλεονεχέει παραγίνεται. Δυνάδεκά τε θεῶν ἐπωνυμίας ἔλεγον πρώτους Αἰγυπτίους νομίσαι, καὶ Ἕλληνας παρὰ σφέων ἀναλαβεῖν. βωμούς τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ νηοὺς θεοῖσι ἀπονείμει σφέας πρώτους, καὶ ζῶα ἐν λίθοις ἐγγλύφαι. καὶ τούτων μὲν νυν τὰ πλέω ἔργα ἐδήλουν οὕτω γεγόμενα. Βασιλεύσαι δὲ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτου

ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον Μῆνα. ἐπὶ τούτου, πλὴν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ νομοῦ, πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ἕλος καὶ αὐτῆς εἶναι οὐδὲν ὑπερέχον τῶν νῦν ἔνερθε λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος ἐόντων ἐς τὴν ἀνάπλους ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἑπτὰ ἡμερέων ἐστὶ  
 5 ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμόν. Καὶ εὖ μοι ἐδόκεον λέγειν περὶ τῆς χώρας. δῆλα γὰρ δὴ καὶ μὴ προακούσαντι, ἰδόντι δέ, ὅστις γε σύνεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι Αἴγυπτος, ἐς τὴν Ἑλληνες καυτίλλονται, ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐπικτήτός τε γῆ, καὶ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τὰ κατύπερθε ἔτι τῆς λίμνης ταύτης, μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερέων πλόου, τῆς πέρι ἐκείνοι οὐδὲν ἔτι τοιόνδε ἔλεγον, ἐστὶ δ' ἕτερον τοιοῦτον.

Αἰγύπτου γὰρ φύσις τῆς χώρας ἐστὶ τοιήδε. Πρῶτα μὲν προσπλέων, ἔτι καὶ ἡμέρης δρόμον ἀπέχων ἀπὸ γῆς, κατεῖς καταπειρητηρίην, πηλὸν τε ἀνοίσεις, καὶ ἐν ἑνδεκα ὀργυῖσι ἔσεαι. τοῦτο μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο δηλοῖ πρόχυσιν  
 6 τῆς γῆς ἐούσαν. Αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐστὶ μῆκος τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοι, κατὰ ἡμέες διαιρέομεν εἶναι Αἴγυπτον ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλινθινήτεω κόλπου μέχρι Σερβωνίδος λίμνης, παρ' ἣν τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος τείνει ταύτης ὦν ἀπο οἱ ἐξήκοντα σχοῖνοί εἰσι. ὅσοι μὲν γὰρ γεωπεῖναι εἰσι ἀνθρώπων, ὀργυῖσι μεμετρήκασι τὴν χώραν ὅσοι δὲ ἦσσαν γεωπεῖναι, σταδίοισι· οἱ δὲ πολλὴν ἔχουσι, παρασάγγῃσι· οἱ δὲ ἀφθονον λίην, σχοῖνοισι. δύναται δὲ ὁ μὲν παρασάγγῃς τριήκοντα στάδια· ὁ δὲ σχοῖνος ἕκαστος, μέτρον ἐὼν Αἰγύπτιον, ἐξήκοντα στάδια. οὕτω ἂν εἴησαν Αἰγύπτου στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχί-  
 7 λιοι, τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. Ἐνθεῦτεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιουπόλιος ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν, ἐστὶ εὐρέα Αἴγυπτος, ἐούσα πᾶσα ὑπτίῃ τε καὶ ἀνδροσ, καὶ ἰλὺς. ἐστὶ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἡλιούπολιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἰόντι, παραπλησίῃ τὸ μῆκος τῇ ἐξ Ἀθηνέων ὁδῷ, τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ φερούσῃ ἕς τε Πίσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν νηὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. σμικρὸν τι τὸ διάφορον εὖροι τις ἂν λογιζόμενος τῶν ἰδῶν τουτέων, τὸ μὴ ἴσας μῆκος εἶναι, οὐ πλέον πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐς Πίσαν ἐξ Ἀθηνέων, καταδεῖ πεντεκαίδεκα σταδίων, ὡς μὴ εἶναι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἢ δὲ ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν  
 8 ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, πληροῖ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον. Ἀπὸ δὲ

Ἡλιουπόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, στευνή ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος. τῇ μὲν γὰρ, τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρατέταται, φέρουν ἀπ' ἄρκτον πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νότου, αἰεὶ ἄνω τείνουν ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομίαι ἔνεισι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμηθεῖσαι τὰς ἐν Μέμφι. ταύτῃ μὲν λήγον ἀνακάμπτει ἐς τὰ εἴρηται τὸ ὄρος· τῇ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐωυτοῦ ἐστὶ μακρότατον, ὥς ἐγὼ ἐπυνθανόμενην, δύο μηνῶν αὐτὸ εἶναι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀπὸ ἡοῦς πρὸς ἐσπέρην τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ, λιβανωτοφύρα αὐτοῦ τὰ τέρματα εἶναι. τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ὄρος τοιοῦτο ἐστὶ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς Λιβύης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, ὄρος ἄλλο πέτρινον τείνει, ἐν τῷ αἰ πυραμίδες ἔνεισι, ψάμμῳ κατειλυμένοι, τεταμένον τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τὸν καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου τὰ πρὸς μεσαμβρίην φέρουντα. Τὸ ὦν δὴ ἀπὸ Ἡλιουπόλιος, οὐκέτι πολλὸν χωρίον, ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου· ἀλλ' ὅσον τε ἡμερέων τεσσέρων ἀναπλόου στευνή ἐστὶ Αἴγυπτος ἐοῦσα. τῶν δὲ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τὸ μεταξὺ, πεδιάς μὲν γῆ· στάδιοι δὲ μάλιστα ἐδόκεόν μοι εἶναι, τῇ στευνότατὸν ἐστὶ, διηκοσίων οὐ πλείους, ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου οὖρεος ἐς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεόμενον. τὸ δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν αὐτῇ εὐρέα Αἰγυπτὸς ἐστὶ. Πέφυκε μὲν νυν ἡ χώρα αὕτη οὕτω. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιουπόλιος 9 ἐς Θήβας, ἐστὶ ἀνάπλοος ἐννέα ἡμερέων· στάδιοι δὲ τῆς ὁδοῦ, ἐξήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι καὶ τετρακισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἑνὸς καὶ ὀγδῶκοντα ἐόντων. οὗτοι συντιθέμενοι οἱ στάδιοι Αἰγύπτου, τὸ μὲν παρὰ θάλασσαν, ἤδη μοι καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωται ὅτι ἑξακοσίων τέ ἐστὶ σταδίων καὶ τρισχιλίων· ὅσον δὲ τι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἐς μεσόγαιαν μέχρι Θηβέων ἐστὶ, σημανέω. στάδιοι γάρ εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ Θηβέων ἐς Ἐλεφαντίνην καλεομένην πόλιν, στάδιοι χίλιοι καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι εἰσι.

Ταύτης ὦν τῆς χώρας τῆς εἰρημένης ἡ πολλή, κατὰ 10 περ οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον, ἐδόκεε δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι εἶναι ἐπίκρητος Αἰγυπτίῳσι. τῶν γὰρ οὐρέων τῶν εἰρημένων τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν πόλιν κειμένων τὸ μεταξὺ ἐφαίνεται μοι εἶναι κοτε κόλπος θιλάσσης, ὥσπερ γε τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον καὶ Τευθρανίην, καὶ Ἐφεσὸν τε καὶ Μαιάνδρου πεδίον ὥστε εἶναι σμικρὰ ταῦτα μεγάλοισι συμβαλέειν. τῶν

γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν, ἐνὶ τῶν στομάτων τοῦ Νεῖλου, ὄντος πενταστόμου, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν πλήθεος πέρι ἄξιος συμβληθῆναί ἐστι. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι ποταμοὶ οὐ κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον ὄντες μεγάλα, οἳ τινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσὶ τῶν ἐγὼ φράσαι ἔχω οὐνόματα, καὶ ἄλλων, καὶ οὐκ ἤκιστα Ἀχελῶον ὃς ῥέων δι' Ἀκαρνανίης, καὶ ἐξίεις ἐς θάλασσαν, τῶν Ἐχινάδων

- 11 νήσων τὰς ἡμίσεας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε. Ἔστι δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίης χώρας, Αἰγύπτου δὲ οὐ πρόσω, κόλπος θαλάσσης ἐσέχων ἐκ τῆς Ἐρυθρῆς καλεομένης θαλάσσης, μακρὸς οὕτω δὴ τι καὶ στενὸς, ὥς ἔρχομαι φράσω. μήκος μὲν πλόου, ἀρξαμένῳ ἐκ μυχοῦ διεκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρέην θάλασσαν, ἡμέραι ἀναισιμούνται τεσσαεράκοντα, εἰρεσίῃ χρεωμένῳ εὐρὸς δὲ, τῇ εὐρύτατός ἐστι ὁ κόλπος, ἡμισυ ἡμέρης πλόου. ῥηχὴ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἄμπωτις ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην γίνεται. ἕτερον τοιοῦτον κόλπον καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον δοκέω γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν μὲν, ἐκ τῆς βορητῆς θαλάσσης κόλπον ἐσέχοντα ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας· τὸν δὲ [Ἀράβιον, τὸν ἔρχομαι λέγων,] ἐκ τῆς νοτίης φέροντα ἐπὶ Συρίας· σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραίνοντας τοὺς μυχοὺς, ὀλίγον δὲ τι παραλλάσσοντας τῆς χώρας. εἰ ὦν δὴ ἐβελήσει ἐκτρέψαι τὸ ῥέεθρον ὁ Νεῖλος ἐς τοῦτον τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον, τί μιν κωλύει ῥέοντος τούτου ἐκχωσθῆναι ἐντὸς γε δισμυρίων ἐτέων; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔλπομαι γε καὶ μυρίων ἐντὸς χωσθῆναι ἂν. καὶ γε δὴ, ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἂν χωσθελὴ κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου, ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ
- 12 καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ; Τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον ὦν καὶ τοῖσι λέγουσι αὐτὰ πείθονται, καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω κάρτα δοκέω εἶναι, ἰδὼν τε τὴν Αἴγυπτον προκειμένην τῆς ἐχομένης γῆς, κογχυλιά τε φαινόμενα ἐπὶ τοῖσι οὖρεσι, καὶ ἄλμην ἐπανθέουσαν, ὥστε καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας δηλέεσθαι καὶ ψάμμον μόνον Αἰγύπτου ὅρος τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος ἔχον πρὸς δὲ, τῇ χώρῃ οὔτε τῇ Ἀραβίῃ προσούρῳ εὐούση τὴν Αἴγυπτον προσεικέλην, οὔτε τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῇ Συρίῃ, (τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης τὰ παρὰ θάλασσαν Σύριοι νέμονται,) ἀλλὰ μελάγγλαιόν τε καὶ κατερρηγνυμένην, ὥστε εὐούσαν ἰλύν τε καὶ πρόχυσιν ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας

κατενηνευγμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ. τὴν δὲ Λιβύην ἴδμεν ἐνυθροτέρην τε γῆν, καὶ ὑποψαμμοτέρην τὴν δὲ Ἀραβίην τε καὶ Συρίην ἀργιλωδεστέραν τε καὶ ὑπόπετρον οὔσαν.

Ἐλεγον δὲ καὶ τότε μοι μέγα τεκμήριον περὶ τῆς 13  
 χώρας ταύτης οἱ ἱρέες, ὡς ἐπὶ Μοίριος βασιλέος, ὅπως  
 ἔλθοι ὁ ποταμὸς ἐπὶ ὀκτῶ πήχεας τὸ ἐλάχιστον, ἄρδесκε  
 Αἴγυπτον τὴν ἑνερθε Μέμφιος. καὶ Μοίρι οὐ καὶ ἦν ἔτεα  
 εἰνακόσια τετελευτηκότι, ὅτε τῶν ἱρέων ταῦτα ἐγὼ ἤκουον.  
 νῦν δέ, ἦν μὴ ἐπ' ἑκκαίδεκα ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα πήχεας  
 ἀναβῇ τὸ ἐλάχιστον ὁ ποταμὸς, οὐκ ὑπερβαίνει ἐς τὴν  
 χώραν. δοκέουσί τε μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἑνερθε τῆς λίμνης  
 τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεό-  
 μενον Δέλτα, ἦν οὕτω ἡ χώρα αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδοιοῖ  
 ἐς ὕψος, καὶ τὸ ὁμοίον ἀποδοιοῖ ἐς αὐξήσιν, μὴ κατακλύ-  
 ζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον  
 τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι, τό κοτε αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν  
 πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ἕται παῖσα ἡ χώρα τῶν  
 Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται, κατὰπερ ἡ σφε-  
 τέρη, ἔφασαν “Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος με-  
 “γάλης, κακῶς πεινήσειν.” τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει  
 λέγειν, ὡς “εἰ μὴ ἐβελήσῃ σφι ἕιν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ' αὐχμῶ  
 “διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῶ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ  
 “δὴ σφι ἐστὶ ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ, ὅτι μὴ  
 “ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μούνον.” Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς Ἕλληνας 14  
 Αἰγυπτίοισι ὀρθῶς ἔχοντα εἴρηται. φέρε δὲ νῦν, καὶ αὐ-  
 τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοισι ὡς ἔχει, φράσω. εἴ σφι θέλοι, ὡς καὶ  
 πρότερον εἶπον, ἡ χώρα ἡ ἑνερθε Μέμφιος (αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶ  
 ἡ αὐξανόμενη) κατὰ λόγον τοῦ παροιχομένου χρόνου ἐς  
 ὕψος αὐξάνεσθαι, ἄλλο τι ἢ οἱ ταύτη οἰκέοντες Αἰγυ-  
 πτίων πεινήσουσι; εἰ μήτε γε ὕσεται σφι ἡ χώρα, μήτε  
 ὁ ποταμὸς οἷός τ' ἔσται ἐς τὰς ἀρούρας ὑπερβαίνειν. Ἡ  
 γὰρ δὴ νῦν γε οὗτοι ἀπονητότατα καρπὸν κομίζονται  
 ἐκ γῆς, τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, καὶ τῶν λοι-  
 πῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ οὔτε ἀρότρω ἀναρρηγνύντες αὐλακας  
 ἔχουσι πόρους, οὔτε σκάλλοντες, οὔτε ἄλλο ἐργαζόμενοι  
 οὐδὲν τῶν ὅλλοι ἀνθρώποι περὶ λήϊον πονέουσιν· ἀλλ'  
 ἱπεᾶν σφι ὁ ποταμὸς αὐτόματος ἐπελθὼν ἄρσῃ τὰς ἀρού-

ρας, ἄρσας δὲ ἀπολείπη ὀπίσω, τότε σπείρας ἕκαστος τὴν ἐνυτοῦ ἄρουραν, ἐσβάλλει ἐς αὐτὴν ὕς. ἐπεὰν δὲ καταπατήσῃ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸ σπέρμα, ἄμητον τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου μένει. ἀποδινησας δὲ τῇσι ὕσιν τὸν σίτον, οὕτω κομίζεται.

- 15 Εἰ ὦν βουλόμεθα γνώμῃσι τῇσι Ἰώνων χρᾶσθαι τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον, οἳ φασὶ τὸ Δέλτα μῦνον εἶναι Αἴγυπτον, ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοπιῆς λέγοντες τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν εἶναι αὐτῆς μέχρι Ταριχηϊῶν τῶν Πηλουσιακῶν, τῇ δὴ τεσσαράκοντά εἰσι σχοῖνοι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεγόντων ἐς μεσόγαιαν τείνειν αὐτὴν μέχρι Κερκασώρου πόλιος, κατ' ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος, ἔς τε Πηλούσιον ῥέων καὶ ἐς Κάνωβον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λεγόντων τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὰ μὲν Λιβύης, τὰ δὲ Ἀραβίης εἶναι· ἀποδεικνύομεν ἂν, τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρεώμενοι, Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ εὐδυσαν πρότερον χώραν. ἤδη γάρ σφι τό γε Δέλτα, ὥς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, ἔστι κατάρρυτον τε καὶ νεωστὶ, ὥς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναπεφηνός. εἰ τοίνυν σφι χώρα γε μηδεμία ὑπῆρχε, τί περιειργάζοντο δοκέοντες πρῶτοι ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι; οὐδὲ ἔδει σφέας ἐς διάπειραν τῶν παιδίων ἵεναι, τίνα γλῶσσαν πρῶτην ἀπήσουσι. Ἀλλ' οὐτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπ' Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι, αἰεὶ τε εἶναι, ἐξ οὗ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐγένετο· προϊούσης δὲ τῆς χώρας, πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ὑπολειπομένους αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ τοὺς ὑποκαταβαίνοντας. τὸ δ' ὦν πάλαι αἱ Θῆβαι, Αἴγυπτος ἐκαλέετο· τῆς τὸ περίμετρον στάδιοι εἰσι εἴκοσι καὶ
- 16 ἑκατὸν καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι. Εἰ ὦν ἡμεῖς ὀρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν γνώσκομεν, Ἴωνες οὐκ εὖ φρονέουσι περὶ Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δὲ ὀρθή ἐστι ἡ τῶν Ἰώνων γνώμη, Ἑλληνὰς τε καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἴωνας ἀποδείκνυμι οὐκ ἐπισταμένους λογίζεσθαι· οἳ φασὶ τρία μόρια εἶναι γῆν πᾶσαν, Εὐρώπην τε καὶ Ἀσίην καὶ Λιβύην. τέταρτον γὰρ δὴ σφέας δεῖ προσλογίζεσθαι, Αἰγύπτου τὸ Δέλτα· εἰ μὴ τι γέ ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας, μήτε τῆς Λιβύης. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γέ ἐστι, κατὰ τούτον τὸν λόγον, ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην οὐρίζων τῆς Λιβύης τοῦ Δέλτα δὲ τούτου κατὰ τὸ ὄξυ περιρρήγνυται ὁ Νεῖλος, ὥστε ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ Ἀσίας τε καὶ Λιβύης γίνοιτ' ἂν.

Καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰώνων γνώμην ἀπίεμεν ἡμεῖς δὲ ὧδε 17  
καὶ περὶ τούτων λέγομεν. Αἴγυπτον μὲν πᾶσαν εἶναι  
ταύτην τὴν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων οἰκεομένην, κατὰπερ Κιλικίην  
τὴν ὑπὸ Κιλικίων, καὶ Ἀσσυρίην τὴν ὑπὸ Ἀσσυρίων.  
οὐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν οὐδὲν ἔον ὀρθῶ  
λόγῳ, εἰ μὴ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίων οὐρους. εἰ δὲ τῷ ὑπ' Ἑλ-  
λήνων νενομισμένῳ χρησόμεθα, νομιοῦμεν Αἴγυπτον  
πᾶσαν, ἀρξαμένην ἀπὸ Καταδούπων τε καὶ Ἐλεφαντί-  
νης πόλιος, δίχα διαιρέεσθαι, καὶ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐπωνυ-  
μιῶν ἔχουσιν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι τῆς Λιβύης· τὰ  
δὲ, τῆς Ἀσίας. ὁ γὰρ δὴ Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Κατα-  
δούπων, ῥέει, μέσσην Αἴγυπτον σχίζων, ἐς θάλασσαν.  
μέχρι μὲν νυν Κερκασώρου πόλιος ῥέει εἰς ἑὸν ὁ Νεῖλος·  
τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος, σχίζεται τριφασίας ἰδούς·  
καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡῷ τρέπεται, τὸ καλέεται Πηλούσιον  
στόμα· ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπέρην ἔχει· τοῦτο  
δὲ Κανωβικὸν στόμα κέκληται. ἡ δὲ δι' ἰθὺα τῶν ὁδῶν  
τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἥδε· ἄνωθεν φερόμενος, ἐς τὸ ὁξὺ τοῦ  
Δέλτα ἀπικνέεται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου, σχίζων μέσον τὸ  
Δέλτα, ἐς θάλασσαν ἐξίει, οὔτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην τοῦ  
ὑδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτῃ, οὔτε ἥκιστα οὐνομαστήν· τὸ  
καλέεται Σεβεννυτικὸν στόμα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἕτερα διφάσια  
στόματα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Σεβεννυτικοῦ ἀποσχισθέντα, φέροντα  
ἐς θάλασσαν τοῖσι οὐνόματα κέεται· τὰδε, τῷ μὲν Σαῖτι-  
κὸν αὐτῶν, τῷ δὲ, Μενδήσιον. τὸ δὲ Βολβίτινον στόμα  
καὶ τὸ Βουκολικὸν οὐκ ἰθαγενέα στόματά ἐστι, ἀλλ'  
ὀρυκτά.

Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῇ γνώμῃ, ὅτι τοσαύτη ἐστὶ Αἴγυ- 18  
πτος ὅσην τινα ἐγὼ ἀποδείκνυμι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος  
χρηστήριον γενόμενον· τὸ ἐγὼ τῆς ἐμεωυτοῦ γνώμης  
ὑστερον περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐπυθόμην. οἱ γὰρ δὴ ἐκ Μαρῆς  
τε πόλιος καὶ Ἀπιοῦ, οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτου τὰ πρόσουρα  
Λιβύῃ, αὐτοὶ τε δοκέοντες εἶναι Λίβυες, καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύ-  
πτιοι, καὶ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ θρησκίῃ, βουλόμενοι  
θηλέων βοῶν μὴ ἔργεσθαι, ἔπεμψαν ἐς Ἀμμωνα, φάμενοι  
"οὐδὲν σφίσι τε καὶ Αἰγυπτίοισι κοινὸν εἶναι· οἰκέειν τε  
γὰρ ἔξω τοῦ Δέλτα, καὶ οὐκ ὁμολογέειν αὐτοῖσι· βούλε-  
σθαι τε πάντων σφίσι ἐξεῖναι γεύεσθαι." ὁ δὲ θεός

σφεας οὐκ ἔα ποιεῖν ταῦτα, φῆς “ Αἴγυπτον εἶναι ταύ-  
 “ την τὴν ὃ Νεῖλος ἐπιὼν ἄρδει καὶ Αἴγυπτίους εἶναι  
 “ τούτους, οἳ ἔνερθε Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος οἰκούντες, ἀπὸ  
 19 “ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τούτου πίνουσι.” οὕτω σφι ταῦτα ἐχρή-  
 σθη. ἐπέρχεται δὲ ὃ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὰν πληθῇ, οὐ μόνον τὸ  
 Δέλτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Λιβυκοῦ τε λεγομένου χώρου εἶναι,  
 καὶ τοῦ Ἀραβίου, ἐνιαχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ δύο ἡμερέων ἐκατέρωθι  
 ὁδόν, καὶ πλεῦν ἔτι τούτου, καὶ ἔλασσον.

Τοῦ ποταμοῦ δὲ φύσις πέρι, οὔτε τι τῶν ἱρέων, οὔτε  
 ἄλλου οὐδενὸς παραλαβεῖν ἐδυνάσθη. πρόθυμος δὲ ἔα  
 τάδε παρ’ αὐτῶν πυθέσθαι, ὃ τι κατέρχεται μὲν ὃ Νεῖλος  
 πληθύνων, ἀπὸ τροπέων τῶν θερινέων ἀρξάμενος, ἐπὶ  
 ἑκατὸν ἡμέρας πελάσας δ’ ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τουτέων τῶν  
 ἡμερέων, ὀπίσω ἀπέρχεται ἀπολείπων τὸ ρέεθρον ὥστε  
 βραχὺς τὸν χειμῶνα ἅπαντα διατελεῖ ἐὼν, μέχρι οὐ  
 αὐτὶς τροπέων τῶν θερινέων. τούτων ὧν πέρι οὐδενὸς  
 οὐδὲν οἷός τ’ ἐγενόμην παραλαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων,  
 ἱστορέων αὐτοὺς ἥτινα δύναμιν ἔχει ὃ Νεῖλος τὰ ἔμπαλιν  
 πεφυκέναι τῶν ἄλλων ποταμῶν. ταῦτά τε δὴ τὰ λελεγ-  
 μένα βουλόμενος εἰδέναι, ἱστόρεον καὶ ὃ τι αὖρας ἀπο-  
 20 πνεούσας μῦθος ποταμῶν πάντων οὐ παρέχεται. Ἀλλὰ  
 Ἑλλήνων μὲν τινες, ἐπίσημοι βουλόμενοι γενέσθαι  
 σοφίην, ἔλεξαν περὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τούτου τριφασίας ὁδοὺς  
 τῶν τὰς μὲν δύο τῶν ὁδῶν οὐδ’ ἀξιώ μνησθῆναι, εἰ μὴ  
 ὅσον σημῆναι βουλόμενος μῦθον. τῶν ἡ ἑτέρη μὲν λέγει  
 τοὺς ἐτησίας ἀνέμους εἶναι αἰτίους πληθύνειν τὸν ποταμὸν,  
 κωλύοντας ἐς θάλασσαν ἐκρέειν τὸν Νεῖλον. πολλάκις  
 δὲ ἐτησῖαι μὲν οὐκ ὧν ἔπνευσαν, ὃ δὲ Νεῖλος τῶντ’ ἐργά-  
 ζεται. πρὸς δὲ, εἰ ἐτησῖαι αἰτίοι ἦσαν, χρὴν καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι τοῖσι ἐτησίῃσι ἀντίοι ρέουσι,  
 ὁμοίως πάσχειν καὶ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ μᾶλ-  
 λον ἔτι τοσούτῳ, ὅσῳ ἐλάσσονες ἔοντες, ἀσθενέστερα τὰ  
 ρεύματα παρέχονται. εἰσὶ δὲ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ  
 ποταμοὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ, οἳ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτο πα-  
 21 σχοῦσι οἷόν τι καὶ ὃ Νεῖλος. Ἡ δ’ ἑτέρη ἀνεπισημο-  
 νεστέρα μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς λελεγμένης, λόγῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν θου-  
 μασιωτέρα ἢ λέγει ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ ρέοντα αὐτὸν  
 ταῦτα μηχανᾶσθαι, τὸν δ’ Ὀκεανὸν γῆν πέρι πᾶσαν

ρέειν. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ὁδῶν, πολλὸν ἐπιεικεστάτη 22  
 εἴουσα, μάλιστα ἐψευσται. λέγει γὰρ δὴ οὐδ' αὐτὴ οὐ-  
 ρέν, φαμένη τὸν Νεῖλον ῥέειν ἀπὸ τηκομένης χιόνος ὃς  
 ῥέει μὲν ἐκ Λιβύης διὰ μέσων Αἰθιοπῶν, ἐκδιδοῖ δὲ ἐς  
 Αἴγυπτον. κῶς ὦν δῆτα ῥέοι ἂν ἀπὸ χιόνος, ἀπὸ τῶν  
 θερμοτάτων [τόπων] ῥέων ἐς τὰ ψυχρότερα; τῶν τὰ  
 πολλὰ ἐστὶ ἀνδρὶ γε λογίζεσθαι τοιούτων πέρι οἷον τε  
 εἶναι, ὥς οὐδὲ εἰκὸς ἀπὸ χιόνος μὲν ῥέειν. πρῶτον μὲν  
 καὶ μέγιστον μαρτύριον οἱ ἀνεμοὶ παρέχονται, πνέοντες  
 ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τουτέων θερμοί. δεύτερον δὲ, ὅτι ἀνομ-  
 βρος ἡ χώρα καὶ ἀκρύσταλλος διατελεῖ εἴουσα· ἐπὶ δὲ  
 χιόνι πεσοῦση, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ὑσαι ἐν πέντε ἡμέ-  
 ρησι· ὥστε εἰ ἐχιόνιζε, ἔτεο ἂν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία. τρίτα  
 δὲ, οἱ ἀνθρώποι ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος μέλανες εἶντες. ἱκτινοὶ  
 δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες δι' ἔτεος εἶντες οὐκ ἀπολείπουσι· γέ-  
 ρρανοι δὲ φεύγουσαι τὸν χειμῶνα τὸν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ χώρῃ  
 γινόμενον, φοιτέωσι ἐς χειμασίνην ἐς τοὺς τόπους του-  
 τούς· εἰ τοιούτων ἐχιόνιζε καὶ ὀσονῶν ταύτην τὴν χώραν,  
 δι' ἧς τε ῥέει καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄρχεται ῥέων ὁ Νεῖλος, ἦν ἂν  
 τούτων οὐδὲν, ὥς ἡ ἀνάγκη ἐλέγχει. Ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ 23  
 Ὠκεανοῦ λέξας, ἐς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενείκας, οὐκ ἔχει  
 ἔλεγχον. οὐ γὰρ τινα ἔγωγε οἶδα ποταμὸν Ὠκεανὸν  
 εἶντα· Ὁμηρον δὲ, ἢ τινα τῶν πρότερον γενομένων ποιη-  
 τέων, δοκέω τοῦνομα εὐρόντα ἐς τὴν ποιήσιν ἐσενείκα-  
 σθαι.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μεμψάμενον γνώμας τὰς προκειμένας, αὐτὸν 24  
 περὶ τῶν ἀφανέων γνώμην ἀποδέξασθαι, φράσω διότι μοι  
 δοκέει πληθύνεσθαι ὁ Νεῖλος τοῦ θέρεος. τὴν χειμερινὴν  
 ὥρην ἀπελαυνόμενος ὁ ἥλιος ἐκ τῆς ἀρχαίας διεξό-  
 δου ὑπὸ τῶν χειμῶνων, ἔρχεται τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω.  
 ὥς μὲν νυν ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δηλῶσαι, πᾶν εἴρηται· τῆς  
 γὰρ ἂν ἀγχοτάτῳ ἢ χώρῃ οὗτος ὁ θεὸς, καὶ κατὰ ἦν  
 τινα, ταύτην οἶκός διψῇν τε ὑδάτων μάλιστα, καὶ τὰ  
 ἐγγχώρια ρεύματα μαραίνεσθαι τῶν ποταμῶν. Ὡς δὲ 25  
 ἐν πλέονι λόγῳ δηλῶσαι, ὅδε ἔχει. διεξιὼν τῆς Λιβύης  
 γὰρ ἄνω ὁ ἥλιος, τάδε ποιεῖν ἅτε διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου  
 κίθριον τε εἶντος τοῦ ἡέρος τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία,  
 καὶ ἀλεεωῆς τῆς χώρης εἰούσης, οὐκ εἶντων ἀνέμων ψυ-

χρῶν, διεξιὼν ποιέει οἶον περ καὶ τὸ θέρος ἔωθε ποιέειν, ἰὼν τὸ μέσον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ἔλκει γὰρ ἐπ' ἑωυτὸν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐλκύσας δέ, ἀπωθέει ἐς τὰ ἄνω χωρία· ὑπολαμβάνοντες δὲ οἱ ἄνεμοι, καὶ διασκιδνάντες, τηκουσιν καὶ εἰσι οἰκώτως οἱ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας πνέοντες, ὃ τε νότος, καὶ ὁ λιβ, ἀνέμων πολλὸν τῶν πάντων ὑετώτατοι. δοκέει δέ μοι οὐδὲ πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐπέτειον ἐκάστοτε ἀποπέμπεσθαι τοῦ Νεῖλου ὁ ἥλιος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπολείπεσθαι περὶ ἑωυτόν. πρηῦνομένου δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος, ἀπέρχεται ὁ ἥλιος ἐς μέσον τὸν οὐρανὸν ὀπίσω· καὶ τὸ ἐνθεύτεν ἤδη ὁμοίως ἀπὸ πάντων ἔλκει τῶν ποταμῶν. τέως δὲ οἱ μὲν, ὁμβρίου ὕδατος συμμισγομένου πολλοῦ αὐτοῖσι, ὥτε ὑομένης τε τῆς χώρας καὶ κεχαλαρωμένης, ῥέουσι μεγάλοι· τοῦ δὲ θέρος, τῶν τε ὁμβρίων ἐπιλειπόντων αὐτοὺς, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλκόμενοι, ἀσθενέες εἰσὶ. ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἔων ἀνομβρος, ἐλκόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, μῦνος ποταμῶν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἰκώτως αὐτὸς ἑωυτοῦ ῥέει πολλῶ ὑποδεέστερος ἢ τοῦ θέρος· τότε μὲν γὰρ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑδάτων ἴσον ἔλκεται, τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα, μῦνος πιέζεται.

26 οὕτω τὸν ἥλιον κενόμικα τούτων αἴτιον εἶναι. Αἴτιος δὲ αὐτὸς οὗτος, κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμὴν, καὶ τὸν ἡέρα ξηρὸν τὸν ταύτη εἶναι, διακαίῳν τὴν διέξοδον αὐτῶ· οὕτω τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω θέρος αἰεὶ κατέχει. Εἰ δὲ ἡ στάσις ἡλλακτο τῶν ὥρέων, καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τῇ μὲν νῦν ὁ βορέης τε καὶ ὁ χειμῶν ἐστᾶσι, ταύτη μὲν τοῦ νότου ἦν ἡ στάσις καὶ τῆς μεσαμβρίας, τῇ δὲ ὁ νοτος νῦν ἔστηκε, ταύτη δὲ ὁ βορέης· εἰ ταῦτα οὕτω εἶχε, ὁ ἥλιος ἂν ἀπελαυνόμενος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ βορέω, ἦε ἂν τὰ ἄνω τῆς Εὐρώπης, κατὰπερ νῦν τῆς Λιβύης ἔρχεται. διεξιόντα δ' ἂν μιν διὰ πάσης Εὐρώπης, ἔλπομαι ποιέειν ἂν τὸν Ἰστρον τὰ περ νῦν ἐργάζεται τὸν Νεῖλον.

27 Τῆς αὔρης δὲ πέρι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀποπνέει, τήνδε ἔχω γνώμην, ὥς κάρτα ἀπὸ θερμῶν χωρέων οὐκ οἶκός ἐστι οὐδὲν ἀποπνέειν αὔρη δὲ ἀπὸ ψυχροῦ τινος φιλέει πνέειν.

28 Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν ἔστω ὥς ἐστι τε καὶ ὥς ἀρχὴν ἐγένετο. Τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς οὔτε Αἰγυπτίων, οὔτε Λιβύων, οὔτε Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐμοὶ ἀπικομένων ἐς λόγους, οὐδεὶς ὑπέσχετο εἰδέναι, εἰ μὴ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐν Ζαῖ πόλι ὁ γραμ-

ματιστῆς τῶν ἱρῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης. οὗτος δ' ἐμοί γε παίζειν ἐδόκεε, φάμενος εἰδέναι ἀτρεκέως. ἔλεγε δὲ ὧδε· “Εἶναι δύο οὖρεα ἐς ὃξὺ τὰς κορυφὰς ἀπυγμένα, “μεταξὺ Συήνης τε πόλιος κείμενα τῆς Θηβαίδος, καὶ “Ἐλεφαντίνης· οὐνόματα δὲ εἶναι τοῖσι οὖρεσι, τῷ μὲν, “Κρῶφι, τῷ δὲ, Μῶφι. τὰς ὧν δὴ πηγὰς τοῦ Νείλου, “εἰούσας ἀβύσσους, ἐκ τοῦ μέσου τῶν οὐρέων τούτων ῥέειν “καὶ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ῥέειν καὶ “πρὸς βορέην ἀνεμον· τὸ δ' ἕτερον ἥμισυ, ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίας “τε καὶ νότου. ὥς δὲ ἀβυσσοὶ εἰσι αἱ πηγαί, ἐς διάπειραν “ἔφη τούτου Ψαμμίτιχον Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἀπικέσθαι. “πολλέων γὰρ αὐτὸν χιλιάδων ὀργυιέων πλεξάμενον κάλον, “κατείνει ταύτη, καὶ οὐκ ἐξικέσθαι ἐς βυσσόν.” Οὕτω μὲν δὴ ὁ γραμματιστής, εἰ ἄρα ταῦτα γενόμενα ἔλεγε, ἀπέφαινε, ὥς ἐμὲ κατανοέειν δίνας τινὰς ταύτη εἰούσας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ παλιρροίην· οἶα δὲ ἐμβάλλοντος τοῦ ὕδατος τοῖσι οὖρεσι, μὴ δύνασθαι κατιεμένην καταπειρητηρίην ἐς βυσσὸν ἰέναι. Ἄλλου δὲ οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ἐδυνάμην πυ- 29 θέσθαι. ἀλλὰ τοσόνδε μὲν ἄλλο ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπυθόμην, μέχρι μὲν Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος αὐτόπτης ἐλθὼν, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τούτου, ἀκοῇ ἤδη ἰστορέων. Ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος ἄνω ἰόντι, ἀναντές ἐστι χωρίον· ταύτη ὧν δεῖ τὸ πλοῖον διαδήσαντας ἀμφοτέρωθεν, κατὰπερ βούν, πορεύεσθαι· ἦν δὲ ἀπορραγῇ, τὸ πλοῖον οἴχεται φερόμενον ὑπὸ ἰσχύος τοῦ ῥόου. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας πλόος· σκολιὸς δὲ ταύτη, κατὰπερ ὁ Μαίανδρος, ἐστὶ ὁ Νεῖλος. σχοῖνοι δὲ δυνάδεκά εἰσι οὗτοι, τοὺς δεῖ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ διεκπλῶσαι. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπίζεαι ἐς πεδίον λεῖον, ἐν τῷ νῆσον περιρρέει ὁ Νεῖλος· Ταχομψῶ οὖνομα αὐτῇ ἐστί· οἰκέουσι δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἄνω Αἰθιοπες ἤδη, καὶ τῆς νήσου τὸ ἥμισυ· τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ, Αἰγύπτιοι. ἔχεται δὲ τῆς νήσου λίμνη μεγάλη, τὴν περίξ νομάδες Αἰθιοπες νέμονται· τὴν διεκπλῶσας, ἐς τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ῥέεθρον ἤξεις, τὸ ἐς τὴν λίμνην ταύτην ἐκδιδοῖ. καὶ ἔπειτα ἀποβάς, παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν ὁδοιπορίην ποιήσεις ἡμερέων τεσσαρακοντα· σκόπελοι τε γὰρ ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ ὅξεις ἀνέχουσι, καὶ χοιράδες πολλαὶ εἰσι, δὲ ὧν οὐκ οἶα τέ ἐστι πλείειν. διεξελθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇσι τεσσε-

- ράκοντα ἡμέρησι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον, αὐτὶς ἐς ἕτερον πλοῖον ἐμβὰς, δυνάδεκα ἡμέρας πλεύσαι· καὶ ἔπειτα ἤξει ἐς πόλιν μεγάλην, τῇ οὐνομά ἐστι Μερὴν. λέγεται δὲ αὕτη ἡ πόλις εἶναι μητρόπολις τῶν ἄλλων Αἰθιοπῶν. οἱ δ' ἐν ταύτῃ Δία θεῶν καὶ Διόνυσον μούνους σέβονται, τοῦτον τε μεγάλως τιμῶσι· καὶ σφί μαντήιον Διὸς κατέστηκεν· στρατεύονται δ' ἐπεὰν σφεας ὁ θεὸς οὗτος κελεύῃ δια-
- 30 **30** **θεσπισμάτων** καὶ, τῇ ἂν κελεύῃ, ἐκείσε. Ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλέων, ἐν ἴσῳ χρόνῳ ἄλλῳ ἤξει ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους, ἐν ὧσιν περ ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης ἦλθες ἐς τὴν μητρόπολιν τὴν Αἰθιοπῶν. τοῖσι δὲ Αὐτομόλοισι τοῦτοισι οὐνομά ἐστι Ἀσμάχ· δύναται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν, οἱ ἐξ ἀριστερῆς χειρὸς παριστάμενοι βασιλεῖ. ἀπέστησαν δὲ αὐταὶ τέσσερες καὶ εἰκοσι μυριάδες Αἰγυπτίων τῶν μαχίμων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπᾶς τοῦτους, δι' αἰτίην τοιγύδε. ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως φυλακαὶ κατέστασαν ἐν τῇ Ἐλεφαντίνῃ πόλει πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι ἄλλη δὲ πρὸς Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Σύρων, καὶ ἐν Μαρῇ πρὸς Λιβύης ἄλλη. ἔτι δὲ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ καὶ Περσέων κατὰ ταῦτα αἱ φυλακαὶ ἔχουσι, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ Ψαμμίτιχου ἦσαν· καὶ γὰρ ἐν Ἐλεφαντίνῃ Πέρσαι φρουρέουσι, καὶ ἐν Δάφνησι. τοὺς ὧν δὴ Αἰγυπτίους τρία ἔτεα φρουρήσαντας ἀπέλκε οὐδεὶς τῆς φρουρῆς· οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ χρησάμενοι, πάντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Ψαμμίτιχου ἀποστάντες, ἦσαν ἐς Αἰθιοπίην. Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ πυθόμενος, ἐδίωκε. ὡς δὲ κατέλαβε, ἐδέετο, πολλὰ λέγων, καὶ σφεας θεοὺς πατρώους ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἔα, καὶ τέκνα, καὶ γυναῖκας. τῶν δὲ τίνα λέγεται δειξάντα τὸ αἰδοῖον εἰπεῖν “ἐνθα ἂν τοῦτο ᾗ, ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖσι “ἐνθαῦτα καὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.” Οὗτοι ἐπεὶ τε ἐς Αἰθιοπίην ἀπίκοντο, διδοῦσι σφέας αὐτοὺς τῷ Αἰθιοπῶν βασιλεῖ. ὁ δὲ σφεας τῷδε ἀντιδωρέεται. ἦσαν οἱ διάφοροί τινες γεγονότες τῶν Αἰθιοπῶν τοῦτους ἐκέλευε ἐξελόντας, τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν οἰκέειν. τούτων δὲ ἐσοικισθέντων ἐς τοὺς Αἰθιοπᾶς, ἡμερώτεροι γεγόνασιν Αἰθιοπᾶς, ἦθα μαθόντες Αἰγύπτια.
- 31 **31** Μέχρι μὲν νυν τεσσέρων μηνῶν πλόου καὶ ὁδοῦ γνωσκειται ὁ Νεῖλος, πάρεξ τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ρεύματος. τοσ-

οὔτοι γὰρ συμβαλλομένῳ μῆνες εὐρίσκονται ἀναισιμού-  
 μνοι ἐξ Ἑλεφαντίνης πορευομένῳ ἐς τοὺς Αὐτομόλους  
 τούτους. ῥέει δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμέων.  
 Τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, οὐδεὶς ἔχει σαφέως φράσαι· ἐρήμος γάρ  
 ἐστι ἡ χώρα αὕτη ὑπὸ καύματος. Ἀλλὰ τὰδε μὲν ἤκουσα 32  
 ἀνδρῶν Κυρηναίων, φαμένων ἐλθεῖν τε ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμωνος  
 χρηστήριον, καὶ ἀπικέσθαι ἐς λόγους Ἑτεάρχῳ τῷ Ἀμ-  
 μωνίων βασιλεῖ· καὶ κως ἐκ λόγων ἄλλων ἀπικέσθαι ἐς  
 λίσχην περὶ τοῦ Νείλου, ὡς οὐδεὶς αὐτοῦ οἶδε τὰς πηγὰς·  
 καὶ τὸν Ἑτεάρχον φάναι ἐλθεῖν κοτε παρ' αὐτὸν Νασα-  
 μῶνας ἀνδρας. τὸ δὲ ἔθνος τοῦτό ἐστι μὲν Λιβυκόν,  
 νέμεται δὲ τὴν Σύρτιν τε καὶ τὴν πρὸς τῇ χώρῃ τῆς  
 Σύρτιος οὐκ ἐπὶ πολλόν. ἀπικομένους δὲ τοὺς Νασα-  
 μῶνας, καὶ εἰρωτεωμένους εἴ τι ἔχουσι πλέον λέγειν περὶ  
 τῶν ἐρήμων τῆς Λιβύης, φάναι, παρὰ σφίσι γενέσθαι  
 ἀνδρῶν δυναστέων παῖδας ὑβριστάς· τοὺς ἄλλα τε μηχαν-  
 νᾶσθαι ἀνδρωθέντας περισσὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀποκληρώσαι  
 πέντε ἑωυτῶν, ὄψομένους τὰ ἐρῆμα τῆς Λιβύης, καὶ εἴ τι  
 πλέον ἴδοιεν τῶν τὰ μακρότατα ἰδομένων. (Τῆς γὰρ  
 Λιβύης τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν βορητὴν θάλασσαν, ἀπ' Αἰ-  
 γύπτου ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι Σολόεντος ἄκρης, ἡ τελευτὰ τὴ τῆς  
 Λιβύης, παρήκουσι παρὰ πᾶσαν Λίβυν, καὶ Λιβύων  
 ἔθνεα πολλὰ, πλὴν ὅσον Ἕλληνας καὶ Φοίνικας ἔχουσι.  
 τὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης τε καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατη-  
 κόντων ἀνθρώπων, τὰ κατύπερθε θηριώδης ἐστὶ ἡ Λιβύη·  
 τὰ δὲ κατύπερθε τῆς θηριώδους, ψύμμος τέ ἐστι, καὶ  
 ἄνδρος δεινῶς, καὶ ἐρήμος πάντων.) “Ἐπεὶ ὦν τοὺς  
 “νεηνίας ἀποπεμπομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλίκων, ἴδασί τε καὶ  
 “σιτίοισι εὖ ἐξηρτυμένους, ἵεναι τὰ πρῶτα μὲν διὰ τῆς  
 “οἰκεομένης ταύτης δὲ διεξελθόντας, ἐς τὴν θηριώδεα  
 “ἀπικέσθαι· ἐκ δὲ ταύτης, τὴν ἐρήμον διεξιέναι, τὴν ὁδὸν  
 “ποιευμένους πρὸς ζέφυρον ἄνεμον· διεξελθόντας δὲ χώρον  
 “πολλὸν ψαμμῶδεα, καὶ ἐν πολλῇσι ἡμέρησι, ἰδεῖν δὴ  
 “κοτε δένδρεα ἐν πεδίῳ πεφυκότα· καὶ σφεας προσελ-  
 “θόντας, ἄπτεσθαι τοῦ ἐπεόντος ἐπὶ τῶν δενδρέων καρποῦ.  
 “ἀπτομένοισι δὲ σφί ἐπελθεῖν ἀνδρας μικροὺς, μετρίων  
 “ἐλίσσονας ἀνδρῶν, λαβόντας δὲ ἄγειν σφέας· φωνῆς δὲ  
 “οὔτε τι τῆς ἐκείνων τοὺς Νασαμῶνας γινώσκειν, οὔτε

- “τοὺς ἄγοντας τῶν Νασαμώνων. ἄγειν τε δὴ αὐτοὺς δι’  
 “ἐλέων μεγίστων, καὶ διεξελθόντας ταῦτα, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς  
 “πόλιν, ἐν τῇ ἅπαντας εἶναι τοῖσι ἄγουσι τὸ μέγαθος  
 “ἴσους, χρῶμα δὲ μέλανας. παρὰ δὲ τὴν πόλιν ῥέειν  
 “ποταμὸν μέγαν· ῥέειν δὲ ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης αὐτὸν πρὸς ἥλιον  
 33 “ἀνατέλλοντα· φαίνεσθαι δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκοδείλους.” Ὁ  
 μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀμμωνίου Ἐτεάρχου λόγος ἐς τοῦτό μοι  
 δεδηλωσθῶ· πλὴν ὅτι “ἀπονοστήσαι τε ἔφασκε τοὺς Να-  
 “σαμῶνας, ὡς οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔλεγον· καὶ ἐς τοὺς οὗτοι ἀπὸ  
 “κοντο ἀνθρώπους, γόητας εἶναι πάντας.” Τὸν δὲ δὴ  
 ποταμὸν τοῦτον τὸν παραρρέοντα καὶ Ἐτεάρχος συν-  
 εβάλλετο εἶναι τὸν Νεῖλον· καὶ διὴ καὶ ὁ λόγος οὕτω  
 αἰρέει. ῥέει γὰρ ἐκ Λιβύης ὁ Νεῖλος, καὶ μέσσην τάμνων  
 Λιβύην καὶ (ὡς ἐγὼ συμβάλλομαι, τοῖσι ἐμφανέσι τὰ μὴ  
 γνωσκόμενα τεκμαιρόμενος) τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκ τῶν ἰσων  
 μέτρων ὁρμάται. Ἰστρος τε γὰρ ποταμὸς ἀρξάμενος ἐκ  
 Κελτῶν καὶ Πυρήνης πόλιος, ῥέει μέσσην σχίζων τὴν  
 Εὐρώπην. οἱ δὲ Κελτοὶ εἰσι ἔξω Ἑρακλητῶν στηλῶν  
 ὁμοῦρέουσι δὲ Κυνησίοισι, οἱ ἔσχατοι πρὸς δυσμέων  
 οἰκέουσι τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ κατοικημένων. τελευτᾷ δὲ ὁ  
 Ἰστρος, ἐς θάλασσαν ῥέων τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου διὰ  
 πάσης Εὐρώπης, τῇ Ἰστρίῃ οἱ Μιλησίων οἰκέουσι ἄπ-  
 34 οικοι. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ἰστρος, ῥέει γὰρ δι’ οἰκευμένης, πρὸς  
 πολλῶν γνωσκέται· περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Νεῖλου πηγέων  
 οὐδεὶς ἔχει λέγειν· ἀοίκητός τε γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρήμος ἡ  
 Λιβύη, δι’ ἧς ῥέει. περὶ δὲ τοῦ ρεύματος αὐτοῦ, ἐπ’ ὅσον  
 μακρότατον ἱστορεῦντα ἦν ἐξικέσθαι, εἴρηται. ἐκδιδοὶ δὲ  
 ἐς Αἴγυπτον. ἡ δὲ Αἴγυπτος τῆς ὀρεινῆς Κελικῆς μά-  
 λιστά κη ἀντίη κέεται· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ, ἐς Σινώπην τὴν ἐν τῷ  
 Εὐξείνῳ πόντῳ πέντε ἡμερέων ἰθεὶα ὁδὸς εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ· ἡ  
 δὲ Σινώπη τῷ Ἰστρῷ ἐκδιδόντι ἐς θάλασσαν ἀντίον  
 κέεται. οὕτω τὸν Νεῖλον δοκέω διὰ πάσης τῆς Λιβύης  
 διεξιόντα ἐξισούσθαι τῷ Ἰστρῷ. Νεῖλου μὲν νυν πέρα  
 τοσαῦτα εἰρήσθω.
- 35 Ἐρχομαι δὲ περὶ Αἰγύπτου μηκυνέων τὸν λόγον, ὅτι  
 πλεῖστα θουμάσια ἔχει ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα χώρα, καὶ ἔργα  
 λόγου μέζω παρέχεται πρὸς πᾶσαν χώραν· τούτων εἵνεκα  
 πλεον περὶ αὐτῆς εἰρήσεται. Αἰγυπτιοὶ ἅμα τῷ οὐρανῷ

τῷ κατὰ σφέας ἔοντι ἑτεροίῳ, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ φύσιν ἀλλοίην παρεχομένῳ ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι ποταμοί, τὰ πολλὰ πάντα ἔμπαλιν τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἀνθρώποισι ἐστήσαντο ἢ θεὰ τε καὶ νόμους· ἐν τοῖσι αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες ἀγοράζουσι καὶ καπηλεύουσι· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, κατ' οἴκους ἔοντες, ὑφαίνουσι. ὑφαίνουσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, ἄνω τὴν κρόκην ὠθέοντες, Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, κάτω. τὰ ἄχθεια οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν φορέουσι, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων· οὐρέουσι, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, ὀρθαί· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες, κατήμενοι. εὐμαρὴν χρέωνται ἐν τοῖσι οἴκοις, ἐσθίουσι δὲ ἔξω ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι· ἐπιλέγοντες, ὥς τὰ μὲν αἰσχροῦ, ἀναγκαῖα δὲ, ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ἐστὶ ποιέειν χρεῶν τὰ δὲ μὴ αἰσχροῦ, ἀναφανδόν. ἱράται γυνὴ μὲν οὐδεμία οὔτε ἔρσηνος θεοῦ, οὔτε θηλέης· ἄνδρες δὲ, πάντων τε καὶ πασέων. τρέφειν τοὺς τοκέας τοῖσι μὲν παισὶ οὐδεμία ἀνάγκη, μὴ βουλομένοις· τῇσι δὲ θυγατράσι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη, καὶ μὴ βουλομένησι. Οἱ ἱρέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι· ἐν 36 Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ, ξυρεῦνται. τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποισι νόμος ἅμα κῆδεϊ κεκάρθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς τοὺς μάλιστα ἱκνέεται· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοὺς θανάτους ἀνιείσι τὰς τρίχας αὔξασθαι, τὰς τε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τῷ γενεῖῳ, τέως ἐξυρημένοι. τοῖσι μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποισι χωρὶς θηρίων δίαίτα ἀποκέκριται· Αἰγυπτίοις δὲ ὁμοῦ θηρίοις ἢ δίαίτά ἐστι. ὑπὸ πυρέων καὶ κριθέων ὄλλοι ζώουσι· Αἰγυπτίων δὲ τῷ ποιευμένῳ ἀπὸ τούτων τὴν ζῆν, ὄνειδος μέγιστόν ἐστι· ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ ὀλυρέων ποιεῦνται σιτία, τὰς ζεῖας μετεξέτεροι καλέουσι. φυρῶσι τὸ μὲν σταῖς τοῖσι ποσί· τὸν δὲ πηλὸν τῇσι χερσὶ, καὶ τὴν κόπρον ἀναιρέονται. τὰ αἰδοῖα ὄλλοι μὲν ἔωσι ὥς ἐγένοντο, πλὴν ὅσοι ἀπὸ τούτων ἔμαθον Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ περετάμνονται. εἴματα, τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει δύο· τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν ἐν ἐκάστη. τῶν ἰστίων τοὺς κρίκους καὶ κάλους, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἔξωθεν προσδέουσι· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἔσωθεν. γράμματα γράφουσι καὶ λογίζονται ψήφοις, Ἕλληνας μὲν, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ φέροντες τὴν χεῖρα· Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ, ἀπὸ τῶν δεξιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἀριστερά· καὶ ποιεῦντες ταῦτα, αὐτοὶ μὲν φασὶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ποιέειν, Ἕλληνας δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερά. διφασίοις δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται· καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν, ἱρά· τὰ δὲ, δημοτικὰ καλεῖται.

37 Θεοσεβέες δὲ περισσῶς ἔοντες μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, νόμοισι τοιοῖσινδε χρέωνται. Ἐκ χαλκῶν ποτηρίων πίνουσι, διασμένοντες ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην οὐκ ὁ μὲν, ὁ δ' οὐ, ἀλλὰ πάντες. εἴματα δὲ λίνεα φορέουσι, αἰεὶ νεόπλυτα· ἐπιτηδεύοντες τοῦτο μάλιστα. τὰ τε αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν προτιμῶντες καθαροὶ εἶναι ἢ εὐπρεπέστεροι. Οἱ δὲ ἱρέες ξυρεῖνται πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τρίτης ἡμέρης, ἵνα μήτε φθεῖρ, μήτε ἄλλο μυσαρὸν μηδὲν ἐγγίνηται σφί· θεραπεύουσι τοὺς θεούς. ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινὴν μούνην, καὶ ὑποδήματα βύβλινα· ἄλλην δὲ σφί ἐσθῆτα οὐκ ἔξεστι λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ ὑποδήματα ἄλλα. λούνται δὲ δις τῆς ἡμέρης· ἐκάστης ψυχρῷ, καὶ δις ἐκάστης νυκτός. ἄλλας τε θρησκίας ἐπιτελέουσι μυρίας, ὥς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. πάσχουσι δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀλῆγα. οὔτε τι γὰρ τῶν οἰκητῶν τρίβουσι, οὔτε δαπανέωνται· ἀλλὰ καὶ σιτία σφί ἐστι ἱρὰ πεσσομένα, καὶ κρεῶν βοέων καὶ χηνέων πληθὸς τι ἐκάστη γίνεται πολλὸν, ἡμέρης ἐκάστης· δίδονται δὲ σφί καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος. ἰχθύων δὲ οὐ σφί ἔξεστι πᾶσασθαι. κυάμους δὲ οὔτε τι μάλα σπείρουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, τοὺς τε γενομένους οὔτε τρώγουσι, οὔτε ἔφοντες πατέονται. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἱρέες οὐδὲ ὀρέοντες ἀνέχονται, νομίζοντες οὐ καθαρὸν μιν εἶναι ὄσπριον. ἱρῆται δὲ οὐκ εἰς ἐκάστου τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ, τῶν εἰς ἐστὶ ἀρχιέρεως ἑπεὰν δέ τις ἀποθάνῃ, τούτου ὁ παῖς ἀντικατίσταται.

38 Τοὺς δὲ βούς τοὺς ἔρσενας τοῦ Ἐπάφου εἶναι νομίζουσι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα δοκιμάζουσι αὐτοὺς ὧδε. τρίχα ἦν καὶ μίαν ἰδῆται ἐπεοῦσαν μέλαιναν, οὐ καθαρὸν εἶναι νομίζει. δίκηται δὲ ταῦτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένους τῶν τις ἱρέων, καὶ ὀρθοῦ ἐστεῶτος τοῦ κτήνεος καὶ ὑπτίου, καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐξειρύσας, εἰ καθαρὴ τῶν προκειμένων σημητῶν, τὰ ἐγὼ ἐν ἄλλῳ λόγῳ ἐρέω. κατορῆ δὲ καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς οὐρῆς, εἰ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχει πεφυκυίας. ἦν δὲ τούτων πάντων ἢ καθαρὸς, σημαίνεται βυβλῶ περὶ τὰ κέρα ἐλίσσων καὶ ἔπειτα γῆν σημαντρίδα ἐπιπλάσας, ἐπιβάλλει τὸν δακτύλιον καὶ οὕτω ἀπάγουσι. ἀσήμαντον δὲ θύσαντι θάνατος ἢ ζημὴ ἐπικέεται· δοκιμάζεται μὲν νυν

39 τὸ κτήνος τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. Θυσίῃ δὲ σφί ἦδε κατέστηκε.

ἀγαθόντες τὸ σεσημασμένον κτήνος πρὸς τὸν βωμόν, ὅκου  
 ἂν θύωσι, πυρὴν καίουσι. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ οἶνον  
 κατὰ τοῦ ἱρήιου ἐπισπείσαντες, καὶ ἐπικαλέσαντες τὸν  
 θεόν, σφάζουσιν· σφάζαντες δὲ, ἀποτάμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν.  
 σῶμα μὲν δὴ τοῦ κτήνεος δείρουσιν· κεφαλῇ δὲ κείνη  
 πολλὰ καταρησάμενοι, φέρουσι, τοῖσι μὲν ἂν ἡ ἀγορῇ,  
 καὶ Ἕλληνές σφισι ἔωσι ἐπιδήμιοι ἔμποροι, οἱ δὲ φέρον-  
 τες ἐς τὴν ἀγορὴν, ἀπ' ὧν ἔδοντο· τοῖσι δὲ ἂν μὴ παρέωσι  
 Ἕλληνες, οἱ δ' ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸν ποταμόν. καταρέονται  
 δὲ, τάδε λέγοντες, τῇσι κεφαλῇσι· “εἴ τι μέλλοι ἡ σφίσι  
 “τοῖσι θύουσι, ἡ Αἰγύπτῳ τῇ συναπάσῃ κακὸν γενέσθαι,  
 “ἐς κεφαλὴν ταύτην τραπέσθαι.” Κατὰ μὲν νυν τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς τῶν θυομένων κτηνέων, καὶ τὴν ἐπίσπεισιν τοῦ  
 οἴνου, πάντες Λιγύπτιοι νόμοισι τοῖσι αὐτοῖσι χρέωνται  
 ὁμοίως ἐς πάντα τὰ ἱρά· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ νόμου, οὐδὲ  
 ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἐμψύχου κεφαλῆς γεύσεται Αἰγυπτίων  
 οὐδεὶς. Ἡ δὲ δὴ ἐξαίρεσις τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ ἡ καῦσις, ἄλλη 40  
 περὶ ἄλλο ἱρόν σφι κατέστηκε. τὴν δ' ὧν μεγίστην τε  
 δαίμονα ἡγνῆται εἶναι, καὶ μεγίστην οἱ ὀρτὴν ἀνάγουσι,  
 ταύτην ἔρχομαι ἐρέων. ἐπεὰν ἀποδείρωσι τὸν βούν,  
 κατευξάμενοι, κοιλίην μὲν κεινὴν πᾶσαν ἐξ ὧν εἶλον,  
 σπλάγγνα δὲ αὐτοῦ λείπουνσι ἐν τῷ σώματι καὶ τὴν πι-  
 μελήν· σκέλεα δὲ ἀποτάμνουσι, καὶ τὴν ὀσφύν ἄκρην, καὶ  
 τοὺς ὄμους τε καὶ τὸν τράχηλον. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες,  
 τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα τοῦ βοῦς πιμπλᾷσι ἄρτων καθαρῶν, καὶ  
 μέλιτος, καὶ ἀσταφίδος, καὶ σύκων, καὶ λιβανωτοῦ, καὶ  
 σμύρνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων. πλήσαντες δὲ τού-  
 των, καταγίζουσι, ἔλαιον ἄφθονον καταχέοντες. προνη-  
 στεύσαντες δὲ, θύουσι. καιομένων δὲ τῶν ἱρῶν τύπτονται  
 πάντες· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποτύψωνται, δαῖτα προτίθενται τὰ  
 ἐλίποντο τῶν ἱρῶν.

Τοὺς μὲν νυν καθαρὸς βούς τοὺς ἔρσενας καὶ τοὺς 41  
 μόσχους οἱ πάντες Λιγύπτιοι θύουσι· τὰς δὲ θηλέας οὐ  
 σφι ἔξεστι θύειν, ἀλλὰ ἱερεῖς εἰσι τῆς Ἰσίου. τὸ γὰρ τῆς  
 Ἰσίου ἀγαλμα· ἐὼν γυναικῆιον, βούκερὼν ἐστι, κατὰπερ  
 Ἕλληνες τὴν Ἰοῦν γράφουσι· καὶ τὰς βούς τὰς θηλέας  
 Αἰγύπτιοι πάντες ὁμοίως σέβονται· προβάτων πάντων  
 μάλιστα μακροῦ. τῶν εἴνεκα οὐτ' ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος, οὔτε

γυνή, ἄνδρα Ἕλληνα φιλήσειε ἂν τῷ στόματι, οὐδὲ μαχαίρῃ ἄνδρὸς Ἕλληνος χρήσεται, οὐδ' ὀβελοῖσι, οὐδὲ λέβητι, οὐδὲ κρέως καθαροῦ βοῦς διατετμημένου Ἑλληνικῇ μαχαίρῃ γεύσεται. Θάπτουσι δὲ τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας βοῦς, τρόπον τόνδε. τὰς μὲν θηλέας ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀπιάσι· τοὺς δὲ ἔρσενας κατορύσσουσι ἕκαστοι ἐν τοῖσι προαστείοισι, τὸ κέρας τὸ ἕτερον ἢ καὶ ἀμφότερα ὑπέρχοντα, σημητοῦ εἵνεκεν. ἔπειαν δὲ σαπῇ, καὶ προσίῃ ὁ τεταγμένος χρόνος, ἀπικνέεται ἐς ἐκάστην πόλιν βάρις ἐκ τῆς Προσωπίτιδος καλυμένης νήσου. ἡ δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, περίμετρον δὲ αὐτῆς εἰσὶ σχοῖνοι ἐννέα. ἐν ταύτῃ ὦν τῇ Προσωπίτιδι νήσῳ ἔνευσι μὲν καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις συχναί· ἐκ τῆς δὲ αἱ βάρις παραγίνονται ἀναρρησόμεναι τὰ ὀστέα τῶν βοῶν, οὖνομα τῇ πόλει Ἀτάρβηχιν· ἐν δ' αὐτῇ Ἀφροδίτης ἱρὸν ἅγιον ἱδρυται. ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλιος πλανέονται πολλοὶ ἄλλοι ἐς ἄλλας πόλιν· ἀγορεύσαντες δὲ τὰ ὀστέα, ἀπάγουσι καὶ θάπτουσι ἐς ἓνα χώρον πάντες. κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τοῖσι βουσί καὶ τὰλλα κτήνεα θάπτουσι ἀποθνήσκοντα· καὶ γὰρ περὶ ταῦτα οὕτω σφι νενομοθέτηται· κτείνουσι γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ ταῦτα.

- 42 Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Διὸς Θηβαίεος ἱδρυται ἱρὸν, ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι μὲν νυν πάντες οἷων ἀπεχόμενοι, αἶγας θύουσι. θεοὺς γὰρ δὴ οὐ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἅπαντες ὁμοίως Αἰγύπτιοι σέβονται, πλην Ἰσιὸς τε καὶ Ὀσίριος, τὸν δὴ Διόνυσον εἶναι λέγουσι· τούτους δὲ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες σέβονται. ὅσοι δὲ τοῦ Μένδητος ἔκτηνται ἱρὸν, ἡ νομοῦ τοῦ Μενδησίου εἰσὶ, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχόμενοι, δῖς θύουσι. Θηβαῖοι μὲν νυν, καὶ ὅσοι διὰ τούτους οἷων ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὰδε λέγουσι τὸν νόμον τόνδε σφι τεθῆναι· “Ἡρακλέα θελῆσαι πάντως ιδέσθαι τὸν Δία, καὶ τὸν οὐκ ἐθέλειν ὀφθῆναι ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ. τέλος δὲ, ἐπεὶ τε “λιπαρέειν τὸν Ἡρακλέα, τὸν Δία μηχανήσασθαι, κριὸν “ἐκδείραντα, προέχεσθαι τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποταμιόντα “τοῦ κριοῦ, καὶ ἐνδύντα τὸ νάκος, οὕτω οἱ ἐωυτὸν ἐπι- “δέξαι.” Ἀπὸ τούτου κριοπρόσωπον τοῦ Διὸς τᾶγαλμα ποιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι· ἀπὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀμμώνιοι, ὄντες Αἰγυπτίων τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν ἀποικοι, καὶ φωνὴν μεταξὺ

ἀμφοτέρων νομίζοντες. δοκέειν δ' ἔμοι, καὶ τὸ οὐνομα Ἀμμώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦδέ σφι τὴν ἐπωνυμίην ἐποιήσαντο Ἀμοῦν γὰρ Λιγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία. τοῖς δὲ κριοὺς οὐ θύουσι Θηβαῖοι, ἀλλ' εἰσὶ σφι ἱροὶ διὰ τοῦτο. μὴ δὲ ἡμέρη τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, ἐν ὁρτῇ τοῦ Διὸς, κριὸν ἓνα κατακόψαντες καὶ ἀποδείραντες, κατὰ τὸντὸ ἐνδύουσι τῷγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἄλλο ἄγαλμα Ἡρακλέος προσάγουσι πρὸς αὐτό. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, τύπτονται οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἅπαντες τὸν κριὸν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐν ἱρῇ θήκῃ θάπτουσι αὐτόν.

Ἡρακλέος δὲ πέρι τόνδε τὸν λόγον ἤκουσα, ὅτι εἴη 43 τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν. τοῦ ἐτέρου δὲ πέρι Ἡρακλέος, τὸν Ἕλληνες οἶδασι, οὔδαμῃ Αἰγύπτου ἐδυνάσθην ἀκούσαι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλέος Αἰγύπτιοι, ἀλλὰ Ἕλληνες μᾶλλον παρ' Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων οὗτοι οἱ θέμενοι τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνος γόνῳ τοῦνομα Ἡρακλέα, πολλὰ μοι καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήριά ἐστι τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχειν, ἐν δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅτι τε τοῦ Ἡρακλέος τούτου οἱ γονεές ἀμφοτέροι ἦσαν, Ἀμφιτρύων καὶ Ἀλκμήνη, γεγονότες τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου, καὶ διότι Αἰγύπτιοι οὔτε Ποσειδέωνος οὔτε Διοσκούρων τὰ οὐνόματά φασι εἶδέναι, οὐδέ σφι θεοὶ οὗτοι ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις θεοῖσι ἀποδεδέχεται. καὶ μὴν εἰ γε παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον οὐνομά τευ δαίμονος, τούτων οὐκ ἦκιστα ἀλλὰ μάλιστα ἔμελλον μνήμην ἔξειν, εἴπερ καὶ τότε ναυτιλίῃσι ἐχρέωντο, καὶ ἦσαν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ναυτίλοι, ὥς ἔλπομαι τε καὶ ἐμὴ γνώμη αἰρέει· ὥστε τούτων ἂν καὶ μᾶλλον τῶν θεῶν τὰ οὐνόματα ἐξεπιστέατο Αἰγύπτιοι ἢ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἀλλὰ τις ἀρχαῖός ἐστι θεὸς Αἰγυπτίοις Ἡρακλέης· ὥς δὲ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, ἔτεά ἐστι ἐπτακισχίλια καὶ μύρια ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλεύσαντα, ἐπεὶ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν οἱ δωδέκα θεοὶ ἐγένοντο, τῶν Ἡρακλέα ἓνα νομίζουσι. Καὶ θέλων δὲ τούτων πέρι σαφές τι εἶδέναι ἐξ 44 ὧν οἶόν τε ἦν, ἔπλευσα καὶ ἐς Τύρον τῆς Φοινίκης, πυνθανόμενος αὐτόθι εἶναι ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ἁγίον καὶ ἶδον πλουσίως κατεσκευασμένον ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖσι ἀναθήμασι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ἦσαν στήλαι δύο, ἡ μὲν, χρυσοῦ ἀπέφθον ἡ δὲ, σμαράγδου λίθου, λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας

- μέγαθος. ἐς λόγους δὲ ἐλθὼν τοῖσι ἱρεῦσι τοῦ θεοῦ εἰρό-  
 μην ὁκόσος χρόνος εἴη ἐξ οὗ σφι τὸ ἶρὸν ἴδρυται. εὗρον  
 δὲ οὐδὲ τούτους τοῖσι Ἕλλησι συμφερομένους. ἔφασαν  
 γὰρ ἅμα Τύρῳ οἰκίζομένη καὶ τὸ ἶρὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰδρυθῆναι  
 εἶναι δὲ ἕτεα ἀφ' οὗ Τύρον οἰκέουσι, τριηκόσια καὶ δισχί-  
 λια. εἶδον δὲ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ καὶ ἄλλο ἶρὸν Ἡρακλέος, ἐπω-  
 νυμῖην ἔχοντος Θασίου εἶναι. ἀπικόμην δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον,  
 ἐν τῇ εὗρον ἶρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον, οἱ  
 κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες, Θάσον ἔκτισαν καὶ  
 ταῦτα καὶ πέντε γενεῇσι ἀνδρῶν πρότερά ἐστι ἢ τὸν  
 Ἀμφιτρίωνος Ἡρακλέα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γενέσθαι. Τὰ  
 μὲν νυν ἱστορημένα δηλοῖ σαφέως παλαιὸν θεὸν τὸν  
 Ἡρακλέα εἶναι. καὶ δοκέουσι δέ μοι οὗτοι ὀρθότατα  
 Ἑλλήνων ποιεῖν, οἱ διὰ Ἡράκλεια ἰδρυσάμενοι ἔκην-  
 ται· καὶ τῷ μὲν, ὡς ἀθανάτῳ, Ὀλυμπίῳ δὲ ἐπωνυμῖν,  
 45 θύουσι· τῷ δὲ ἐτέρῳ, ὡς ἥρωϊ ἐναγίζουσι. Λέγουσι δὲ  
 πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες. εὐήθης δὲ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθος ἐστὶ, τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος  
 λέγουσι· ὡς “αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέφαντες  
 “οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διὶ·  
 “τὸν δὲ, τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ  
 “βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον, πάντας σφέας  
 “καταφονεύσαι.” Ἐμοὶ μὲν νυν δοκέουσι, ταῦτα λέ-  
 γοντες, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων φύσιος καὶ τῶν νόμων πάμπαν  
 ἀπείρως ἔχειν οἱ Ἕλληνες. τοῖσι γὰρ οὐδὲ κτήνεα ὅσῃ  
 θύειν ἐστὶ, χωρὶς ὀνῶν, καὶ ἐρσένων βοῶν καὶ μόσχων,  
 ὅσοι ἂν καθαροὶ ἦωσι, καὶ χηνῶν, κῶς ἂν οὗτοι ἀνθρώ-  
 πους θύοιεν; ἔτι δὲ ἓνα εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ ἔτι  
 ἀνθρώπον, ὡς δὴ φασι, κῶς φύσιν ἔχει πολλὰς μυριάδας  
 φονεύσαι; Καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τσαῦτα ἡμῖν εἰποῦσι,  
 καὶ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἡρώων εὐμένεια εἴη.  
 46 Τὰς δὲ δὴ αἰγας καὶ τοὺς τραγούς τῶνδε εἵνεκα οὐ  
 θύουσι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ εἰρημένοι. τὸν Πᾶνα τῶν ὀκτῶ  
 θεῶν λογιζονται εἶναι οἱ Μενδήσιοι· τοὺς δὲ ὀκτῶ θεοὺς  
 τούτους, προτέρους τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν φασὶ γενέσθαι.  
 γράφουσί τε δὴ καὶ γλύφουσι οἱ ζωγράφοι καὶ οἱ ἀγαλ-  
 ματοποιοὶ τοῦ Πανὸς τῷ γαλμα, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες, αἰ-  
 γοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγοσκελέα· οὐ τι τοιοῦτον νομίζοντες

εἶναι μιν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῖον τοῖσι ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι· ὅτεν δὲ εἴ-  
νεκα τοιοῦτον γράφουσι αὐτὸν, οὐ μοι ἡδιὸν ἐστὶ λέγειν.  
σέβονται δὲ πάντας τοὺς αἰγας οἱ Μενδησίοι, καὶ μᾶλλον  
τοὺς ἔρσενας τῶν θηλέων, καὶ τούτων οἱ αἰπύλοι τιμὰς  
μέζονας ἔχουσι· ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς μάλιστα, ὅστις ἐπεὰν  
ἀποθάνῃ, πένθος μέγα παντὶ τῇ Μενδησίῳ νομῶ τίθεται.  
καλέεται δὲ ὃ τε τράγος καὶ ὁ Πὰν Αἰγυπτιστὶ, Μένδης.  
ἐγένετο δ' ἐν τῷ νομῷ τούτῳ ἐπ' ἐμεῦ τοῦτο τὸ τέρας  
γυναικὶ τράγος ἐμίσγετο ἀναφανδόν. τοῦτο ἐς ἐπίδεξιν  
ἀνθρώπων ἀπίκετο.

Τὴν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι μιὰρὸν ἡγήται θηρίον εἶναι· καὶ 47  
τοῦτο μὲν, ἣν τις ψαύσῃ αὐτῶν παριῶν ὑδός, αὐτοῖσι  
ἱματίοις ἀπ' ὧν ἔβαψε ἑωυτὸν, βὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμόν  
τοῦτο δὲ, οἱ συβῶται, ἐόντες Αἰγύπτιοι ἐγγενέες, ἐς ἱρὸν  
οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἐσέρχονται μῦνοι πάντων οὐδέ  
σφι ἐκδίδοσθαι θυγατέρα οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει, οὐδ' ἄγεσθαι ἐξ  
αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ἐκδιδόαται τε οἱ συβῶται καὶ ἀγέαται ἐξ  
ἀλλήλων. τοῖσι μὲν νυν ἄλλοισι θεοῖσι θύειν ὥς οὐ  
δικαιεῦσι Αἰγύπτιοι· Σελήνῃ δὲ καὶ Διονύσῳ μῦνοισι,  
τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου, τῇ αὐτῇ πανσελήνῃ, τοὺς ὥς θύσαντες,  
πατέονται τῶν κρεῶν. διότι δὲ τοὺς ὥς ἐν μὲν τῇσι  
ἄλλῃσι ὀρτῇσι ἀπεστνρήκασι, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ θύουσι, ἐστὶ  
μὲν λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων λεγόμενος· ἐμοὶ  
μέντοι ἐπισταμένῳ οὐκ εὐπρεπέστερός ἐστι λέγεσθαι  
θυσίῃ δὲ ἥδε τῶν ὥων τῇ Σελήνῃ ποιέεται· ἐπεὰν θύσῃ,  
τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην καὶ τὸν σπλῆνα καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλοον συν-  
θεῖς ὁμοῦ, κατ' ὧν ἐκάλυψε πάσῃ τοῦ κτήνεος τῇ πιμελῇ  
τῇ περὶ τὴν νηδὺν γινομένη καὶ ἔπειτα καταγίξει πυρὶ.  
τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα σιτέονται ἐν τῇ πανσελήνῃ, ἐν τῇ ἂν τὰ  
ἱρὰ θίσωσι· ἐν ἄλλῃ δὲ ἡμέρῃ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι γευσάιατο. οἱ  
δὲ πένητες αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀσθενείας βίου σταιτῖνας πλάσαντες  
ὥς, καὶ ὀπτήσαντες ταύτας, θύουσι. Τῷ δὲ Διονύσῳ, τῆς 48  
ὀρτῆς τῇ δορπίῃ, χοῖρον πρὸ τῶν θυρέων σφάξας ἕκαστος,  
δίδοι ἀποφέρεσθαι τὸν χοῖρον αὐτῷ τῷ ἀποδομένῳ τῶν  
συβωτέων. τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ἀνάγουσι ὀρτὴν τῷ Διονύσῳ  
οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, πλὴν χορῶν, κατὰ ταῦτά σχεδὸν πάντα  
Ἕλλησι. ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν, ἄλλα σφί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα  
ὅσον τε πηχυαῖα ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφο-

ρέουσι κατὰ κόμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, οὐ πολλὰ  
 τέω ἔλασσον ἐόν τοῦ ἄλλου σώματος. προηγέεται δὲ  
 αὐλός· αἱ δὲ ἔπονται αἰδούσαι τὸν Διόνυσον. διότι δὲ  
 μέζον τε ἔχει τὸ αἰδοῖον, καὶ κινεῖ μούνον τοῦ σώματος,  
 49 ἔστι λόγος περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱρὸς λεγόμενος. Ἦδη ὦν δοκέει  
 μοι Μελάμπους ὁ Ἀμυθέωνος τῆς θυσίσης ταύτης οὐκ  
 εἶναι ἀδαῆς, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρος. Ἑλλησι γὰρ δὴ Μελάμπους  
 ἔστι ὁ ἐξηγησάμενος τοῦ Διονύσου τό τε οὖνομα, καὶ τὴν  
 θυσίην, καὶ τὴν πομπήν τοῦ φαλλοῦ. ἀτρεκέως μὲν οὐ  
 πάντα συλλαβὼν τὸν λόγον ἔφηνε· ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι  
 τούτῳ σοφιστὰι μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν. τὸν δ' ὦν φαλλὸν τὸν  
 τῷ Διονύσῳ πεμπόμενον Μελάμπους ἔστι ὁ κατηγησάμε-  
 νος καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου μαθόντες ποιεῦσι τὰ ποιεῦσι Ἑλλη-  
 νες. Ἐγὼ μὲν νῦν φημι Μελάμποδα γενόμενον ἄνδρα  
 σοφόν, μαντικὴν τε ἐωυτῷ συστήσαι, καὶ πυθόμενον ἀπ'  
 Αἰγύπτου, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐσηγήσασθαι Ἑλλησι, καὶ τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, ὀλίγα αὐτῶν παραλλάξαντα. οὐ γὰρ  
 δὴ συμπεσέειν γε φήσω τὰ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποιούμενα τῷ  
 θεῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐν τοῖσι Ἑλλησι· ὁμότροπα γὰρ ἂν ᾖ τῶν τοῖσι  
 Ἑλλησι, καὶ οὐ νεωστὶ ἐσαγμένα. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φήσω  
 ὅπως Αἰγύπτιοι παρ' Ἑλλήνων ἔλαβον ἢ τοῦτο, ἢ ἄλλο  
 κού τι νομαίον. πυθέσθαι δέ μοι δοκέει μάλιστα Μελάμ-  
 πους τὰ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παρὰ Κάδμου τε τοῦ Τυρίου,  
 καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐκ Φωϊκῆς ἀπικομένων ἐς τὴν νῦν  
 Βοιωτήν καλεομένην χώραν.

50 Σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν ἐξ  
 Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. διότι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ  
 τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκει, πυθανόμενος οὕτω εὐρίσκω ἐόν  
 δοκέει δ' ὦν μάλιστα ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπίχθαι. ὅτι γὰρ  
 δὴ μὴ Ποσειδέωνος, καὶ Διοσκούρων, ὡς καὶ πρότερόν  
 μοι ταῦτα εἴρηται, καὶ Ἥρης, καὶ Ἰστίης, καὶ Θέμιος,  
 καὶ Χαρίτων, καὶ Νηρηίδων, τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Αἰγυπτίοισι  
 αἰεὶ κοτε τὰ οὐνόματά ἐστι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ. λέγω δὲ τὰ  
 λόγουσι αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι. τῶν δὲ οὐ φασι θεῶν γινώσκειν  
 τὰ οὐνόματα, οὗτοι δέ μοι δοκεῖνσι ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν  
 ὀνομασθῆναι, πλην Ποσειδέωνος. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν  
 παρὰ Λιβύων ἐπίθοντο. οὐδαμοὶ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς Ποσει-  
 δέωνος οὖνομα ἔκτηνται, εἰ μὴ Δίβυνες καὶ τιμέωσι τὸν

θεὸν τοῦτον αἰεὶ νομίζουσι δ' ὧν Αἰγύπτιοι οὐδ' ἦρωσι οὐδέν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς τοῦτοις τὰ ἐγὼ 51 φράσω, "Ἕλληνες ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων νενομίκασι τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμέω τὰ ἀγάλματα ὀρθὰ ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα ποιεῦντες, οὐκ ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ Πελασγῶν πρῶτοι μὲν Ἕλλήνων ἀπάντων Ἀθηναῖοι παραλαβόντες, παρὰ δὲ τούτων ἄλλοι. Ἀθηναῖοις γὰρ, ἤδη τηνικαῦτα ἐς Ἕλληνας τελέουσι, Πελασγοὶ σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ὅθεν περ καὶ Ἕλληνες ἥρξαντο νομισθῆναι. ὅστις δὲ τὰ Καβείρων ὄργια μεμύηται, τὰ Σαμοθρήικες ἐπιτελέουσι παραλαβόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, οὗτος ὦν ἡρ οἶδε τὸ λέγω. τὴν γὰρ Σαμοθρήικην οἶκεον πρότερον Πελασγοὶ οὗτοι, τοὶ περ Ἀθηναῖοις σύνοικοι ἐγένοντο, καὶ παρὰ τούτων Σαμοθρήικες τὰ ὄργια παραλαμβάνουσι. ὀρθὰ ὧν ἔχειν τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰ ἀγάλματα τοῦ Ἑρμέω, Ἀθηναῖοι πρῶτοι Ἕλλήνων, μαθόντες παρὰ Πελασγῶν, ἐποίησαντο. οἱ δὲ Πελασγοὶ ἰρόν τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλεξαν, τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρήικῃ μυστηρίοις δεδοῦλωται. Ἔθυον δὲ πάντα πρότερον οἱ Πελασγοὶ θεοῖσι ἐπενυχόμε- 52 νοι, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐν Δωδώνῃ οἶδα ἀκούσας ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' οὐνομα ἐποικεῖντο οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν οὐ γὰρ ἀκηκόεσάν κω. θεοὺς δὲ προσωνόμασάν σφεας ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρήγματα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ, χρόνου πολλοῦ διεξελθόντος, ἐπύθοντο ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπικόμενα τὰ οὐνόματα τῶν θεῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Διονύσου δὲ ὕστερον πολλῶ ἐπύθοντο. καὶ μετὰ χρόνον ἐχρηστηριάζοντο περὶ τῶν οὐνομάτων ἐν Δωδώνῃ τὸ γὰρ δὴ μαντήιον τοῦτο νενομίσται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἑλλησι χρηστηρίων εἶναι, καὶ ἦν τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον μῦνον. ἐπεὶ ὧν ἐχρηστηριάζοντο ἐν τῇ Δωδώνῃ οἱ Πελασγοὶ "εἰ ἀνέλωνται τὰ οὐνόματα τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦκοντα" ἀνείλε τὸ μαντήιον "χρᾶσθαι." ἀπὸ μὲν δὴ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου ἔθυον, τοῖσι οὐνόμασι τῶν θεῶν χρεώμενοι. παρὰ δὲ Πελασγῶν Ἕλληνες ἐξεδέξαντο ὕστερον. Ἐνθεν δὲ 53 ἐγένετο ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴ τε δ' αἰεὶ ἦσαν πάντες, ἵκοιοί τε τινες τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἠπιστέατο μέχρι οὐ πρῶην τε καὶ χθὲς, ὡς εἰπεῖν λόγῳ. Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὀμηρον ἡλικίην τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσι δοκέω μεν πρεσβυτέρους

γενέσθαι, καὶ οὐ πλέοσι. οὗτοι δὲ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἑλληνισι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόντες, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἶδεα αὐτῶν σημήναντες. οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν γενέσθαι, ὕστερον, ἐμοὶ γε δοκέειν, ἐγένοντο τούτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα αἱ Δωδωνίδες ἱρήϊαι λέγουσι τὰ δὲ ὕστερα, τὰ ἐς Ἡσιόδον τε καὶ Ὅμηρον ἔχοντα, ἐγὼ λέγω.

- 54 Χρηστηρίων δὲ πέρι, τοῦ τε ἐν Ἑλληνισι, καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ, τόνδε Αἰγύπτιοι λόγον λέγουσι. ἔφασαν οἱ ἱρέες τοῦ Θηβαίους Διὸς “δύο γυναῖκας ἱρήϊας ἐκ Θηβέων “ἐξαχθῆναι ὑπὸ Φοινίκων καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων πυθέσθαι “ἐς Λιβύην πρηθεῖσαν, τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ταύτας “δὲ τὰς γυναῖκας εἶναι τὰς ἰδρυσάμενας τὰ μαντήια “πρώτας ἐν τοῖσι εἰρημένοισι ἔθνεσι.” Εἰρομένου δέ μιν, ὁκόθεν οὕτω ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγουσι, ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα, “ζήτησιν μεγάλην ἀπὸ σφέων γενέσθαι τῶν “γυναικῶν τουτέων καὶ ἀνευρεῖν μὲν σφεας οὐ δυνατοὶ “γενέσθαι· πυθέσθαι δὲ ὕστερον ταῦτα περὶ αὐτέων
- 55 “τάπερ δὴ ἔλεγον.” Ταῦτα μὲν νῦν τῶν ἐν Θήβῃσι ἱρέων ἤκουον ταδε δὲ Δωδωναίων φασὶ αἱ προμαντίες “Δύο πελειάδας μελαίνας ἐκ Θηβέων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων “ἀναπταμένας, τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ παρὰ “σφέας ἀπικέσθαι. ἰζομένην δέ μιν ἐπὶ φηγόν, αὐδά- “ξασθαι φωνῇ ἀνθρωπηῇ, ὥς χρεὼν εἶη μαντήιον αὐτόθι “Διὸς γενέσθαι. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπολαβεῖν θεῖον εἶναι τὸ “ἐπαγγελλούμενον αὐτοῖσι, καὶ σφεας ἐκ τούτου ποιῆσαι. “τὴν δὲ ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας οἰχομένην πελειάδα λέγουσι “Ἀμμωνος χρηστήριον κελεῦσαι τοὺς Λίβυας ποιεῖν.” ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Διὸς. Δωδωναίων δὲ αἱ ἱρήϊαι, τῶν τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ οὖνομα ἦν Προμένεια, τῇ δὲ μετὰ ταύτην, Τιμαρέτῃ, τῇ δὲ νεωτάτῃ, Νικάνδρῃ, ἔλεγον ταῦτα. συνωμολόγεον δὲ σφι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖοι οἱ περὶ τὸ ἱρόν.
- 56 Ἐγὼ δ' ἔχω περὶ αὐτέων γνώμην τήνδε. εἰ ἀληθὲς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐξήγαγον τὰς ἱρὰς γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν μὲν αὐτέων ἐς Λιβύην, τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέδοντο, δοκεῖ ἐμοὶ ἡ γνώμη αὕτη τῆς νῦν Ἑλλάδος, πρότερον δὲ Πελασγίης καλευμένης τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης, πρηθῆναι ἐς Θεσπρωτοὺς

ἄλλα δέ σφι ἐξευρῆσθαι δένδρ  
 φέροντα, τοὺς, ἐπεὶ τε ἂν ἐς τ  
 καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσωνται, κύκλ  
 ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ· ὁσφραινομένους  
 ποῦ τοῦ ἐπιβαλλομένου, μεθ  
 Ἑλληνας τῷ οἴνῳ. πλεῦνος  
 ποῦ, μᾶλλον μεθύσκεσθαι· ἐς  
 καὶ ἐς αἰοιδὴν ἀπικνέεσθαι.  
 δίαίτα εἶναι. Ὁ δὲ Ἀράξης  
 νῶν, ὅθεν περ ὁ Γύνδης, τὸν  
 τε καὶ τριηκοσίας διέλαβε ὁ  
 γεται τεσσαράκοντα, τῶν τῶ  
 τε καὶ τενάγεια ἐκδιδού· ἐν τῶ  
 λέγουσι ἰχθύς ὠμοὺς σιτεῶ,  
 χρᾶσθαι φωκέων δέρμασι. τ  
 Ἀράξεω ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ ἐ  
 δὲ Κασπίῃ θάλασσά ἐστι ἐπ  
 ἑτέρῃ θαλάσῃ. τὴν μὲν  
 πᾶσαν, καὶ ἡ ἑξω στηλέων  
 μένη, καὶ ἡ Ἐρυθρὴ, μία τῶ  
 ἐστι ἑτέρῃ ἐπ' ἐωυτῆς· ἐοῦσ  
 χρεωμένῳ, πεντεκαίδεκα ἡμέ  
 ἐστὶ αὐτῇ ἐωυτῆς, ὀκτῶ ἡμέ  
 ἐσπέρην φέροντα τῆς θαλ  
 παρατείνει, ἐὼν οὐρέων καὶ π  
 ὑψηλότατον. ἔθνεα δὲ ἀνθρ  
 ἐωυτῷ ἔχει ὁ Καύκασος·  
 ἀγρίης ζῶοντα. ἐν τοῖσι καὶ  
 παρεχόμενα εἶναι λέγεται,  
 μίσγοντας ὕδωρ, ζῶα ἐωυτῶ  
 τὰ δὲ ζῶα οὐκ ἐκπλύνεσθαι  
 τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰρίῳ, κατάπερ ἐ  
 τούτων τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι  
 βάτοισι.

Τὰ μὲν δὴ πρὸς ἐσπέρην  
 Κασπίης καλεομένης, ὁ Κ  
 ῶ τε καὶ ἥλιον ἀνατέλλου  
 πειρου ἐς ἀποψιν τοῦ ἡ

αὐταί, ἐγχρίμψαντες  
 μέν τινες τῶν γυναι-  
 κῶν, βοῶσαι, τὰς  
 ἀρχέονται· αἱ δ' ἀνα-  
 πᾶσαν πόλιν παρα-  
 ται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν,  
 ἡλίας καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέ-  
 ροτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ  
 ποιτέωσι δέ, ὅ τι ἀνὴρ  
 ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυ-  
 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ  
 ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἰσι τὴν  
 αὐταί μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ  
 ἡριάδες κάρτα πολλαί  
 μοι ὅσιόν ἐστι λέγειν.  
 ἰκόντες, οὔτοι δὲ τοσ-  
 ῶτον καὶ τὰ μέτωπα  
 οἱ δὴλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι  
 πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχ-  
 λύχνα καλοῦσι πάντες  
 κυκλῶ. τὰ δὲ λύχνα  
 ἐλαίου ἐπιπολῆς δὲ  
 αὐτο καλεῖται παννύχιον  
 καίη. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλ-  
 ῃ γυριν ταύτην, φυλάσ-  
 λουσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες  
 μούνη καλεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ  
 αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.  
 ἂν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτε-  
 ῃ θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρά,  
 εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται κατα-  
 τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα  
 ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες,  
 ἄλλοι δὲ εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτε-  
 ῃ, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα  
 τῶν. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα, ἐὼν  
 ὑπωμένω, προεκκομίζουσι

ἔπειτα δουλεύουσα αὐτόθι, ἰδρύσασθαι ὑπὸ φηγῷ πεφυ-  
 κυτῇ Διὸς ἱρόν ὥσπερ ἦν οἶκος, ἀμφιπολεύουσιν ἐν  
 Θήβησι ἱρόν Διὸς, ἐνθα ἀπίκετο, ἐνθαῦτα μνήμην αὐτοῦ  
 ἔχειν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου, χρηστήριον κατηγγήσατο, ἐπεὶ τε  
 συνέλαβε τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν. φάναι δὲ οἱ ἀδελφεὴν  
 ἐν Λιβύῃ πεπρήσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν Φοινίκων, ὑπ' ὧν  
 καὶ αὕτῃ ἐπρήθη. Πελειάδες δέ μοι δοκέουσι κληθῆναι 57  
 πρὸς Δωδωναίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε αἱ γυναῖκες, διότι βάρβαροι  
 ἦσαν ἐδόκεον δὲ σφί ὁμοίως ὄρνισι φθέγγεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ  
 χρόνον τὴν πελειάδα ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ αὐδάξασθαι λέ-  
 γουσι, ἐπεὶ τε συνετά σφί ἡῦδα ἡ γυνή· ἔως δὲ ἐβαρβά-  
 ριξε, ὄρνιθος τρόπον ἐδόκεε σφί φθέγγεσθαι· ἐπεὶ τέφ  
 τρόπῳ ἂν πελειᾶς γε ἀνθρωπητῇ φωνῇ φθέγγεαιτο; μέλαι-  
 ναν δὲ λέγοντες εἶναι τὴν πελειάδα, σημαίνουσι ὅτι  
 Αἰγυπτίῃ ἡ γυνή ἦν. Ἡ δὲ μαντιτῇ ἥ τε ἐν Θήβησι  
 τῇσι Αἰγυπτίῃσι καὶ ἐν Δωδώνῃ, παραπλήσιαι ἀλλήλησι  
 τυγχάνουσι εἶναι. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν ἡ μαντικὴ  
 ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀπυγμένη.

Πανηγύρις δὲ ἄρα καὶ πομπὰς καὶ προσαγωγὰς πρῶ- 58  
 τοι ἀνθρώπων Αἰγύπτιοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι· καὶ παρὰ  
 τούτων Ἕλληνες μεμαθήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ μοι τούτου,  
 τόδε· αἱ μὲν γὰρ φαίνονται ἐκ πολλοῦ τευ χρόνου ποιεύ-  
 μεναι· αἱ δὲ Ἑλληνικαὶ νεωστὶ ἐποιήθησαν. Πανηγυρί- 59  
 ζουσι δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι οὐκ ἄπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πανηγύρις δὲ  
 συχνὰς· μάλιστα μὲν καὶ προθυμότατα ἐς Βούβαστιν  
 πόλιν, τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. δεύτερα ἐς Βούσιριν πόλιν, τῇ Ἴσι·  
 ἐν ταύτῃ γὰρ διὴ τῇ πόλει ἐστὶ μέγιστον Ἴσιος ἱρόν. Ἰδρυ-  
 ται δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτῃ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα.  
 Ἴσις δὲ ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ.  
 τρίτα δ' ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ πανηγυρίζουσι· τέ-  
 тарта δὲ, ἐς Ἡλιούπολιν τῷ Ἡλίῳ πέμπτα δὲ, ἐς Βου-  
 τοῦν πόλιν τῇ Λητοῖ· ἕκτα δὲ, ἐς Πάπρημιν πόλιν τῷ  
 Ἀρεῖ. Ἐς μὲν νυν Βούβαστιν πόλιν ἐπεὶ κομίζονται, 60  
 ποιῶσι τοιαῦτα. πλείουςί τε γὰρ δὴ ἅμα ἄνδρες γυναῖξί,  
 καὶ πολλόν τι πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ἐν ἐκάστῃ βάρῃ. αἱ μὲν  
 τινες τῶν γυναικῶν κρόταλα ἔχουσαι κροταλίζουσι, οἱ δὲ  
 αὐλέουσι, κατὰ πάντα τὸν πλόον· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ γυναῖκες  
 καὶ ἄνδρες αἰεδοῦσι, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κροτεύουσι. ἐπεὶ δὲ

- πλέοντες κατὰ τινα πόλιν ἄλλην γένωνται, ἐγχρίμψαντες τὴν βάρην τῇ γῇ, ποιεῦσι τοιάδε. αἱ μὲν τινες τῶν γυναικῶν ποιεῦσι τάπερ εἶρηκα. αἱ δὲ τωθάξουσι, βοῶσαι, τὰς ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ γυναῖκας· αἱ δ' ὀρχέονται· αἱ δ' ἀνασύρονται ἀνιστάμεναι. ταῦτα παρὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν παραποταμὴν ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀπίκωνται ἐς τὴν Βούβαστιν, ὀρτάξουσι, μεγάλας ἀνάγοντες θυσίας καὶ οἶνος ἀμπέλινος ἀναισιμούνται πλέον ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄπαντι ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ. συμφοιτέωσι δέ, ὃ τι ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή ἐστι, πλὴν παιδίων, καὶ ἐς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας, ὡς οἱ ἐπιχωριοὶ λέγουσι. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ
- 61 ποιέεται. Ἐν δὲ Βουσίρι πόλι ὡς ἀνάγουσι τῇ Ἴσι τὴν ὀρτὴν, εἴρηται πρότερόν μοι. τύπτονται μὲν γὰρ δὴ μετὰ τὴν θυσίην πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι, μυριάδες κάρτα πολλαὶ ἀνθρώπων. τὸν δὲ τύπτονται, οὐ μοι ὁσιόν ἐστι λέγειν. ὅσοι δὲ Καρῶν εἰσὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες, οὗτοι δὲ τοσούτῳ ἔτι πλέω ποιεῦσι τούτων, ὅσῳ καὶ τὰ μέτωπα κόπτονται μαχαίρῃσι· καὶ τούτῳ εἰσὶ δῆλοι ὅτι εἰσὶ ξεῖνοι
- 62 καὶ οὐκ Αἰγύπτιοι. Ἐς Σαῖν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθῶσι τῇσι θυσίῃσι, ἐν τινι νυκτὶ λύχνα καλοῦσι πάντες πολλὰ ὑπαίθρια περὶ τὰ δώματα κύκλῳ. τὰ δὲ λύχνα ἐστὶ ἐμβάφια ἔμπλεα αἰλὸς καὶ ἐλαιῶν· ἐπιπολῆς δὲ ἔπεστι αὐτὸ τὸ ἐλλύχνιον. καὶ τοῦτο καίεται παννύχιον καὶ τῇ ὀρτῇ οὖνομα κέεται Λυχνοκαΐη. οἱ δ' ἂν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταύτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης, καλοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λύχνα· καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σαῖ μούνη καίεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον. ὅτεν δὲ εἵνεκα φῶς ἔλαχε καὶ τιμὴν ἢ νύξ αὕτη, ἐστὶ ἱρὸς περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος λεγόμενος.
- 63 Ἐς δὲ Ἥλιου πόλιν καὶ Βουτοῦν θυσίας μούνας ἐπιτελέουσι φοιτέοντες. ἐν δὲ Παπρήμι θυσίας μὲν καὶ ἱρὰ, κατὰπερ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ, ποιεῦσι. εὐτ' ἂν δὲ γίνηται καταφερῆς ὁ ἥλιος, ὀλίγοι μὲν τινες τῶν ἱρέων περὶ τῷγαλμα πεπονέαται· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, ξύλων κορύνας ἔχοντες, ἐστᾶσι τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ. ἄλλοι δὲ εὐχωλὰς ἐπιτελέοντες, πλεῖνες χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, ἕκαστοι ἔχοντες ξύλα καὶ οὗτοι, ἐπὶ τὰ ἕτερα αἰέες ἐστᾶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα, ἐὼν ἐν νηφὶ μικρῷ ξυλίνῳ κατακεχυρωμένῳ, προεκκομίζουσι

τῇ προτεραίῃ ἐς ἄλλο οἶκημα ἱρόν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ὀλίγοι οἱ περὶ τῷγαλμα λελειμμένοι, ἔλκουσι τετράκυκλον ἄμαξαν, ἄγουσαν τὸν νηόν τε καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ νηῷ ἐνεὸν ἄγαλμα. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἑῶσι, ἐν τοῖσι προφυλαίοισι ἐστεῶτες, ἐσιέναι· οἱ δὲ εὐχωλιμαῖοι, τιμωρέοντες τῷ θεῷ, παίουσι αὐτοὺς ἀλεξομένους. ἐνθαῦτα μάχη ξύλοισι καρτερῇ γίνεται· κεφαλὰς τε συναράσσονται, καὶ ὥς ἐγὼ δοκέω, πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων· οὐ μέντοι οἱ γε Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν ἀποθνήσκειν οὐδένα. Τὴν δὲ πανή- 64 γυριω ταύτην ἐκ τοῦδε νομίσαι φασὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι. οἰκίειν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τούτῳ τοῦ Ἄρεος τὴν μητέρα· καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα ἀπότροφον γενόμενον, ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδρωμένον, ἐθέλοντα τῇ μητρὶ συμμῖξαι· καὶ τοὺς προπόλους τῆς μητρὸς, οἷα οὐκ ὀπωπότας αὐτὸν πρότερον, οὐ περιορᾶν παριέναι, ἀλλ' ἀπερύκειν· τὸν δ' ἐξ ἄλλης πόλιος ἀγαγόμενον ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς τε προπόλους τρηχέως περισπεῖν, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν παρὰ τὴν μητέρα. ἀπὸ τούτου τῷ Ἀρεὶ ταύτην τὴν πληγὴν ἐν τῇ ὀρτῇ νεομικέναι φασί.

Καὶ τὸ μὴ μίσγεσθαι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἱροῖσι, μηδὲ αἰλούτους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἐς ἱρὰ ἐσιέναι, οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ πρῶτοι θρησκευσάντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι σχεδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πλην Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Ἑλλήνων, μίσγονται ἐν ἱροῖσι· καὶ ἀπὸ γυναικῶν ἀνιστάμενοι, αἰλουτοὶ ἐσέρχονται ἐς ἱρόν· νομίζοντες ἀνθρώπους εἶναι κατὰπερ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα. καὶ γὰρ τὰ ἄλλα κτήνεα ὁρᾶν καὶ ὀρνίθων γένεα ὀχευόμενα ἐν τε τοῖσι νηοῖσι τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τεμένεσιν. εἰ ὦν εἶναι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ μὴ φίλον, οὐκ ἂν οὐδὲ τὰ κτήνεα ποίεειν. οὗτοι μὲν νυν τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες, ποιεῦσι. ἐμοί γε οὐκ ἄρεστά. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ θρησκέουσι περισσῶς τὰ τε ἄλλα περὶ τὰ ἱρὰ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰδε.

Ἔοῦσα δὲ Αἴγυπτος ὅμιυρος τῇ Λιβύῃ, οὐ μάλα 65 θηριώδης ἐστὶ. τὰ δὲ ἔοντα σφὶ ἅπαντα ἱρὰ νενόμεσται· καὶ τὰ μὲν, σύντροφα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι· τὰ δὲ, οὐ. τῶν δὲ εἵνεκεν ἀνεῖται τὰ ἱρὰ εἰ λέγοιμι, καταβαῖν ἂν τῷ λόγῳ ἐς τὰ θεῖα πρήγματα, τὰ ἐγὼ φεύγω μάλιστα ἀπηγγέσθαι. τὰ δὲ καὶ εἴρηκα αὐτῶν ἐπιψαύσας, ἀναγκαίῃ καταλαμβανόμενος εἶπον. Νόμος δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν

θηρίων ὧδε ἔχων. μελεδωνοὶ ἀποδεδέχεται τῆς τροφῆς χωρὶς ἐκάστων, καὶ ἔρσενες καὶ θήλειαι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τῶν παῖς παρὰ πατρός ἐκδέκεται τὴν τιμὴν. οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇσι πόλεσι ἕκαστοι εὐχὰς τάσδε σφί ἀποτελέουσιν· εὐχόμενοι τῷ θεῷ τοῦ ἂν ἢ τὸ θηρίον, ξυροῦντες τῶν παιδίων ἢ πᾶσαν τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἢ τὸ ἥμισυ, ἢ τὸ τρίτον μέρος τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἰστᾶσι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας· τὸ δ' ἂν ἐλκύσῃ, τοῦτο τῇ μελεδωνῷ τῶν θηρίων διδοῖ. ἢ δ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ τάμνουσα ἰχθύς, παρέχει βορρὴν τοῖσι θηρίοις. τροφή μὲν δὴ αὐτοῖσι τοιαύτη ἀποδέδεκται. Τὸ δ' ἂν τις τῶν θηρίων τούτων ἀποκτείνῃ, ἦν μὲν ἐκὼν, θάνατος ἢ ζημία· ἦν δὲ ἀέκων, ἀποτίνει ζημίην τὴν ἂν οἱ ἱρέες τάξωνται. ὃς δ' ἂν ἴβιν ἢ ἱρηκα ἀποκτείνῃ, ἦν τε ἐκὼν, 66 ἦν τε ἀέκων, τεθνάναι ἀνάγκη. Πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων ὁμοτρόφων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις θηρίων, πολλῷ ἂν ἔτι πλέω ἐγένετο, εἰ μὴ κατελάμβανε τοὺς αἰελοῦρους τοιάδε. Ἐπεὰν τέκωσι αἱ θήλειαι, οὐκέτι φοιτέουσι παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας· οἱ δὲ, διζήμενοι μίσγεσθαι αὐτῇσι, οὐκ ἔχουσι· πρὸς ὧν ταῦτα σοφίζονται τάδε· ἀρπάζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν θηλέων καὶ ὑπαιρεόμενοι τὰ τέκνα, κτείνουσι. κτείναντες μέντοι, οὐ πατέονται. αἱ δὲ, στερισκόμεναι τῶν τέκνων, ἄλλων δὲ ἐπιθυμέουσai, οὕτω δὴ ἀπικνέονται παρὰ τοὺς ἔρσενας φιλότεκνον δὲ τὸ θηρίον. πυρκαϊῆς δὲ γενομένης, θεία πρήγματα καταλαμβάνει τοὺς αἰελοῦρους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτιοὶ διαστάντες φυλακὰς ἔχουσι τῶν αἰελοῦρων, ἀμελήσαντες σβεννύναι τὸ καίμενον· οἱ δὲ αἰελοῦροι, διαδύοντες καὶ ὑπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐσάλλονται ἐς τὸ πῦρ. ταῦτα δὲ γινόμενα, πένθεα μεγάλα τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταλαμβάνει. ἐν ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν οἰκίοισι αἰελοῦρος ἀποθάνῃ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, οἱ ἐνοικέοντες πάντες ξυρέονται τὰς ὀφρύας μούνας· παρ' ὁτέοισι δ' ἂν 67 κύνων, πᾶν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν. Ἀπαγέεται δὲ οἱ αἰελοῦροι ἀποθανόντες ἐς ἱρὰς στέγας, ἔνθα θάπτονται ταριχευθέντες ἐν Βουβάστι πόλει. τὰς δὲ κύνας ἐν τῇ ἐκωτῶν ἕκαστοι πόλι θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. ὥς δὲ αὕτως τῇσι κυσὶ οἱ ἰχνευταὶ θάπτονται. τὰς δὲ μυγαλὰς καὶ τοὺς ἱρηκὰς ἀπάγουσι ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν· τὰς δὲ ἴβις ἐς Ἐρμέω πόλιν. τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους, εἰούσας σπανίας, καὶ

τοὺς λύκους, οὐ πολλῷ τέῳ ἔοντας ἀλωπέκων μέζονας, αὐτοῦ θάπτουσι τῇ ἂν εὐρεθέωσι κείμενοι.

Τῶν δὲ κροκοδείλων ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ τοιήδε. τοὺς χειμε- 68  
ριωτάτους μῆνας τέσσερας ἐσθίει οὐδέν. ἐὼν δὲ τετρά-  
πουν, χερσαῖον καὶ λιμναῖόν ἐστι· τίκει μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐν  
γῇ, καὶ ἐκλέπει, καὶ τὸ πολλὸν τῆς ἡμέρης διατρίβει ἐν  
τῷ ξηρῷ, τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ θερμότερον  
γὰρ δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τῆς τε αἰθρίας καὶ τῆς δρόσου.  
πάντων δὲ τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν θηητῶν, τοῦτο ἐξ ἐλαχίστου  
μέγιστον γίνεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς, χηνέων οὐ πολλῷ  
μέζονα τίκει· καὶ ὁ νεοσσὸς κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὠοῦ γίνεται·  
αὐξανόμενος δὲ, γίνεται καὶ ἐς ἑπτακαίδεκα πῆχας, καὶ  
μέζων ἔτι. ἔχει δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς μὲν ὕς, ὀδόντας δὲ μεγά-  
λους καὶ χαυλιόδοντας, κατὰ λόγον τοῦ σώματος. γλῶσ-  
σαν δὲ μῦνον θηρίων οὐκ ἔφυσε· οὐδὲ τὴν κάτω κινεῖ  
γνάθον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μῦνον θηρίων τὴν ἄνω γνάθον  
προσάγει τῇ κάτω. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ὀνυχας καρτεροῦς, καὶ  
δέρμα λεπιδωτὸν, ἄρρηκτον ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου. τυφλὸν δὲ ἐν  
ὔδατι, ἐν δὲ τῇ αἰθρίῃ ὁξυδερκέστατον. ἅτε δὴ ὦν ἐν ὔδατι  
διαίταν ποιούμενον, τὸ στόμα ἐνδοθεν φορέει πᾶν μεστὸν  
βδελλέων. τὰ μὲν δὴ ἄλλα ὄρνεα καὶ θηρία φεύγει μὴν  
ὁ δὲ τροχίλος εἰρηναῖόν οἱ ἐστὶ, ἅτε ὠφελεομένῳ πρὸς  
αὐτοῦ. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῇ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ὁ κρο-  
κόδειλος, καὶ ἔπειτα χάνῃ (ἔωθε γὰρ τοῦτο ὡς ἐπίπαν  
ποιεῖν πρὸς τὸν ζέφυρον,) ἐνθαῦτα ὁ τροχίλος ἐσδύνων  
ἐς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, καταπίνει τὰς βδέλλας· ὁ δὲ, ὠφελεύ-  
μενος ἡδεται, καὶ οὐδὲν σίνεται τὸν τροχίλον. Τοῖσι μὲν 69  
δὴ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἱροὶ εἰσι οἱ κροκόδειλοι τοῖσι δ' οὐ,  
ἀλλ' ἅτε πολεμίους περιέπουσι· οἱ δὲ περὶ τε Θήβας καὶ  
τὴν Μοῖριος λίμνην οἰκέοντες, καὶ κάρτα ἡγῆνται αὐτοὺς  
εἶναι ἱρούς. ἐκ πάντων δὲ ἓνα ἑκάτεροι τρέφουσι κροκό-  
δειλον, δεδιδαγμένον εἶναι χειροῇθεα· ἀρτηματὰ τε λίθινα  
χυτὰ καὶ χρύσεια ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες, καὶ ἀμφιδέας περὶ  
τοὺς προσθίους πόδας, καὶ σιτία ἀπότακτα διδόντες καὶ  
ἱρήϊα, καὶ περιέποντες ὡς κάλλιστα ζῶντας, ἀποθανόντας  
δὲ ταριχεύοντες θάπτουσι ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οἱ δὲ περὶ  
Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν οἰκέοντες, καὶ ἐσθίουσι αὐτοὺς οὐκ  
ἡγεόμενοι ἱρούς εἶναι. Καλέονται δὲ οὐ κροκόδειλοι, ἀλλὰ

χάμψαι κροκοδείλους δὲ Ἴωνες ἀνόμασαν, εἰκάζοντες αὐτῶν τὰ εἶδεα τοῖσι παρὰ σφίσι γινομένοισι κροκοδείλοισι  
 70 τοῖσι ἐν τῇσι αἵμασιῇσι. Ἄγραι δὲ σφεων πολλὰ κατε-  
 στέασι, καὶ παντοῖαι· ἥ δ' ὦν ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ ἀξιωτάτη  
 ἀπηγγήσιος εἶναι, ταύτην γράφω. ἐπεὰν νῶτον ὕος δελεῶση  
 περὶ ὄγκιστρον, μετίει ἐς μέσον τὸν ποταμόν· αὐτὸς δὲ  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ χεῖλεος τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἔχων δέλφακα ζῶν, ταύτην  
 τύπτει. ἐπακούσας δὲ τῆς φωνῆς ὁ κροκόδειλος, ἵεται  
 κατὰ τὴν φωνήν· ἐντυχὼν δὲ τῷ νώτῳ, καταπίνει· οἱ δὲ  
 ἔλκουσι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐξελκυσθῇ ἐς γῆν, πρῶτον ἀπάντων ὁ  
 θηρευτὴς πηλῷ κατ' ὦν ἔπλασε αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς·  
 τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας, κάρτα εὐπετέως τὰ λοιπὰ χειροῦται·  
 μὴ ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο, σὺν πόνῳ.

71 Οἱ δὲ ἵπποι οἱ ποτάμιοι νομῶ μὲν τῷ Παπρημίτῃ  
 ἱροὶ εἰσι, τοῖσι δὲ ἄλλοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι οὐκ ἱροὶ. φύσιν  
 δὲ παρέχονται ἰδέης τοιήνδε· τετράπουν ἐστὶ, δίχηνον,  
 ὄπλαι βοῶς, σιμὸν, λοφιὴν ἔχον ἵππου, χαυλιόδοντας  
 φαῖνον, οὐρὴν ἵππου καὶ φωνὴν μέγας, ὅσον τε βοῦς ὁ  
 μέγιστος· τὸ δέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ οὕτω δὴ τι παχύ ἐστι, ὥστε  
 72 αὐτοῦ γενομένου, ξυστὰ ποικέσθαι ἀκόντια ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Γί-  
 νονται δὲ καὶ ἐνὶ δριες ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, τὰς ἱρὰς ἡγνῆται  
 εἶναι νομίζουσι· καὶ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν καλούμενον λεπι-  
 δωτὸν ἱρὸν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἑγγελυν. ἱροὺς δὲ τούτους τοῦ  
 Νείλου φασὶ εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ὀρνίθων τοὺς χηναλώπεκας.

73 Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος ὄρνις ἱρὸς, τῷ οὐνομα φοῖνιξ· ἐγὼ  
 μὲν μιν οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ ὅσον γραφῇ· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ  
 σπάνιος ἐπιφοιτᾷ σφί, διὰ ἐτέων (ὡς Ἑλιουπολίται  
 λέγουσι) πεντακοσίων. φοιτᾷν δὲ τότε φασὶ, ἐπεὰν οἱ  
 ἀποθάνῃ ὁ πατήρ. ἔστι δὲ, εἰ τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος,  
 τοσόσδε καὶ τοιοῦδε· τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν  
 πτερῶν, τὰ δὲ, ἐρυθρά· ἐς τὰ μάλιστα αἰετῷ περιήγησιν  
 ὁμοιότατος, καὶ τὸ μέγας. Τοῦτον δὲ λέγουσι μηχαν-  
 ἀσθαι τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστὰ λέγοντες· ἐξ Ἀραβίης  
 ὀρμεώμενον, ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τοῦ Ἑλίου κομίζειν τὸν πατέρα,  
 ἐν σμύρνῃ ἐμπλάσσοντα, καὶ θάπτειν ἐν τοῦ Ἑλίου τῷ  
 ἱρῷ. κομίζειν δὲ οὕτω πρῶτον, τῆς σμύρνης ὡς πλάσ-  
 σειν ὅσον τε δυνατός ἐστι φέρειν· μετὰ δὲ, πειρᾶσθαι  
 αὐτὸ φορέοντα· ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποπειρηθῇ, οὕτω δὴ κοιλήναντα

τὸ ὦν, τὸν πατέρα ἐς αὐτὸ ἐντιθέσθαι, σμύρνη δὲ ἄλλη ἐμπλάσσειν τοῦτο κατ' ὃ τι τοῦ ὦου ἐγκοιλήνας ἐνέθηκε τὸν πατέρα· ἐσκεμμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς, γίνεσθαι τῶντὸ βάρος· ἐμπλάσαντα δὲ, κομίζειν μιν ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου ἐς τοῦ Ἥλιου τὸ ἱόν. ταῦτα μὲν τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιν λέγουσι ποιεῖν.

Εἰσὶ δὲ περὶ Θίβας ἱροὶ ὄφεις, ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμῶς 74 δηλήμονες· οἱ μεγάθει ὄντες μικροὶ, δύο κέρα φορέουσι, πεφυκότα ἐξ ἄκρης τῆς κεφαλῆς. τοὺς θάπτουσι ἀποθανόντας ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Διὸς· τούτου γὰρ σφεας τοῦ θεοῦ φασὶ εἶναι ἱρούς. Ἔστι δὲ χώρος τῆς Ἀραβίης, κατὰ 75 Βουτοῦν πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενος· καὶ ἐς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἦλθον, πυνθανόμενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων. ἀπικόμενος δὲ, εἶδον ὅστέα ὀφίων καὶ ἀκανθας, πλήθει μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγήσασθαι· σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθέων καὶ μεγάλοι, καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι, καὶ ἐλάσσονες ἔτι τούτων πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκανθαὶ κατακεχύαται, τοιόσδε τις· ἐσβολὴ ἐξ οὐρέων στενωπῶν ἐς πεδίον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδίον τοῦτο συνάπτει τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἅμα τῷ ἔαρι πτερωτοῦς ὄφιος ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πέτεσθαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου· τὰς δὲ ἱβίς τὰς ὄρνιθας ἀπαντώσας ἐς τὴν ἐσβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας, οὐ παριέναι τοὺς ὄφεις, ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. καὶ τὴν ἱβιν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον τετιμῆσθαι λέγουσι Ἀράβιοι μεγάλως πρὸς Αἰγυπτίῳ ὁμολογέουσι δὲ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ ταῦτα τιμᾶν τὰς ὄρνιθας ταύτας. Εἶδος δὲ τῆς μὲν 76 ἱβίος τόδε. μέλαινα δεινῶς πᾶσα, σκέλεα δὲ φορέει γέρανου, πρόσωπον δὲ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἐπίγρυπον, μέγαθος ὅσον κρέξ. τῶν μὲν δὴ μελαινέων, τῶν μαχομένων πρὸς τοὺς ὄφεις, ἦδε ἰδέη. τῶν δ' ἐν ποσὶ μᾶλλον εἰλευμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι (διξὰν γὰρ δὴ εἰσι αἱ ἱβίαι) ψιλὴ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὴν δειρὴν πᾶσαν λευκὴ πτεροῖσι, πλὴν κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ αὐχένος. καὶ ἄκρων τῶν πτερίγων καὶ τοῦ πυγαίου ἄκρου ταῦτα δὲ τὰ εἶπον πάντα, μέλαινά ἐστι δεινῶς σκέλεα δὲ καὶ πρόσωπον, ἐμφερὴς τῇ ἐτέρῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὄφιος ἡ μορφή, οἷη περ τῶν ὕδρων. πτίλα δὲ οὐ πτερωτὰ φορέει, ἀλλὰ τοῖσι τῆς νυκτερίδος πτεροῖσι μάλιστα κη ἐμφερέστατα. Τοσαῦτα μὲν θηρίων πέρι ἱρῶν εἰρήσθω.

- 77 Αὐτῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων, οἳ μὲν περὶ τὴν σπειρομένην Αἴγυπτον οἰκέουσι, μνήμην ἀνθρώπων πάντων ἐπασκέοντες μάλιστα, λογιώτατοί εἰσι μακρῷ τῶν ἐγὼ ἐς διάπειραν ἀπικόμεν. Τρόφῳ δὲ ζῆς τοιῷδε διαχρέωνται. Συρματίζουσι τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπέξῃ μηνὸς ἐκάστου, ἐμέτοισι θηράμενοι τὴν ὑγιεῖν καὶ κλύσμασι, νομίζοντες ἀπὸ τῶν τρεφόντων σιτίων πάσας τὰς νούσους τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι γίνεσθαι. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ Λίβυας ὑγιηρέστατοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τῶν ὠρέων (δοκέειν ἐμοί) εἵνεκεν, ὅτι οὐ μεταλλάσσουσι αἱ ὥραι. ἐν γὰρ τῇσι μεταβολῇσι τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι αἱ νοῦσοι μάλιστα γίνονται, τῶν τε ἄλλων πάντων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὠρέων μάλιστα. Ἄρτοφαγέουσι δὲ, ἐκ τῶν ὀλυρέων ποιεῖντες ἄρτους, τοὺς ἐκεῖνοι κυλλήστις ὀνομάζουσι. οἶνον δ' ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένῳ διαχρέωνται· οὐ γὰρ σφί εἰσι ἐν τῇ χώρῃ ἀμπελοι. ἰχθύων δὲ τοὺς μὲν, πρὸς ἥλιον αἰήναντες, ὠμοὺς σιτέονται· τοὺς δὲ, ἐξ ἄλμης τεταριχευμένους. ὀρνίθων δὲ τοὺς τε ὄρτυγας, καὶ τὰς νήσσας, καὶ τὰ σμικρὰ τῶν ὀρνιθίων, ὠμὰ σιτέονται, προταριχεύσαντες. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὅσα ἢ ὀρνίθων ἢ ἰχθύων ἐστὶ σφί ἐχόμενα, χωρὶς ἢ ὁκόσοι σφί ἱροὶ ἀποδεδέχεται, τοὺς λοιποὺς 78 σπτοὺς καὶ ἐφθοὺς σιτέονται. Ἐν δὲ τῇσι συνουσίῃσι, τοῖσι εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν, ἐπεὰν ἀπὸ δείπνου γένωνται, περιφέρει ἀνὴρ νεκρὸν ἐν σορῷ ξύλινον πεποιημένον, μεμμημένον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ γραφῇ καὶ ἔργῳ, μέγαθος ὅσον τε πάντῃ πηχυαῖον, ἢ δίπηχυν· δεικνὺς δὲ ἐκάστῳ τῶν συμποτέων, λέγει· “Ἐς τοῦτον ὀρέων, πινέ τε καὶ “τέρπειν ἔσσαι γὰρ ἀποθανὼν τοιοῦτος.” Ταῦτα μὲν παρὰ τὰ συμπόσια ποιεῖσι.
- 79 Πατρίοισι δὲ χρεώμενοι νόμοισι, ἄλλον οὐδένα ἐπικτένεται. τοῖσι ἄλλα τε ἐπάξιά ἐστι νόμιμα, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἵεσμα ἐν ἐστὶ Λίνος, ὅσπερ ἐν. τε Φοινίκη αἰοιδιμός ἐστι καὶ ἐν Κίπρῳ, καὶ ἄλλῃ κατὰ μέντοι ἔθνεα οὕνομα ἔχει, συμφέρεται δὲ αὐτὸς εἶναι τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Λίνον ὀνομάζοντες αἰδουσι. ὥστε πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἀποθωνμάζειν με τῶν περὶ Αἴγυπτον ἐόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Λίνον ὁκόθεν ἔλαβον φαίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ κοτε τοῦτον αἰδόντες. ὅτι δὲ Αἰγυπτιστὶ ὁ Λίνος καλούμενος Μανέρως. ἔφασαν

δέ μιν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῦ πρώτου βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου  
 παῖδα μονογενέα γενέσθαι· ἀποθανόντα δ' αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον,  
 θρήνοισι τούτοις ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων τιμηθῆναι· καὶ αἰοιδῆν  
 τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μοῦνην σφίσι γενέσθαι. Συμφέ- 80  
 ρονται δὲ καὶ τότε ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι Ἑλλήνων μούνοισι  
 Λακεδαιμονίοισι· οἱ νεώτεροι αὐτῶν τοῖσι πρεσβυτέροισι  
 συντυγχάνοντες, εἰκουσι τῆς ὁδοῦ καὶ ἐκτράπονται· καὶ  
 ἐπιούσι, ἐξ ἑδρης ὑπανιστέαται. Τότε μέντοι ἄλλοισι  
 Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμοῖσι συμφέρονται· ἀντὶ τοῦ προσαγο-  
 ρεῖν ἄλλήλους ἐν τῇσι ὁδοῖσι, προσκυνέουσι κατιέντες  
 μέχρι τοῦ γούνατος τὴν χεῖρα. Ἐνδεύκασι δὲ κιθῶνας 81  
 λινέους, περὶ τὰ σκέλεα θυσανωτοὺς, οὓς καλέουσι καλα-  
 σίρις· ἐπὶ τούτοις δὲ εἰρίνεα εἴματα λευκὰ ἐπαναβληδὸν  
 φορέουσι· οὐ μέντοι ἔς γε τὰ ἱρά ἐσφέρεται εἰρίνεα, οὐδὲ  
 συγκαταθάπτεται σφί· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον· ὁμολογέουσι δὲ  
 ταῦτα τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοις καὶ Βακχικοῖσι,  
 εἰσοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 τούτων τῶν ὀργίων μετέχοντα ὄσιόν ἐστι ἐν εἰρινέοισι  
 εἴμασι θαφθῆναι· ἔστι δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἱρὸς λόγος λεγό-  
 μενος.

Καὶ τάδε ἄλλα Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ ἐξευρημένα· μέλις τε 82  
 καὶ ἡμέρη ἐκάστη θεῶν ὅτεν ἐστί· καὶ τῇ ἑκαστος ἡμέρη  
 γενόμενος, ὁτέοισι ἐγκυρήσει, καὶ ὅκως τελευτήσῃ, καὶ  
 ὁκοῖός τις ἔσται· καὶ τούτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ ἐν ποιή-  
 σει γενόμενοι ἐχρήσαντο. Τέρατά τε πλέα σφί ἀνεύ-  
 ρηται ἢ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι ἅπασι ἀνθρώποισι· γενομένου γὰρ  
 τέρατος, φυλάσσουσι γραφόμενοι τῶποβαῖνον· καὶ ἦν  
 κοτε ὕστερον παραπλήσιον τούτῳ γένηται, κατὰ τῶντὸ  
 νομίζουσι ἀποβησεσθαι. Μαντικὴ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ὧδε δια- 83  
 κέεται· ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδενὶ προσκείται ἡ τέχνη, τῶν δὲ  
 θεῶν μετεξετέροισι· καὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλῆος μαντήιον αὐτόθι  
 ἐστὶ, καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ Ἀθηναίης, καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ  
 Ἄρεος, καὶ Διός· καὶ ὅγε μάλιστα ἐν τιμῇ ὄγονται πάν-  
 των τῶν μαντηίων, Λητοῦς ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει ἐστί· οὐ  
 μέντοι αἶ γε μαντήϊά σφί κατὰ τῶντὸ ἐστᾶσι, ἀλλὰ  
 διάφοροί εἰσι· Ἡ δὲ ἱητρικὴ κατὰ τάδε σφί δέδασται. 84  
 μῆς νούσου ἑκαστος ἱητρός ἐστι, καὶ οὐ πλεόνων· πάντα  
 δ' ἱητρῶν ἐστὶ πλέα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ, ὀφθαλμῶν ἱητροὶ κατε-

στέασι· οἱ δὲ, κεφαλῆς· οἱ δὲ, ὀδόντων· οἱ δὲ, τῶν κατὰ νηδύν· οἱ δὲ, τῶν ἀφανέων νούσων.

- 85** Θρήνοι δὲ καὶ ταφαί σφενν, εἰσὶ αἶδε. τοῖσι ἂν ἀπογένηται ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων ἄνθρωπος, τοῦ τις καὶ λόγος ἦ, τὸ θῆλυ γένος πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν οἰκίων τούτων κατ' ὧν ἐπλάσασατο τὴν κεφαλὴν πηλῷ ἢ καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον. κᾶπειτα ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι λιπούσαι τὸν νεκρὸν, αὐταὶ ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν στρωφόμεναι, τύπτονται ἐπεζωσμένοι, καὶ φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαζοὺς· σὺν δὲ σφι αἱ προσήκουσαι πᾶσαι. ἐτέρωθεν δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες τύπτονται, ἐπεζωσμένοι καὶ οὔτοι. ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, οὕτω ἐς τὴν ταρίχευσιν κομίζουσι. **86** Εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ κατέαται, καὶ τέχνην ἔχουσι ταύτην. οὔτοι, ἐπεὰν σφι κομισθῇ νεκρὸς, δεικνύασι τοῖσι κομίσασι παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλινα, τῇ γραφῇ μεμιμημένα. καὶ τὴν μὲν σπουδαιοτάτην αὐτέων φασὶ εἶναι, τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι τὸ οὐνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ὀνομάζειν. τὴν δὲ δευτέραν δεικνύασι ὑποδεεστέραν τε ταύτης καὶ εὐτελεστέραν· τὴν δὲ τρίτην, εὐτελεστάτην. φράσαντες δὲ, πυνθάνονται παρ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἥντινα βούλονται σφι σκευασθῆναι τὸν νεκρὸν. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐκποδῶν, μισθῷ ὁμολογήσαντες, ἀπαλλάσσονται· οἱ δὲ ὑπολειπόμενοι ἐν οἰκήμασι, ὧδε τὰ σπουδαιότατα ταριχεύουσι. πρῶτα μὲν σκολιῷ σιδήρῳ διὰ τῶν μυζωτήρων ἐξάγουσι τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ οὕτω ἐξάγοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐγχεόντες φάρμακα. μετὰ δὲ, λίθῳ Αἰθιοπικῷ ὀξείῳ παρασχίσαντες παρὰ τὴν λαπάρην, ἐξ ὧν εἶλον τὴν κοιλίην πᾶσαν ἐκκαθήραντες δὲ αὐτήν, καὶ διηθήσαντες οἶνῳ φοινικητῷ, αὐτὶς διηθέουσι θυμῇμασι τετριμμένοισι. ἔπειτα τὴν νηδὺν σμύρνης ἀκηράτου τετριμμένης, καὶ κασίης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θυωμάτων, πλήν λιβανωτοῦ, πλήσαντες, συρράπτουσι ὀπίσω, ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες, ταριχεύουσι λίτρῳ, κρύψαντες ἡμέρας ἑβδομήκοντα· πλεύνας δὲ τουτέων οὐκ ἔξεστι ταριχεύειν. ἐπεὰν δὲ παρέλθωσι αἱ ἑβδομήκοντα, λούσαντες τὸν νεκρὸν, κατελίσσουσι πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα σινδόνης βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμημένοισι, ὑποχρίοντες τῷ κόμμῳ, τῷ δὲ ἅντ' ἐπὶ κόλλῃς τὰ πολλὰ χρέωνται Αἰγύπτιοι. ἐνθεύτεν δὲ παραδεξάμενοί μιν οἱ προσήκοντες, ποιεῦνται ξύλινον

τύπον ἀνθρωποειδέα· ποιησάμενοι δέ, ἐσεργυνῶσι τὸν νε-  
 κρόν· καὶ κατακλητίσαντες οὕτω, θησαυρίζουσι ἐν οἰκῇ-  
 ματι θηκαίῳ, ἰστάντες ὀρθὸν πρὸς τοίχον. οὕτω μὲν τοὺς  
 τὰ πολυτελέστατα σκευάζουσι νεκρούς. Τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα 87  
 βουλομένους, τὴν δὲ πολυτελετήν φεύγοντας, σκευάζουσι  
 ὧδε. ἐπεὰν τοὺς κλυστήρας πλήσωνται τοῦ ἀπὸ κέδρου  
 ἀλείφατος γινομένου, ἐν ᾧ ἐπλησαν τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν κοι-  
 λίην, οὔτε ἀναταμόντες αὐτὸν, οὔτε ἐξελόντες τὴν νηδύν,  
 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἔδρην ἐσηθήσαντες· καὶ ἐπιλαβόντες τὸ  
 κλύσμα τῆς ὀπίσω ὁδοῦ, ταριχεύουσι τὰς προκειμένας  
 ἡμέρας· τῇ δὲ τελευταίῃ ἐξιέσι ἐκ τῆς κοιλῆς τὴν κε-  
 δρίην, τὴν ἐσήκαν πρότερον· ἣ δὲ ἔχει τοσαύτην δύναμιν,  
 ὥστε ἅμα ἐωυτῇ τὴν νηδύν καὶ τὰ σπλάγχχνα κατατε-  
 τηκότα ἐξάγει· τὰς δὲ σάρκας τὸ λίτρον κατατήκει· καὶ  
 δὴ λείπεται τοῦ νεκροῦ τὸ δέρμα μούνον, καὶ τὰ ὀστέα.  
 ἐπεὰν δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσωσι, ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν οὕτω τὸν νε-  
 κρόν, οὐδὲν ἔτι πρηγματευθέντες. Ἡ δὲ τρίτη τὰρί- 88  
 χευσίς ἐστι ἡδε, ἣ τοὺς χρήμασι ἀσθενεστέρους σκευάζει.  
 συρμαίῃ διηθήσαντες τὴν κοιλίην, ταριχεύουσι τὰς ἐβδο-  
 μήκοντα ἡμέρας, καὶ ἔπειτα ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεισθαι.  
 Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν, ἐπεὰν τελευτή- 89  
 σωσι, οὐ παραντίκα διδοῦσι ταριχεύειν, οὐδὲ ὅσαι ἂν ὦσι  
 εὐειδέες κάρτα καὶ λόγου πλείνους γυναῖκες· ἀλλ' ἐπεὰν  
 τριταῖαι ἢ τεταρταῖαι γένωνται, οὕτω παραδιδούσι τοῖσι  
 ταριχεύουσι. τοῦτο δὲ ποίεουσιν οὕτω τούδε εἵνεκεν, ἵνα  
 μὴ σφί οἱ ταριχευταὶ μίσγωνται τῇσι γυναιξί. λαμβή-  
 ναι γάρ τινά φασι μισγόμενον νεκρῷ προσφάτω γυναικός·  
 κατεῖπαι δὲ τὸν ὁμότεχνον. Ὃς δ' ἂν ἢ αὐτῶν Λίγυ- 90  
 πτίων, ἢ ξείνων. ὁμοίως, ὑπὸ κροκοδείλου ἀρπαχθεὶς ἢ  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ποταμοῦ φαίνεται τεθνηὼς, κατ' ἣν ἂν  
 πόλιν ἐξενειχθῇ, τούτους πᾶσα ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ ταριχεύ-  
 σαντας αὐτὸν, καὶ περιστείλαντας ὡς κάλλιστα, θάψαι  
 ἐν ἱρήσι θήκησι. οὐδὲ ψαῦσαι ἔξεστι αὐτοῦ ἄλλον οὐδένα,  
 οὔτε τῶν προσηκόντων, οὔτε τῶν φίλων· ἀλλὰ μιν οἱ  
 ἰεεὺς αὐτοὶ οἱ τοῦ Νεῖλου, ἅτε πλέον τι ἢ ἀνθρώπου  
 νεκρὸν, χειραπτάζοντες θάπτουσι.

Ἕλλητικοῖσι δὲ νομαίοισι φεύγουσι χρᾶσθαι τὸ δὲ 91  
 σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, μὴδ' ἄλλων μηδαμὰ μηδαμῶν ἀνθρώπων

νομαίοισι. οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι οὕτω τοῦτο φυλάσσουσι. ἔστι δὲ Χέμμις πόλις μεγάλη νομοῦ τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ, ἔγγυς Νέης πόλιος. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει ἔστι Περσέος τοῦ Δανάης ἱρὸν τετράγωνον περίξ δὲ αὐτοῦ φοῖνικες πεφύκασι· τὰ δὲ πρόπυλα τοῦ ἱροῦ λίθινά ἐστι, κάρτα μεγάλα· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖσι ἀνδριάντες δύο ἐστᾶσι λίθινοι μεγάλοι. ἐν δὲ τῷ περιβεβλημένῳ τούτῳ νηὸς τε ἔν, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνέστηκε τοῦ Περσέος. οὗτοι οἱ Χεμμῖται λέγουσι τὸν Περσέα πολλάκι μὲν ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν φαίνεσθαι σφί, πολλάκι δὲ ἔσω τοῦ ἱροῦ. σανδάλιον τε αὐτοῦ πεφορημένον εὐρίσκεσθαι, ἐὼν τὸ μέγαθος δίπηχυν τὸ ἐπεὰν φανῇ, εὐθηνέειν ἅπασαν Αἴγυπτον. ταῦτα μὲν λέγουσι. ποιεῦσι δὲ τάδε Ἑλληνικὰ τῷ Περσέϊ· ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθεῖσι διὰ πάσης ἀγωνίης ἔχοντα· παρέχοντες ἄεθλα, κτήνεα καὶ χλαῖνας καὶ δέρματα. εἰρομένου δὲ μὲν ὃ τι σφί μούνοισι ἔωθε ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὃ τι κεχωριδεται Αἰγυπτίων τῶν ἄλλων, ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν τιθέντες, ἔφασαν “τὸν Περσέα ἐκ τῆς ἐωυτῶν πόλιος “γεγονέναι· τὸν γὰρ Δαναὸν καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα, ἐόντας “Χεμμίτας, ἐκπλῶσαι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα.” ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γεννηλογέοντες, κατέβαινον ἐς τὸν Περσέα. “ἀπικόμενον “δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς Αἴγυπτον, κατ’ αἰτίνην τὴν καὶ Ἕλληνες “λέγουσι, οἰσούντα ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλὴν, ἔφασαν ἐλθεῖν καὶ παρὰ σφέας, καὶ ἀναγνῶναι τοὺς συγγενέας πάντα· ἐκμεμαθηκότα δὲ μιν ἀπικέσθαι ἐς “Αἴγυπτον τὸ τῆς Χέμμιος οὔνομα, πεπυσμένον παρὰ “τῆς μητρὸς· ἀγῶνα δὲ οἱ γυμνικὸν, αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος, “ἐπιτελέειν.”

92 Ταῦτα μὲν πάντα οἱ κατύπερθε τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντες Αἰγύπτιοι νομίζουσι. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἐν τοῖσι ἔλεσι κατοικημένοι, τοῖσι μὲν αὐτοῖσι νόμοισι χρέωνται τοῖσι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Αἰγύπτιοι· καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, καὶ γυναικὶ μὴ ἕκαστος αὐτῶν συνοικέει, κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες. Ἀτὰρ πρὸς εὐτελέην τῶν σιτίων τάδε σφί ἄλλα ἐξεύρηται. ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς, καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλὰ, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν· ταῦτα ἐπεὰν δρέψωσι, ἀναλίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον καὶ ἔπειτα τὸ ἐκ μέσου τοῦ λωτοῦ, τῇ μήκωνι ἐὼν ἐμφερές, πτί-

σαντες, ποιεῦνται ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἄρτους ὀπτοὺς πυρί. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ ῥίζα τοῦ λωτοῦ τούτου ἐδωδίμη, καὶ ἐγγλύσσει ἐπικέως, ἐὼν στρογγύλον, μέγαθος κατὰ μῆλον. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κρίνεα ῥόδοισι ἐμφερέα, ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ γινόμενα καὶ ταῦτα· ἐξ ὧν ὁ καρπὸς ἐν ἄλλῃ κάλυκι παραφυομένη ἐκ τῆς ῥίζης γίνεται, κηρίῳ σφηκῶν ἰδέην ὁμοίωτατον. ἐν τούτῳ τρωκτὰ ὅσον τε πυρὴν ἐλαίης ἐγγίνεται συγνά. τρώγεται δὲ καὶ ἀπαλὰ ταῦτα καὶ αὖα. Τὴν δὲ βύβλον τὴν ἐπέτειον γινομένην, ἐπεὰν ἀνασπᾶσωσι ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων, τὰ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῆς ἀποτάμνοντες, ἐς ἄλλο τι τράπουσι· τὸ δὲ κάτω λελειμμένον ὅσον τε ἐπὶ πῆχυν, τρώγουσι, καὶ πωλέουσι. οἱ δὲ ἂν καὶ κάρτα βούλωνται χρηστῇ τῇ βύβλῳ χρᾶσθαι, ἐν κλιβάνῳ διαφανεῖ πνίξαντες, οὕτω τρώγουσι. Οἱ δὲ τινες αὐτῶν ζῶσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἰχθύων μούνων τοὺς ἐπεὰν λάβωσι, καὶ ἐξέλωσι τὴν κοιλίην, αὐαίνουσι πρὸς ἥλιον, καὶ ἔπειτα αὐοὺς ἐόντας σιτέονται.

Οἱ δὲ ἰχθύες οἱ ἀγελαῖοι ἐν μὲν τοῖσι ποταμοῖσι οὐ 93  
 μάλα γίνονται τρεφόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇσι λίμνῃσι, τοιαύδε ποιεῦσι. ἐπεὰν σφεας ἐσίῃ οἰστρος κυτσκεσθαι, ἀγεληδὼν ἐκπλάουσι ἐς [τὴν] θάλασσαν. ἡγέονται δὲ οἱ ἔρσενες, ἀπορραίνοντες τοῦ θοροῦ αἱ δὲ, ἐπόμεναι ἀνακάπτουσι, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κυτσκονται. ἐπεὰν δὲ πλήρεις γένωνται ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, ἀναπλώουσι ὀπίσω ἐς ἡθεα τὰ ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστοι. ἡγέονται μέντοι γε οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλὰ τῶν θηλέων γίνεται ἡ ἡγεμονίη. ἡγεύμεναι δὲ ἀγεληδὼν, ποιεῦσι οἷον περ ἐποίεον οἱ ἔρσενες· τῶν γὰρ ὧν ἀπορραίνουσι κατ' ὀλίγους τῶν κέγχρων, οἱ δὲ ἔρσενες καταπίνουσι ἐπόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ κέγχροι οὗτοι ἰχθύες. ἐκ δὲ τῶν περιγινόμενων καὶ μὴ καταπινόμενων κέγχρων οἱ τρεφόμενοι ἰχθύες γίνονται. οἱ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν ἀλῶσι ἐκπλάοντες ἐς θάλασσαν, φαίνονται τετριμμένοι τὰ ἐπαριστερὰ τῶν κεφαλῶν· οἱ δ' ἂν ὀπίσω ἀναπλώοντες, τὰ ἐπιδεξιά τετρίφεται. πᾶσχουσι δὲ ταῦτα διὰ τόδε. ἐχόμενοι τῆς γῆς ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ καταπλώουσι ἐς θάλασσαν καὶ ἀναπλώοντες ὀπίσω, τῆς αὐτῆς ἀντέχονται, ἐγχριπτόμενοι καὶ ψαύοντες ὥς μάλιστα, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀμάρτοιεν τῆς ὁδοῦ διὰ τὸν ῥόον. Ἐπεὰν δὲ πληθύνεσθαι ἄρχηται ὁ Νεῖλος, τὰ τε κοῖλα τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰ τέλματα τὰ παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν

πρῶτα ἄρχεται πίπλασθαι, διηθέοντος τοῦ ὕδατος ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ αὐτίκα τε πλέα γίνεται ταῦτα, καὶ παραχρῆμα ἰχθύων σμικρῶν πίπλαται πάντα. κόθεν δὲ οἰκὸς αὐτοὺς γίνεσθαι, ἐγὼ μοι δοκέω κατανοέειν τοῦτο. τοῦ προτέρου ἔτεος ἔπεαν ἀπολίπη ὁ Νεῖλος, οἱ ἰχθύες ἐντεκόντες ὡς ἐς τὴν ἰλὺν, ἅμα τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ὕδατι ἀπαλλάσσονται· ἔπεαν δὲ περιελθόντος τοῦ χρόνου πάλιν ἐπέλθῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐκ τῶν ὡῶν τούτων παραυτίκα γίνονται οἱ ἰχθύες. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοὺς ἰχθύς οὕτω ἔχει.

94 Ἀλείφατι δὲ χρέωνται Αἰγυπτίων οἱ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέοντες, ἀπὸ τῶν σιλλικυπρίων τοῦ καρποῦ, τὸ καλεῦσι μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι κίκι· ποιεῦσι δὲ ὧδε. παρὰ τὰ χεῖλαια τῶν τε ποταμῶν καὶ τῶν λιμνέων σπεύρουσι τὰ σιλλικύπρια ταῦτα, τὰ ἐν Ἑλλήσι αὐτόματα ἄγρια φύεται. ταῦτα ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ σπειρόμενα, καρπὸν φέρει πολλὸν μὲν, δυσώδεα δέ. τοῦτον ἔπεαν συλλέξονται, οἱ μὲν κόψαντες ἀπικοῦσι· οἱ δὲ καὶ φρύξαντες ἀπέψουσι, καὶ τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συγκομίζονται. ἔστι δὲ πῖον, καὶ οὐδὲν ἥσσον τοῦ ἐλαίου τῷ λύχνῳ προσηνές· ὁδμὴν δὲ βαρέαν παρέ-

95 χεται. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς κώνωπας, ἀφθόνους ἐόντας, τάδε σφί ἐστι μεμηχανημένα. τοὺς μὲν τὰ ἄνω τῶν ἐλέων οἰκέοντας οἱ πύργοι ὠφελέουσι, ἐς οὓς ἀναβαίνοντες κοιμούνται· οἱ γὰρ κώνωπες ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων οὐκ οἶοί τε εἰσι ὑψοῦ πέτεσθαι. τοῖσι δὲ περὶ τὰ ἔλαια οἰκέουσι τάδε ἀντὶ τῶν πύργων ἄλλα μεμηχάνηται. πᾶς ἀνὴρ αὐτῶν ἀμφίβληστρον ἔκτηται, τῷ τῆς μὲν ἡμέρης ἰχθύς ἀγρεύει, τὴν δὲ νύκτα τάδε αὐτῷ χρᾶται· ἐν τῇ ἀναπαύεται κοίτῃ, περὶ ταύτην ἴστησι τὸ ἀμφίβληστρον, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐνδύς, ὑπ' αὐτῷ καθεύδει. οἱ δὲ κώνωπες, ἣν μὲν ἐν ἱματίῳ ἐνελιξάμενος εὖδῃ ἢ σινδόνι, διὰ τούτων δάκνουσι· διὰ δὲ τοῦ δικτύου οὐδὲ πειρῶνται ἀρχήν.

96 Τὰ δὲ δὴ πλοιά σφι, τοῖσι φορτηγέουσι, ἔστι ἐκ τῆς ἀκάνθης ποιούμενα· τῆς ἢ μορφῇ μὲν ἐστὶ ὁμοιοτάτῃ τῷ Κυρηναίῳ λωτῷ, τὸ δὲ δάκρυον κόμμι ἐστὶ. ἐκ ταύτης ὦν τῆς ἀκάνθης κοψάμενοι ξύλα ὅσον τε διπήχεα, πλινθίδον συντιθεῖσι, ναυπηγεύμενοι τρόπον τοιούτῳ. περὶ γόμφους πυκνοὺς καὶ μακροὺς περιείρουσι τὰ διπήχεα ξύλα· ἔπεαν δὲ τῷ τροπῷ τούτῳ ναυπηγήσονται, ζυγὰ

ἐπιπολῆς τείνουσι αὐτῶν νομεῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν χρέωνται, ἔσωθεν δὲ τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧ ἐπάκτωσαν τῇ βύβλῳ πηδάλιον δὲ ἐν ποιεῦνται, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τῆς τρόπιος διαβύνεται· ἰσθμῷ δὲ ἀκανθίνῳ χρέωνται, ἰσθίοισι δὲ βυβλίοισι. ταῦτα τὰ πλοῖα ἀνὰ μὲν τὸν ποταμὸν οὐ δύναται πλέειν, ἦν μὴ λαμπρὸς ἀνεμος ἐπέχῃ, ἐκ γῆς δὲ παρέλκεται. κατὰ ῥόον δὲ κομίζεται ὧδε· ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμμένη ῥίπτει καλάμων, καὶ λίθος τετρημένος διτάλαντος μάλιστα κη σταθμὸν τούτων τὴν μὲν θύρην, δεδεμένην κάλῳ, ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πλοίου ἀπλῆς ἐπιφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ λίθον ἄλλῳ κάλῳ ὀπισθε. ἡ μὲν δὴ θύρη, τοῦ ῥόου ἐμπήπτοντος, χωρεῖ ταχέως, καὶ ἔλκει τὴν βάριν (τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ οὖνομά ἐστι τοῖσι πλοίοισι τούτοις)· ὁ δὲ λίθος ὀπισθε ἐπελκόμενος, καὶ ἐὼν ἐν βυσσῷ, κατιθύνει τὸν πλόον. ἔστι δὲ σφι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα πλήθει πολλὰ, καὶ ἄγει ἓνα πολλὰς χιλιάδας ταλάντων. Ἐπεὰν δὲ ἐπέλθῃ ὁ Νεῖλος τὴν χώραν, αἱ πόλεις μούναι 97 φαίνονται ὑπερέχουσαι, μάλιστα κη ἐμπερέες τῇσι ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ πόντῳ νήσοισι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τῆς Αἰγύπτου πέλαγος γίνεταί· αἱ δὲ πόλεις μούναι ὑπερέχουσι. πορθμούνται ᾧ, ἐπεὰν τοῦτο γένηται, οὐκέτι κατὰ τὰ ῥέεθρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. ἐς μὲν γε Μέμφιν ἐκ Ναυκράτιος ἀναπλώοντι, παρ' αὐτὰς τὰς πυραμίδας γίνεταί· ὁ πλόος ἔστι δὲ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸ ὄξυ τοῦ Δέλτα, καὶ παρὰ Κερκάσωρον πόλιν. ἐς δὲ Ναύκρατιν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης καὶ Κανώβου διὰ πεδίου πλέων, ἥξεις κατ' Ἀνθυλλάν τε πόλιν, καὶ τὴν Ἀρχάνδρου καλουμένην. Τουτέων δὲ ἡ μὲν Ἀνθυλλα, ἐοῦσα λογίμη πόλις, 98 ἐς ὑποδήματα ἐξαίρετος δίδεται τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος Αἰγύπτου τῇ γυναικί. (τοῦτο δὲ γίνεται, ἐξ ὅσου ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι ἐστὶ Αἴgyptos.) ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα πόλις δοκέει μοι τὸ οὖνομα ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαναοῦ γαμβροῦ, Ἀρχάνδρου τοῦ Φθίου, τοῦ Ἀχαιοῦ· καλέεται γὰρ δὴ Ἀρχάνδρου πόλις. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλος τις Ἀρχάνδρος· οὐ μέντοι γε Αἰγύπτιον τὸ οὖνομα.

Μέχρι μὲν τούτου ὕψις τε ἐμὴ καὶ γνώμη καὶ ἱστορίῃ 99 ταῦτα λέγουσά ἐστι· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούδε, Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων, κατὰ τὰ ἤκουον. προσέσται δὲ αὐτοῖσι



Ἡφαίστου τὰ πρὸς βορρῇν ἄνεμον τετραμμένα προπύλαια  
 λίμνην τε ὀρύξαι, τῆς ἢ περιόδου ὅσων ἐστὶ σταδίων  
 ἵστερον δηλώσω πυραμίδας τε ἐν αὐτῇ οἰκοδομῆσαι, τῶν  
 τοῦ μεγάρου περὶ ὁμοῦ αὐτῇ τῇ λίμνῃ ἐπιμνήσομαι.  
 τούτων μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων οὐδένα  
 νῦν.

Παραμειψάμενος ὧν τοίτους, τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτοις γενο- 102  
 μένου βασιλεως, τῷ οὐνομα ἦν Σέσωστρις, τούτου μνήμην  
 ποιήσομαι. τὸν ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς πρῶτον μὲν πλοίοις  
 ἰακροῖς ὀρμηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου, τοὺς παρὰ  
 τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν κατοικημένους καταστρέφειν  
 ὃ πλεοντὰ μιν πρόσω, ἀπικέσθαι ἐς θάλασσαν οὐκέτι  
 ἔλκωτον ὑπὸ βραχέων. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὡς ὀπίσω ἀπῆκετο ἐς  
 Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τῶν ἱερέων τὴν φάτιν, στρατιὴν πολλὴν  
 ἀβὼν ἤλαυνε διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου, πᾶν ἔθνος τὸ ἐμποδῶν  
 ἀταστροφόμενος. ὁτέοις μὲν νῦν αὐτῶν ἀλκιμοῖς  
 νετύγχανε καὶ δεινῶς γλιχομένοις περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας,  
 οὔτοις μὲν στήλας ἐνίστη ἐς τὰς χώρας, διὰ γραμμάτων  
 ἐγούσας τὸ τε ἑωυτοῦ οὐνομα καὶ τῆς πάτρης, καὶ ὡς  
 νῦν τῇ ἑωυτοῦ κατεστρέψατο σφεας. ὁτέων δὲ ἀμαχητὶ  
 αἱ εὐπετέως παρέλαβε τὰς πόλεις, τούτοις δὲ ἐνέγραφε  
 ἐν τῇσι στήλησι κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ τοῖσι ἀνδρῆσι τῶν  
 θνέων γενομένοις καὶ δὴ καὶ αἰδοῖα γυναικὸς προσεν-  
 γραφε, δῆλα βουλόμενος ποιέειν ὡς εἶψαν ἀνάγκιδες.  
 αὐτὰ δὲ ποιέων, διεξῆκε τὴν ἡπειρον ἐς ὃ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας 103  
 ἐκ τὴν Εὐρώπην διαβὰς, τοὺς τε Σκύθας κατεστρέψατο  
 αἱ τοὺς Θρήκας. ἐς τούτους δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ προσώ-  
 ατα ἀπικέσθαι ὁ Αἰγύπτιος στρατός· ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ  
 οὕτων χώρα φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι αἱ στήλαι· τὸ δὲ  
 ῥωσώτερον τούτων, οὐκέτι. ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ἐπιστρέψας  
 πίσω ἦκε καὶ ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Φάσι ποταμῷ, οὐκ  
 ἔχω τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἀτρεκέως εἰπεῖν, εἴτε αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς  
 ἑσωστρις ἀποδασάμενος τῆς ἑωυτοῦ στρατιῆς μόριον  
 τον δὴ, αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε τῆς χώρας οἰκήτορας· εἴτε τῶν  
 ἰνὲς στρατιωτέων τῇ πλάνῃ αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, περὶ  
 ῥάσιν ποταμὸν κατέμειναν. Φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ὄντες οἱ 104  
 ὀλχοι Αἰγύπτιοι νοήσας δὲ πρότερον αὐτὸς, ἢ ἀκούσας  
 ἄλλων, λέγω. ὡς δὲ μοι ἐν φροντίδι ἐγένετο, εἰρόμην

- ἀμφοτέρους· καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἐμεμνέατο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ἣ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων. νομίζειν δ' ἔφασαν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῆς Σεσώστριος στρατιῆς εἶναι τοὺς Κόλχους· αὐτὸς δὲ εἶκασα τῇδε, καὶ ὅτι μελάνγχροές εἰσι καὶ οὐλότριχες. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐς οὐδὲν ἀνήκει· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἕτεροι τοιοῦτοι. ἀλλὰ τοισίδε καὶ μᾶλλον, ὅτι μῦνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμολογέουσι παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθηκέναι· Σύριοι δὲ οἱ περὶ Θερμώδοντα καὶ Παρθένιον ποταμὸν, καὶ Μάκρωνες οἱ τοῦτοισι ἀστυγεῖτονες ὄντες, ἀπὸ Κόλχων φασὶ νεωστὶ μεμαθηκέναι. οὗτοι γάρ εἰσι οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μῦνοι· καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ τὰ αὐτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται εἶναι. ὥς δ' ἐπιμισγόμενοι Αἰγύπτῳ ἐξέμαθον, μέγα μοι καὶ τόδε τεκμήριον γίνεται· Φοινίκων ὁκόσοι τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐπιμίσχονται, οὐκέτι Αἰγυπτίους μμύονται κατὰ τὰ αἰδοῖα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐπιγυνομένων οὐ περιτάμνουσι τὰ αἰδοῖα.
- 105 Φέρε νυν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων, ὥς Αἰγυπτίοισι προσφερέες εἰσὶ. λίνον μῦνοι οὗτοί τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἐργάζονται κατὰ τὰ αὐτά· καὶ ἡ ζῶη πᾶσα καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα ἐμφερῆς ἐστὶ ἀλλήλοισι. λίνον δὲ τὸ μὲν Κολχικόν, ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Σαρδονικὸν κέκληται· τὸ μέντοι ἀπ'
- 106 Αἰγύπτου ἀπικνεύμενον, καλέεται Αἰγύπτιον. τὰς δὲ στηλάς τὰς Ἰστα κατὰ τὰς χώρας ὁ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς Σέσωστρις, αἱ μὲν πλεῖνες οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεοῦσαι· ἐν δὲ τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ Συρίῃ αὐτὸς ὄρεον εἰούσας, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ εἰρημένα ἐνεόντα, καὶ γυναικὸς αἰδοῖα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ περὶ Ἰωνίην δύο τύποι ἐν πέτρῃσι ἐγκεκολαμμένοι· τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, τῇ τε ἐκ τῆς Ἐφεσίους ἐς Φώκαιαν ἔρχονται, καὶ τῇ ἐκ Σαρδίων ἐς Σμύρνην. ἐκατέρωθι δὲ ἀνὴρ ἐγγέγλυπται, μέγας πύμπτῃ σπιθαμῇ, τῇ μὲν δεξιῇ χερὶ ἔχων αἰχμὴν, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερῇ τόξα, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην σκευὴν ὡσαύτως· καὶ γὰρ Αἰγυπτίην καὶ Αἰθιοπίδα ἔχει· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὤμου ἐς τὸν ἕτερον ὤμον διὰ τῶν στηθῶν γράμματα ἱρὰ Αἰγύπτια διήκει ἐγκεκολαμμένα, λέγοντα

ἀδε· ΕΓΩ ΤΗΝΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΗΝ ΩΜΟΙΣΙ ΤΟΙΣΙ  
 ΜΟΙΣΙ ΕΚΤΗΣΑΜΗΝ. ὅστις δὲ καὶ ὁκόθεν ἐστὶ,  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὐ δηλοῖ, ἐτέρωθι δὲ δεδήλωκε. τὰ δὲ καὶ  
 ετεῖτεροι τῶν θεησαμένων Μέμνονος εἰκόνα εἰκάζουσι  
 εἶναι, πολλὴ τῆς ἀληθιῆς ἀπολελειμμένοι.

Τούτου δὴ τὸν Αἰγύπτιον Σέσωστριν ἀναχωρέοντα, 107  
 αἱ ἀνάγοντα πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τὰς  
 ὥρας κατεστρέψατο, ἔλεγον οἱ ἱεῖες, ἐπεὶ τε ἐγένετο  
 νακομζόμενος ἐν Δάφνησι τῇσι Πηλουσίησι, τὸν ἀδελ-  
 φὸν ἐωυτοῦ τῷ ἐπέτρεψε Σέσωστρις τὴν Αἴγυπτον, τοῦ-  
 ον ἐπὶ ξελία αὐτὸν καλέσαντα, καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ τοὺς  
 αἶδας, περινηῆσαι ἔξωθεν τὴν οἰκίην ὕλῃ περινηήσαντα  
 ἐ, ὑποπρῆσαι· τὸν δὲ ὡς μαθεῖν τοῦτο, αὐτίκα συμβου-  
 εῖσθαι τῇ γυναικί· καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸν  
 μα ᾤγεσθαι. τὴν δὲ οἱ συμβουλευσαι, τῶν παίδων  
 ὢντων ἕξ, τοὺς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα, γεφυρῶσαι  
 ὁ καιόμενον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐπιβαίνοντας ἐκσώζε-  
 θαι. ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τὸν Σέσωστριν καὶ δύο μὲν τῶν  
 αἰδῶν κατακαῆναι τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἀπο-  
 σθῆναι ἕμα τῷ πατρί. Νοστήσας δὲ ὁ Σέσωστρις ἐς 108.  
 ἐν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τισάμενος τὸν ἀδελφεὸν, τῷ μὲν ὀμίλῳ  
 ὃν ἐπηγάγετο, τῶν τὰς χώρας κατεστρέψατο, τούτῳ μὲν  
 ἄδε ἐχρήσατο. τοὺς τε οἱ λίθους, τοὺς ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ  
 βασιλέως κομισθέντας ἐς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου τὸ ἱρὸν, ὄντας  
 ἐγάθει περιμήκεας, οὗτοι ἦσαν οἱ ἐλκύσαντες· καὶ τὰς  
 κωρυχὰς τὰς νῦν εἰούσας ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάσας οὗτοι ἀναγ-  
 αζόμενοι ὠρικτοσαν ἐπόλεον τε οὐκ ἐκόντες Αἴγυπτον, τὸ  
 ἑν εἰούσαν ἱππασίμην καὶ ἀμαξενομένην πᾶσαν, ἐνδεᾶ  
 οὕτων. ἀπὸ γὰρ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου Αἴγυπτος, εἰούσα  
 ἐδιδᾶς πᾶσα, ἀνιηπος καὶ ἀναμαζεύτος γέγονε· αἷται δὲ  
 οὕτων αἱ διώρυχες γεγόνασιν, εἰούσαι πολλαί, καὶ παν-  
 οίους τρόπους ἔχουσαι. κατέταμνε δὲ τοῦδε εἵνεκα τὴν  
 ὥρην ὁ βασιλεὺς· ὅσοι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὴ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 σταμῷ ἔκτηντο τὰς πόλεις, ἀλλ' ἀναμέσους, οὗτοι, ὅπως  
 εἰ ἀπιοὶ ὁ πυταμὸς, σπανίζοντες ὕδατων, πλαινυτέροισι  
 χρέοντο τοῖσι πόμασι, ἐκ φρεάτων χρεόμενοι. τούτων  
 ἐν δὴ εἵνεκα κατετμήθη ἡ Αἴγυπτος. Κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν 109  
 ὥρην Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασιν τούτου ἔλεγον τὸν βασιλέα,

- κλήρον ἴσον ἐκάστω τετράγωνον δίδοντα· καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. εἰ δέ τις τοῦ κλήρου ὁ ποταμὸς τὸν παρέλοιτο, ἐλθὼν ἂν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐσήμαινε τὸ γεγενημένον· ὁ δὲ ἔπεμπε τοὺς ἐπισκεψομένους καὶ ἀναμετρήσοντας, ὅσῳ ἐλάσσων ὁ χώρος γέγονε, ὅκως τοῦ λοιποῦ κατὰ λόγον τῆς τεταγμένης ἀποφορῆς τελέοι. δοκέει δέ μοι ἐνθεῦτεν γεωμετρὴν εὐρεθεῖσα, ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπανελθεῖν πόλιν μὲν γὰρ, καὶ γνώμονα, καὶ τὰ δυνάδεκα μέρεα τῆς
- 110 ἡμέρης, παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες. Βασιλεὺς μὲν δὴ οὗτος μῦνος Αἰγύπτιος Αἰθιοπίης ἦρξε. Μνημόσυνα δὲ ἐλίπετο πρὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίστειου, ἀνδριάντας λιθίνους· δύο μὲν, τριήκοντα πήχεων, ἑωυτόν τε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα· τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ἔοντας τέσσερας, εἴκοσι πήχεων ἕκαστον. τῶν δὴ ὁ ἱεὺς τοῦ Ἡφαίστου χρόνῳ μετέπειτα πολλῷ Δαρεῖον τὸν Πέρσῃν οὐ περιεῖδε ἰσάντα ἔμπροσθεν ἀνδριάντα, φάς “οὐ οἱ πεποιῆσθαι ἔργα οἶά περ
- “Σεσώστρι τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. Σέσωστρῳ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τε
- “καταστρέψασθαι ἔθνεα οὐκ ἐλάσσῳ ἐκείνου, καὶ δὴ καὶ
- “Σκύθας Δαρεῖον δὲ οὐ δυνασθῆναι Σκύθας ἐλεῖν. οὐκ ἔστιν
- “δίκαιον εἶναι ἰσάναι ἔμπροσθε τῶν ἐκείνου ἀναθημάτων,
- “μὴ οὐκ ὑπερβαλλόμενον τοῖσι ἔργοισι.” Δαρεῖον μὲν νυνὶ λέγουσι πρὸς ταῦτα συγγνώμην ποιήσασθαι.
- 111 Σεσώστριος δὲ τελευτήσας, ἐκδέξασθαι ἔλεγον τὴν βασιλητὴν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ Φερῶν τὸν ἀποδέξασθαι μὲν οὐδεμίαν στρατητὴν, συνενευχθῆναι δὲ οἱ τυφλὸν γενέσθαι, διὰ τοιόνδε πρήγμα. τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελθόντος μέγιστα δὴ τότε ἐπ' ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεας, ὥς ὑπερέβαλε τὰς ἀρούρας, πνεύματος ἔμπεσόντος, κυματὴς ὁ ποταμὸς ἐγένετο τὸν δὲ βασιλέα λέγουσι τοῦτον ἀτασθαλίῃ χρησάμενον, λαβόντα αἰχμὴν, βαλέειν ἐς μέσας τὰς δίνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ μετὰ δὲ, αὐτίκα καμόντα αὐτὸν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, τυφλωθῆναι. δέκα μὲν δὴ ἔτεα εἶναι μιν τυφλὸν ἐνδεκάτῳ δὲ ἔτει ἀπικέσθαι οἱ μαντήϊον ἐκ Βουτοῦς πόλιος, ὡς “ἐξήκει
- “τέ οἱ ὁ χρόνος τῆς ζημίας, καὶ ἀναβλέψει, γυναικὸς εὖρυ
- “νεφάμενος τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, ἥτις παρὰ τὸν ἑωυτῆς ἄνδρα
- “μῦνον πεφοίτηκε, ἄλλων ἀνδρῶν εἴουσα ἄπειρος” καὶ τὸν πρώτης τῆς ὥντοῦ γυναικὸς πειρᾶσθαι μετὰ δὲ, ὡς

οὐκ ἀνέβλεπε, ἐπεξῆς πασέων πειρᾶσθαι ἀναβλέψαντα δέ, συναγαγεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐπειρήθη, πλὴν ἡ τῆς τῷ οὐρῷ νιψάμενος ἀνέβλεψε, ἐς μίαν πόλιν, ἡ νῦν καλεῖται Ἐρυθρὴ βῶλος· ἐς ταύτην συναλίσσαντα, ὑποπρῆσαι πάσας σὺν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. τῆς δὲ νιψάμενος τῷ οὐρῷ ἀνέβλεψε, ταύτην δὲ εἶχε αὐτὸς γυναῖκα. Ἀναθήματα δέ, ἀποφυγῶν τὴν πάθην τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ἄλλα τε ἀνὰ τὰ ἱρά πάντα τὰ λόγιμα ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τοῦ γε λόγον μάλιστα ἄξιόν ἐστι ἔχειν, ἐς τοῦ Ἥλλου τὸ ἱρὸν ἀξιοθέητα ἀνέθηκε ἔργα, ὀβελούς δύο λιθίνους, ἐξ ἑνὸς ἔοντα ἑκάτερον λίθου, μήκος μὲν ἑκάτερον πηχέων ἑκατὸν, εὖρος δὲ ὀκτῶ πηχέων.

Τούτοις δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην ἔλεγον ἄνδρα 112  
Μεμφίτην, τῷ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν οὖνομα Πρωτέα εἶναι· τοῦ νῦν τέμενός ἐστι ἐν Μέμφι κάρτα καλὸν τε καὶ εὖ ἐσκευασμένον, τοῦ Ἡφαιστήτου πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον κείμενον. περιοικέουσι δὲ τὸ τέμενος τοῦτο Φοίνικες Τύριοι· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος ὁ συνάπας, Τυρίων στρατόπεδον. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Πρωτέος ἱρὸν, τὸ καλεῖται Ξελῆς Ἀφροδίτης· συμβάλλομαι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν εἶναι Ἑλένης τῆς Τυνδάρω, καὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκηκοὺς ὡς διαιτήθη Ἑλένη παρὰ Πρωτέϊ, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι Ξελῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐπωνυμίον ἐστι· ὅσα γὰρ ἄλλα Ἀφροδίτης ἱρά ἐστι, οὐδαμῶς Ξελῆς ἐπικαλεῖται. Ἐλεγον δέ 113  
μοι οἱ ἱεεὶς ἱστοροῦντι τὰ περὶ Ἑλένην, γενέσθαι ὧδε· Ἀλέξανδρον ἀρπάσαντα Ἑλένην ἐκ Σπάρτης, ἀποπλέειν ἐς τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. καὶ μιν, ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ Αἰγαίῳ, ἐξώσται ἄνεμοι ἐκβάλλουσι ἐς τὸ Αἰγύπτιον πέλαγος· ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἀνλεῖ τὰ πνεύματα) ἀπικνέεται ἐς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ Αἰγύπτου ἐς τὸ νῦν Κανωβικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, καὶ ἐς Ταριχείας. ἦν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡϊόνος, ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐστι, Ἡρακλῆος ἱρὸν ἐς τὸ ἦν καταφυγῶν οἰκέτης ὕστερ ἀνθρώπων ἐπιβάληται στύγματα ἱρά, ἑωυτὸν διδούς τῷ θεῷ, οὐκ ἔξεστι τούτου ἄψασθαι. ὁ νόμος οὗτος διατελεῖ ἐὼν ὁμοῖος μέχρι ἐμεῦ τῷ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. τοῦ ὧν δὴ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀπιστέαται θεράποντες, πυθόμενοι τὸν περὶ τὸ ἱρὸν ἔχοντα νόμον· ἰκέται δὲ ἰζόμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ, κατηγοροῦν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, βουλόμενοι βλάπτειν αὐτὸν, πάντα λόγον ἐξηγεύμενοι ὡς εἶχε περὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ

- τὴν ἐς Μενέλεων ἀδικίην κατηγορεῖν δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἱρέας καὶ τὸν τοῦ στόματος τούτου φύλακον, τῷ
- 114 οὐνομα ἦν Θῶνις. Ἀκούσας δὲ τούτων ὁ Θῶνις, πέμπει τὴν ταχίστην ἐς Μέμφιν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἀγγελίην, λέγουσαν τάδε “Ἦκει ξείνος, γένος μὲν Τευκρὸς, ἔργον δὲ “ἀνόσιον ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἐξεργασμένος· ξείνου γὰρ τοῦ “ἑωυτοῦ ἐξαπατήσας τὴν γυναῖκα, αὐτὴν τε ταύτην ὄγων “ἦκει, καὶ πολλὰ κάρτα χρήματα, ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς γῆν τὴν “σὴν ἀπενειχθεὶς. κότερά δῆτα τοῦτον ἐώμεν ἀσιωεῖν “ἐκπλέειν, ἢ ἀφελώμεθα τὰ ἔχων ἦλθε;” Ἀντιπέμπει πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Πρωτεὺς λέγοντα τάδε “Ἄνδρα τοῦτον, “ὅστις κοτὴ ἐστὶ ἀνόσια ἐργασμένος ξείνον τὸν ἑωυτοῦ, “συλλαβόντες, ἀπάγετε παρ’ ἐμέ, ἵνα εἰδῶ ὃ τι κοτὴ καὶ
- 115 “λέξει.” Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Θῶνις, συλλαμβάνει τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ τὰς νέας αὐτοῦ κατίσχει· μετὰ δὲ, αὐτὸν τε τοῦτον ἀνήγαγε ἐς Μέμφιν, καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας. ἀνακομισθέντων δὲ πάντων, εἰρώτα τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Πρωτεὺς, τίς εἴη, καὶ ὁκόθεν πλέοι. ὁ δὲ οἱ καὶ τὸ γένος κατέλεξε, καὶ τῆς πάτρης εἶπε τὸ οὐνομα· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν πλόον ἀπηγγέσατο ὁκόθεν πλέοι. μετὰ δὲ, ὁ Πρωτεὺς εἰρώτα αὐτὸν ὁκόθεν τὴν Ἑλένην λάβοι· πλανωμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ οὐ λέγοντος τὴν ἀληθείην, ἤλεγχον οἱ γενόμενοι ἱκέται, ἐξηγεύμενοι πάντα λόγον τοῦ ἀδικήματος. τέλος δὲ δὴ σφί λόγον τόνδε ἐκφαίνει ὁ Πρωτεὺς, λέγων ὅτι “Ἐγὼ εἰ μὴ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγεύμην μηδένα ξείνων “κτείνειν, ὅσοι ὑπ’ ἀνέμων ἤδη ἀπολαμφθέντες ἦλθον ἐς “χώρην τὴν ἐμὴν, ἐγὼ ἂν σε ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἑλλήνος ἐτισάμην “ὅς, ὦ κάκιστε ἀνδρῶν, ξεινίων τυχῶν, ἔργον ἀνοσιώτατον “ἐργάσαο. παρὰ τοῦ σεωυτοῦ ξείνου τὴν γυναῖκα ἦλθες “καὶ μάλα ταῦτά τοι οὐκ ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ ἀναπτερώσας “αὐτήν, οἴχεται ἔχων ἐκκλέψας. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτά τοι “μοῦνα ἤρκεσε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ οἰκία τοῦ ξείνου κερατῶσας “ἦκεις. νῦν ὦν, ἐπεὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ἡγῆμαι μὴ ξεινο- “κτονεῖν, γυναῖκα μὲν ταύτην καὶ τὰ χρήματα οὐ τοι “προήσω ἀπάγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ ἐγὼ τῷ Ἑλλήνι ξείνῳ “φυλάξω, ἐς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐλθὼν ἐκείνος ἀπαγαγέσθαι “ἐθέλῃ· αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ καὶ τοὺς σοὺς συμπλόους τριῶν

“ἡμερέων προαγορεύω ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς γῆς ἐς ἄλλην τινα  
“μετορμίζεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἄτε πολεμίους περιέψεσθαι.”

Ἐλένης μὲν ταύτην ἀπὶ ξὺν παρὰ Πρωτέα ἔλεγον οἱ 116  
ἱρέες γενέσθαι· δοκέει δέ μοι καὶ Ὅμηρος τὸν λόγον  
τοῦτον πυθέσθαι· ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐς τὴν ἐποποιήν  
εὐπρεπῆς ἦν τῷ ἑτέρῳ τῷ περ ἐχρήσατο, ἐς δὲ μετῆκε  
αὐτόν, δηλώσας ὡς καὶ τοῦτον ἐπίσταιτο τὸν λόγον. δηλὸν  
δὲ κατὰ γὰρ ἐποίησε ἐν Ἰλιάδι (καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνε-  
πόδισε ἐωυτὸν) πλάνην τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὡς ἀπηνείχθη  
ἄγων Ἐλένην, τῇ τε δὴ ἄλλῃ πλαζόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐς  
Σιδῶνα τῆς Φοινίκης ἀπύκετο. ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν  
Διομήδεος ἀριστείῃ, λέγει δὲ τὰ ἔπεα οὕτω·

Ἐνθ’ ἔσαν οἱ πέπλοι παμποίκιοι, ἔργα γυναικῶν  
Σιδονίων, τὰς αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος θεοιδῆς  
ἤγαγε Σιδονίην, ἐκπλὺς εὐρέα πόντον,  
τὴν οὐδὲν ἦν Ἐλένην περ ἀνήγαγον εὐπατέρειαν.

Ἐπιμέμνηται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ὀδυσσεΐ, ἐν τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσιν·

Τοῖα Διὸς θυγάτηρ ἔχε φάρμακα μητιόεντα,  
ἑσθλὰ, τὰ οἱ Πολύδαμνα πόρεν, Θῶνος παράκοιτις  
Αἰγυπτίῃ· τῇ πλείστα φέρει ζεῖδωρος ἄρουρα  
φάρμακα, πολλὰ μὲν ἑσθλὰ μεμιγμένα, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ·

καὶ τὰδε ἕτερα πρὸς Τηλέμαχον Μενέλεως λέγει·

Αἰγύπτῳ μ’ ἔτι δεῦρο θεοὶ μεμαῶτα νέεσθαι  
ἔσχον, ἐπεὶ οὐ σφιν ἔρεξα τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας.

Ἐν τούτοις τοῖσι ἔπεσιν δηλοῖ, ὅτι ἠπίστατο τὴν ἐς  
Αἴγυπτον Ἀλεξάνδρου πλάνην· ὁμοῦρῃ γὰρ ἡ Συρίῃ  
Αἰγύπτῳ· οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες, τῶν ἐστὶ ἡ Σιδῶν, ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ  
οἰκεῖουσιν. Κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἔπεα, καὶ τότε τὸ χωρίον 117  
οὐκ ἦκιστα, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα, δηλοῖ ὅτι οὐκ Ὅμηρον τὰ  
Κύπρια ἔπεα ἐστὶ, ἀλλ’ ἄλλου τινός. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι  
Κυπρίοις εἴρηται, ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος  
ἀπύκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων τὴν Ἐλένην, εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι  
χρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λείῃ· ἐν δὲ Ἰλιάδι λέγει ὡς  
ἐπλάζετο ἄγων αὐτήν. Ὅμηρος μὲν νυν, καὶ τὰ Κύπρια  
ἔπεα, χαιρέτω.

Εἰρομένου δὲ μεν τοὺς ἱρέας, εἰ μάταιον λόγον λέγουσι 118

οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ περὶ Ἴλιον γενέσθαι, ἣ οὐκ ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα τάδε, ἱστορίησι φάμενοι εἰδέναι παρ' αὐτοῦ Μενέλεω. Ἐλθεῖν μὲν γάρ, μετὰ τὴν Ἑλένης ἀρπαγὴν, ἐς τὴν Τευκρίδα γῆν Ἑλλήνων στρατιὴν πολλήν, βοηθεύσαν Μενέλεω· ἐκβάσαν δὲ ἐς γῆν καὶ ἰδρυθεῖσαν τὴν στρατιήν, πέμπειν ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἀγγέλους· σὺν δέ σφι ἵεναι καὶ αὐτὸν Μενέλεων τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ τε ἐσελθεῖν ἐς τὸ τεῖχος, ἀπαιτέειν Ἑλένην τε καὶ τὰ χρήματα τὰ οἱ οἷχeto κλέψας Ἀλέξανδρος, τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίκας αἰτέειν τοὺς δὲ Τευκροὺς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγειν τότε καὶ μετέπειτα, καὶ ὁμνύντας καὶ ἀνωμοτὶ, μὴ μὲν ἔχειν Ἑλένην, μηδὲ τὰ ἐπικαλούμενα χρήματα, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὰ πάντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ· καὶ οὐκ ἂν δικαίως αὐτοὶ δίκας ὑπέχειν, ἂ Πρωτεύς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος βασιλεὺς ἔχει. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες καταγελασθαι δοκίοντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δὴ ἐπολιόρκειον, ἐς ὃ ἐξείλον. ἐλοῦσι δὲ τὸ τεῖχος ὥς οὐκ ἐφαίνετο ἡ Ἑλένη, ἀλλὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπυνθάνοντο, οὕτω δὴ πιστεύσαντες τῷ λόγῳ τῷ πρώτῳ οἱ Ἕλληνες, αὐτὸν

**119** Μενέλεων ἀποστέλλουσι παρὰ Πρωτέα. Ἀπικόμενος δὲ ὁ Μενέλεως ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ ἀναπλώσας ἐς τὴν Μέμφιν, εἶπας τὴν ἀληθείην τῶν πρηγμάτων, καὶ ξεινίων ἤντησε μεγάλων, καὶ Ἑλένην ἀπαθεία κακῶν ἀπέλαβε πρὸς δὲ, καὶ τὰ ἑωυτοῦ χρήματα πάντα. Τυχῶν μέντοι τούτων, ἐγένετο Μενέλεως ἀνὴρ ἄδικος ἐς Αἰγυπτίους. ἄποπλέειν γὰρ ὠρμημένον αὐτὸν ἴσχον ἄπλοιοι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο ἦν, ἐπιτεχνᾶται πρῆγμα οὐκ ὅσιον λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παῖδια ἀνδρῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἔντομά σφεα ἐποίησε. μετὰ δὲ, ὥς ἐπαῖστος ἐγένετο τοῦτο ἐργασμένος, μισηθείς τε καὶ διωκόμενος, οἷχeto φεύγων τῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπὶ Λιβύης. τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν δὲ ὕκου ἐτράπετο, οὐκέτι εἶχον εἰπεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱστορίησι ἔφασαν ἐπίστασθαι, τὰ δὲ, παρ' ἑωυτοῖσι γενόμενα, ἀτρεκέως ἐπιστάμενοι λέγειν.

**120** Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἱρέες ἔλεγον ἐγὼ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ Ἑλένης λεχθέντι καὶ αὐτὸς προστίθεμαι, τάδε ἐπιλεγόμενος· εἰ ἦν Ἑλένη ἐν Ἰλίῳ, ἀποδοθῆναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἥτοι ἐκόντος γε ἢ ἄκοντος Ἀλεξάνδρου. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὕτω γε φρενοβλαβὴς ἦν ὁ Πρίαμος, οὐδὲ οἱ

ἄλλοι προσήκοντες αὐτῷ, ὥστε τοῖσι σφετέροισι σώμασι καὶ τοῖσι τέκνοισι καὶ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύειν ἐβούλοντο, ὅπως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἑλένη συνοικέη. εἰ δέ τοι καὶ ἐν τοῖσι πρώτοισι χρόνοις ταῦτα ἐγίνωσκον ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων Τρώων, ὁκότε συμμίσγωνιεν τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἀπώλυντο, αὐτοῦ δὲ Πριάμου οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἢ καὶ ἔτι πλείους τῶν παίδων, μάχης γινομένης, ἀπέθνησκον, εἰ χρή τι τοῖσι ἐποποιούσι χρεώμενον λέγειν τούτων δὲ τοιούτων συμβαινόντων, ἐγὼ μὲν ἔλπομαι, εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς Πριάμος συνοικέει Ἑλένη, ἀποδοῦναι ἂν αὐτὴν τοῖσι Ἀχαιοῖσι, μέλλοντά γε δὴ τῶν παρεόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ ἡ βασιλῆτῃ ἐς Ἀλέξανδρον περιήϊε, ὥστε γέροντος Πριάμου ἔοντος, ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τὰ πρήγματα εἶναι· ἀλλὰ Ἐκτωρ, καὶ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀνὴρ ἐκείνου μᾶλλον ἔων, ἔμελλε αὐτὴν Πριάμου ἀποθανόντος παραλάμψεσθαι τὸν οὐ προσήκει ἀδικεῖν τῷ ἀδελφεῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλων κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν συμβαινόντων ἰδίῃ τε καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοις πᾶσι Τρωσὶ. Ἄλλ' οὐ γὰρ εἶχον Ἑλένην ἀποδοῦναι, οὐδὲ λέγουσι αὐτοῖσι τὴν ἀληθινήν ἐπίστευον οἱ Ἕλληνες· ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ, γνῶμην ἀποφαίνομαι, τοῦ δαιμονίου παρασκευάζοντος, ὅπως πανωλεθρῇ ἀπολόμενοι, καταφανές τοῦτο τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι ποιήσωσι, ὥς τῶν μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων μεγάλα εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ τιμωρίαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν, τῇ ἐμοὶ δοκέει, εἴρηται.

Προτέος δὲ ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆτῃν Ῥαμψίνιτον 121  
 ἔλεγον· ὃς μνημόσυνα ἐλίπετο τὰ προπύλαια τὰ πρὸς ἐσπέρην τετραμμένα τοῦ Ἥφαιστείου. ἀντίους δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων ἔστησε ἀνδριάντας δύο, ἔοντας τὸ μέγαθος πέντε καὶ ἑξέκοσι πηχέων τῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν πρὸς βορέῳ ἑσπεῶτα καλέουσι θέρος· τὸν δὲ πρὸς νότον, χειμῶνα. καὶ τὸν μὲν καλέουσι θέρος, τοῦτον μὲν προσκυνέουσιν τε, καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν τὸν δὲ χειμῶνα καλεῖν, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν τούτων ἔρδουσι. Πλούτον δὲ τούτῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι ἀργύρου μέγαν, τὸν οὐδένα τῶν ὑστερον ἐπιτραφέντων βασιλέων δύνασθαι ὑπερβαλέσθαι, οὐδ' ἐγγὺς ἔλθειν. βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσφαλεῇ τὰ χρήματα θησαυρίζειν, οἰκοδομέσθαι οἶκημα λίθινον τοῦ

τῶν τοίχων ἓνα ἕς τὸ ἔξω μέρος τῆς οἰκίης ἔχειν. τὸν δὲ ἐργαζόμενον, ἐπιβουλευόντα, τάδε μηχανᾶσθαι· τῶν λίθων παρασκευάσασθαι ἓνα ἑξαιρετὸν εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ τοίχου ῥηιδίως καὶ ὑπὸ δύο ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὑπὸ ενός. ὥς δὲ ἐπετελέσθη τὸ οἶκημα, τὸν μὲν βασιλέα θησαυρίσαι τὰ χρήματα ἐν αὐτῷ. χρόνου δὲ περιιόντος, τὸν οἰκοδόμον, περὶ τελευτὴν τοῦ βίου ἔοντα, ἀνακαλέσασθαι τοὺς παῖδας (εἶναι γὰρ αὐτῷ δύο)· τοῦτοις δὲ ἀπηγγέσασθαι, ὥς ἐκείνων προορέων ὅπως βίον ἀφθονον ἔχωσι, τεχνάσαιτο οἰκοδομέων τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦ βασιλέως. σαφέως δὲ αὐτοῖσι πάντα ἐξηγησάμενον τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐξαίρεσιν τοῦ λίθου, δοῦναι τὰ μέτρα αὐτοῦ, λέγοντα ὥς ταῦτα διαφυλάσσοντες, ταμίαι τῶν βασιλέως χρημάτων ἔσονται. καὶ τὸν μὲν τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔς μακρὴν ἔργου ἔχεισθαι· ἐπελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα νυκτὸς, καὶ τὸν λίθον ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκοδομήματι ἀνευρόντας, ῥηιδίως μεταχειρίσασθαι, καὶ τῶν χρημάτων πολλὰ ἐξευείκασθαι. Ὡς δὲ τυχεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἀνοίξαντα τὸ οἶκημα, θωυμάσαι, ἰδόντα τῶν χρημάτων καταδεῖν τὰ ἀγγήια· οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ὅν τινα ἐπαυτιάται, τῶν τε σημάτων ἔοντων σώων, καὶ τοῦ οἰκήματος κεκλειμένου. ὥς δὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ δις καὶ τρίς ἀνοίξαντι, αἰεὶ ἐλάσσω φαίνεσθαι τὰ χρήματα, (τοὺς γὰρ κλέπτας οὐκ ἀνέναι κεραῖζοντας,) ποιῆσαι μιν τάδε πάγας προστάξαι ἐργάσασθαι, καὶ ταύτας περὶ τὰ ἀγγήια, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ χρήματα ἐνῆν, στήσαι. τῶν δὲ φωρῶν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνου, ἐλθόντων, καὶ ἐνδύντος τοῦ ἑτέρου αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸ ἀργος προσῆλθε, ἰθέως τῇ πάγῃ ἐνέχεσθαι· ὥς δὲ γινῶναι αὐτὸν ἐν οἴῳ κακῷ ἦν, ἰθέως καλέειν τὸν ἀδελφεόν, καὶ δηλοῦν αὐτῷ τὰ παρεόντα, καὶ κελεύειν τὴν ταχίστην ἐσδύντα, ἀποτάμνειν αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὅπως μὴ αὐτὸς ὀφθεῖς, καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὅς εἴη, προσαπολέσει καὶ ἐκείνον. τῷ δὲ δόξαι εὖ λέγειν, καὶ ποιῆσαι μιν πεισθέντα ταῦτα· καὶ καταρμόσαντα τὸν λίθον, ἀπιέναι ἐκ οἴκου, φέροντα τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ. Ὡς δὲ ἡμέρῃ ἐγένετο, ἐσελθόντα τὸν βασιλέα ἐς τὸ οἶκημα, ἐκπεπλήχθαι, ὀρέοντα τὸ σῶμα τοῦ φωρὸς ἐν τῇ πάγῃ ἀνευ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔόν· τὸ δὲ οἶκημα, ἀσιγὲς, καὶ οὔτε ἐσοδὸν οὔτε ἔκδυσιν οὐδεμίαν

ἔχον. ἀπορεύμενον δέ μιν, τάδε ποιῆσαι· τοῦ φωρὸς τὸν νέκυν κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κατακρεμάσαι· φυλάκους δὲ αὐτοῦ καταστήσαντα, ἐντείλασθαι σφί, τὸν ἂν ἴδωνται ἀποκλαύσαντα, ἢ κατοικτισάμενον, συλλαβόντας ἄγειν πρὸς ἑωυτόν. ἀνακρεμαμένου δὲ τοῦ νέκυος, τὴν μητέρα δεινῶς φέρειν· λόγους δὲ πρὸς τὸν περιέοντα παῖδα ποιουμένην, προστάσσειν αὐτῷ, ὅτεφ τρόπῳ δύναται, μηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως τὸ σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσας κομπεῖ· εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσει, διαπειλέειν αὐτήν, ὡς ἐλθούσα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, μηνύσει αὐτὸν ἔχοντα τὰ χρήματα. Ὡς δὲ χαλεπῶς ἐλαμβάνετο ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ περιέοντος παιδός, καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν λόγων οὐκ ἔπειθε, ἐπιτεχνήσασθαι τοιάδε μιν. ὄνους κατασκευασάμενον, καὶ ἄσκους πλήσαντα οἴνου, ἐπιθεῖναι ἐπὶ τῶν ὄνων, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐλαύνειν αὐτούς· ὡς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς φυλάσσοντας ἦν τὸν κρεμάμενον νέκυν, ἐπισπάσαντα τῶν ἰσκιῶν δύο ἢ τρεῖς ποδεῶνας αὐτὸν λύνειν ἀπαμμένους. ὡς δὲ ἔρρεε ὁ οἶνος, τὴν κεφαλὴν μιν κόπτεσθαι μεγάλα βοῶντα, ὡς οὐκ ἔχοντα πρὸς ὁκοῖον τῶν ὄνων πρῶτον τράπηται. τοὺς δὲ φυλάκους, ὡς ἰδεῖν πολλὴν ῥέοντα τὸν οἶνον, συντρέχειν ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγήϊα ἔχοντας, καὶ τὸν ἐκκεχυμένον οἶνον συγκομίζειν ἐν κέρδει ποιουμένους· τὸν δὲ διαλοιδορέεσθαι πᾶσι, ὀργὴν προσποιούμενον. παραμυθευμένων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν φυλάκων, χρόνῳ πρηθνεσθαι προσποιέεσθαι, καὶ ὑπείεσθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· τέλος δὲ, ἐξελάσαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄνους ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ, καὶ κατασκευάζειν. ὡς δὲ λόγους τε πλείους ἐγγίνεσθαι, καὶ τινα καὶ σκῶψαί μιν καὶ ἐς γέλωτα προαγαγέσθαι, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι τῶν ἰσκιῶν ἕνα· τοὺς δὲ αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἶχον, κατακλιθέντας πίνειν διανοέεσθαι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον παραλαμβάνειν, καὶ κελεύειν μετ' ἑωυτῶν μέιναντα συμπίνειν τὸν δὲ πεισθῆναι τε δὴ, καὶ καταμεῖναι. ὡς δὲ μιν παρὰ τὴν πόσιν φιλοφρόνως ἡσπάζοντο, ἐπιδούναι αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἄλλον τῶν ἰσκιῶν. δαψυλεῖ δὲ τῷ ποτῷ χρησαμένους τοὺς φυλάκους, ὑπερμεθυσθῆναι· καὶ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου, αὐτοῦ ἐνθάπερ ἔπινον κατακοιμηθῆναι. τὸν δὲ, ὡς πρόσω ἦν τῆς νυκτός, τό τε σῶμα τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ καταλύσαι, καὶ τῶν φυλάκων ἐπὶ λύμῃ πάντων ξυρῆσαι τὰς δεξιὰς παρηΐδας· ἐπιθέντα δὲ τὸν νέκυν ἐπὶ τοὺς

οὔρους, ἀπελαύνειν ἐπ' οἶκον, ἐπιτελέσαντα τῇ μητρὶ τὰ  
 προσταχθέντα. Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, ὡς αὐτῷ ἀπηγγέλθη  
 τοῦ φῶρος ὁ νέκυσ ἐκκεκλεμμένος, δεινὰ ποιέειν πάντως  
 δὲ βουλόμενον εὑρεθῆναι ὅστις κοτὲ εἴη ὁ ταῦτα μηχανώ-  
 μενος, ποιῆσαί μιν τάδε, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐ πιστά· τὴν δὲ  
 θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαι ἐπ' οἰκήματος, ἐντειλάμενον  
 πάντας τε ὁμοίως προσδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὶν συγγενέσθαι,  
 ἀναγκάζειν λέγειν αὐτῇ ὅ τι δὴ ἐν τῷ βίῳ ἔργασται αὐτῷ  
 σοφώτατον καὶ ἀνοσιώτατον ὃς δ' ἂν ἀπηγγήσεται τὰ  
 περὶ τὸν φῶρα γεγενημένα, τοῦτον συλλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ  
 ἀπίεναί ἑξω. ὡς δὲ τὴν παῖδα ποιέειν τὰ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς  
 προσταχθέντα, τὸν φῶρα πυθόμενον τῶν εἵνεκα ταῦτα  
 ἐπρήσσετο, βουλευθέντα πολυτροπήν τοῦ βασιλέος περι-  
 γενέσθαι, ποιέειν τάδε. νεκροῦ προσφάτου ἀποταμόντα  
 ἐν τῷ ὧμφ τὴν χεῖρα, ἵεναι αὐτὸν ἔχοντα αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῷ  
 ἱματίῳ ἐσελθόντα δὲ ὡς τοῦ βασιλέος τὴν θυγατέρα, καὶ  
 εἰρωτώμενον τάπερ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀπηγγέσθαι ὡς ἀνο-  
 σιώτατον μὲν εἴη ἐργασμένος, ὅτε τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ ἐν τῷ  
 θησαυρῷ τοῦ βασιλέος ὑπὸ πάγης ἀλόντος ἀποτάμοι τὴν  
 κεφαλὴν σοφώτατον δὲ, ὅτι τοὺς φυλάκους καταμεθύσας,  
 καταλύσει τοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ κρεμάμενον τὸν νέκυν. τὴν δὲ,  
 ὡς ἤκουσε, ἄπτεσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα ἐν τῷ σκότει  
 προτεῖναι αὐτῇ τοῦ νεκροῦ τὴν χεῖρα· τὴν δὲ, ἐπιλαβο-  
 μένην ἔχειν, νομίζουσαν αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου τῆς χειρὸς ἀντέ-  
 χεσθαι· τὸν δὲ φῶρα προέμενον αὐτῇ, οἴχεσθαι διὰ  
 θυρέων φεύγοντα. Ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἐς τὸν βασιλέα  
 ἀνεκίχθαι, ἐκπεπλήχθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ πολυφροσύνῃ τε καὶ  
 τόλμῃ τὰνθρώπου. τέλος δὲ, διαπέμποντα ἐς πάσας τὰς  
 πόλεις, ἐπαγγέλλεσθαι ἁδείαν τε δίδόντα, καὶ μεγάλα  
 ὑποδεκόμενον ἐλθόντι ἐς ὄψιν τὴν ἑωυτοῦ. τὸν δὲ φῶρα,  
 πιστεύσαντα, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν· Ῥαμφίνιτον δὲ μεγάλως  
 θουμάσαι, καὶ οἱ τὴν θυγατέρα ταύτην συνοικίσαι, ὡς  
 πλείστα ἐπισταμένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ Ἀἰγυπτίους μὲν γὰρ τῶν  
 ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ Αἰγυπτίων.

122 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἔλεγον τοῦτον τὸν βασιλῆα ζῶν  
 καταβῆναι κάτω ἐς τὸν οἶον Ἕλληνες αἰδοῦν νομίζουσι εἶναι,  
 καὶ κεῖθι συγκυβεῖν τῇ Δήμητρὶ καὶ τὰ μὲν, νικᾶν  
 αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ, ἐσσοῦσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πάλιν ἄνω

ἀπικέσθαι, δῶρον ἔχοντα παρ' αὐτῆς χειρόμακτρον χρύσειον. ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Ῥαμψινίτου καταβασίος, ὡς πάλιν ἀπίκετο, ὀρτὴν δὴ ἀνάγειν Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασαν τὴν καὶ ἐγὼ οἶδα ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ ἐπιτελέοντας αὐτοὺς οὐ μέντοι εἴτε δι' ἄλλο τι εἴτε διὰ ταῦτα ὀρτάζουσι ἔχω λέγειν. φᾶρος δὲ αὐτῆμερὸν ἐξυφῆναντες οἱ ἱρέες, κατ' ὧν ἔδησαν ἐνὸς αὐτῶν μίτρῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς· ἀγαγόντες δὲ μιν ἔχοντα τὸ φᾶρος ἐς ὁδὸν φέρουσιν ἐς ἱρὸν Διήμητρος, αὐτοὶ ἀπαλλάσσονται ὀπίσω· τὸν δὲ ἱερεὺς τοῦτον καταδεδεμένον τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς, λέγουσι ὑπὸ δίο Λύκων ἄγεσθαι ἐς τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Διήμητρος, ἀπέχον τῆς πόλιος ἐλίκουσι σταδίους· καὶ αὐτὶς ὀπίσω ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀπάγει μιν τοὺς Λύκους ἐς ταὐτὸ χωρίον. Τοῖσι μὲν νυν ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων 123 λεγομένοισι χρᾶσθω ὅτε τὰ τοιαῦτα πιθανὰ ἐστὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὑπόκειται, ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὲρ ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω. ἀρχηγετεύειν δὲ τῶν κάτω Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι Διήμητρα καὶ Διόνυσον. Πρῶτοι δὲ καὶ τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγύπτιοι εἰσι οἱ εἰπόντες, ὡς ἀνθρώπου ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἐστὶ τοῦ σώματος δὲ καταφθίνοντος, ἐς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον ἐσδύεται· ἐπεὶ δὲ περιέλθῃ πάντα τὰ χερσαῖα καὶ τὰ θαλάσσια καὶ τὰ πετεινὰ, αὐτὶς ἐς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα γινόμενον ἐσδύνει τὴν περιήλυσιν δὲ αὐτῇ γίνεσθαι ἐν τρισχιλίοις ἔτεσι· τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ εἰσι οἱ Ἑλλήνων ἐχρήσαντο, οἱ μὲν, πρότερον, οἱ δὲ, ὕστερον, ὡς ἰδίῳ ἐωντῶν ἐόντι· τῶν ἐγὼ εἰδὼς τὰ οὐνόματα, οὐ γράφω.

Μέχρι μὲν νυν Ῥαμψινίτου βασιλέως εἶναι ἐν Αἰ- 124 γύπτῳ πᾶσαν εὐνομίην ἔλεγον, καὶ εὐθηνέειν Αἴγυπτον μεγάλως. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεύσαντά σφεων Χέοπα, ἐς πᾶσαν κακότητα ἐλάσαι. κατακλητῶντα γάρ μιν πάντα τὰ ἱρά, πρῶτα μὲν σφεας θυσιῶν ἀπέρξαι· μετὰ δὲ, ἐργάζεσθαι ἐωντῷ κελεύειν πάντας Αἰγυπτίους. τοῖσι μὲν δὴ ἀποδεδέχθαι, ἐκ τῶν λιθοτομιέων τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ οὐρεῖ, ἐκ τουτέων ἔλκειν λίθους μέχρι τοῦ Νείλου διαπεραιωθέντας δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν πλοίοις τοὺς λίθους ἐτέροις ἔταξε ἐκδέκεσθαι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ Λιβυκὸν καλεῖμενον ὕδρος, πρὸς τοῦτο ἔλκειν. ἐργάζοντο δὲ κατὰ δέκα μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων αἰεὶ τὴν τρίμηνον ἐκάστην. χρόνον

δὲ ἐγγενέσθαι τριβομένῳ τῷ λαῷ, δέκα μὲν ἔτεα τῆς ὁδοῦ  
 κατ' ἦν εἰλκον τοὺς λίθους, τὴν ἔδειμαν ἔργον ἐόν οὐ  
 πολλῷ τέφ' ἔλασσον τῆς πυραμίδος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν (τῆς  
 γὰρ μῆκος μὲν εἰσι πέντε στάδιοι· εὖρος δὲ, δέκα ὀργυαί·  
 ὕψος δὲ, τῇ ὑψηλοτάτῃ ἐστὶ αὕτη ἐωυτῆς, ὁκτῶ ὀργυαί·  
 λίθου τε ξεστοῦ καὶ ζῶων ἐγγεγλυμμένων) ταύτῃ τε δὴ  
 τὰ δέκα ἔτεα γενέσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπ' οὐ  
 ἐστᾶσι αἱ πυραμίδες, τῶν ὑπὸ γῆν οἰκημάτων, τὰς ἐποίε-  
 ετο θήκας ἐωυτῷ ἐν νήσῳ, διώρυχα τοῦ Νείλου ἐσαγαγών.  
 τῇ δὲ πυραμίδι αὕτῃ χρόνον γενέσθαι ἐείκοσι ἔτεα ποιευ-  
 μένῃ τῆς ἐστὶ πανταχῇ μέτωπον ἕκαστον ὁκτῶ πλέθρα,  
 ἐούσης τετραγώνου, καὶ ὕψος ἴσον λίθου δὲ ξεστοῦ τε  
 καὶ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα· οὐδεὶς τῶν λίθων τριήκοντα  
 125 ποδῶν ἐλάσσων. Ἐποιήθη δὲ ὧδε αὕτη ἡ πυραμίς· ἀνα-  
 βαθμῶν τρόπον, τὰς μετεξέτεροι κρόσσας, οἱ δὲ βωμίδας  
 ὀνομάζουσι· τοιαύτην τὸ πρῶτον ἐπέε τε ἐποίησαν αὐ-  
 τήν, ἥειρον τοὺς ἐπιλοιπούς λίθους μηχανῇσι ξύλων  
 βραχέων πεποιημένησιν· χαμάθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον  
 στοῖχον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν αείροντες, ὅπως δὲ ἀνίοι ὁ λίθος  
 ἐπ' αὐτὸν, εἰς ἐτέρην μηχανὴν ἐτίθετο, ἐστεῶσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 πρώτου στοῖχου· ἀπὸ τούτου δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἔλκετο  
 στοῖχον ἐπ' ἄλλης μηχανῆς. ὅσοι γὰρ δὴ στοῖχοι ἦσαν  
 τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν, τοσαῦται καὶ αἱ μηχαναὶ ἦσαν· εἴ τε  
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μηχανὴν, εἶδον μίαν τε καὶ εὐβάστακτον,  
 μετεφόρεον ἐπὶ στοῖχον ἕκαστον, ὅπως τὸν λίθον ἐξέλοιεν  
 λελέχθω γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα, κατὰπερ λέγεται. Ἐξε-  
 ποιήθη δ' ὧν τὰ ἀνώτατα αὐτῆς πρώτα· μετὰ δὲ, τὰ  
 ἐπόμενα τούτων ἐξεποίησαν· τελευταῖα δὲ αὐτῆς τὰ ἐπί-  
 γαῖα καὶ τὰ κατωτάτω ἐξεποίησαν. Σεσήμανται δὲ διὰ  
 γραμμάτων Αἰγυπτίων ἐν τῇ πυραμίδι, ὅσα ἔς τε συρ-  
 μαῖην καὶ κρόμμυα καὶ σκόροδα ἀναισιμώθη τοῖσι ἐργα-  
 ζομένοισι· καὶ ὡς ἐμὲ εὖ μεμνήσθαι τὰ ὁ ἐρμηνεύς μοι,  
 ἐπιλεγόμενος τὰ γράμματα, ἔφη, ἑξακόσια καὶ χίλια  
 τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τετελέσθαι· εἰ δ' ἐστὶ οὕτως ἔχοντα  
 ταῦτα, κόσσα εἰκὸς ἄλλα δεδαπανῆσθαι ἐστὶ ἔς τε σῖθρον  
 τῷ ἐργάζοντο, καὶ σιτία, καὶ ἐσθῆτα τοῖσι ἐργαζομένοισι·  
 ὁπότῃ χρόνον μὲν οἰκοδόμειον τὰ ἔργα τὸν εἰρημένον ἄλ-  
 λον δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, ἐν τῷ τοὺς λίθους ἑταμνον, καὶ

ἄγον, καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν δρυγμα ἐργάζοντο, οὐκ ὀλίγον  
 χρόνον. Ἐς τοῦτο δὲ ἐλθεῖν Χέοπα κακότητος, ὥστε 126  
 χρημάτων δεόμενον, τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν ἑωυτοῦ κατίσαντα  
 ἐπ' οἰκήματος, προστάξαι πρήσσεσθαι ἀργύριον, ὁκόσων  
 δὴ τι· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό γε ἔλεγον τὴν δέ, τὰ τε ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς ταχθέντα πρήσσεσθαι, ἰδίῃ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν διανοη-  
 θῆναι μνημῆιον καταλιπέσθαι, καὶ τοῦ ἐσιόντος πρὸς  
 αὐτὴν ἐκάστου δέεσθαι, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ ἓνα λίθον ἐν τοῖσι  
 ἐργοῖσι δωρέοιτο. ἐκ τούτων δὲ τῶν λίθων ἔφασαν τὴν  
 πυραμίδα οἰκοδομηθῆναι, τὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν τριῶν ἐστη-  
 κυῖαν, ἔμπροσθε τῆς μεγάλης πυραμίδος· τῆς ἐστὶ τὸ  
 κῶλον ἕκαστον ὅλου καὶ ἡμίσεος πλέθρου. Βασιλεύσαι 127  
 δὲ τὸν Χέοπα τοῦτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἔλεγον πεντήκοντα ἔτεα·  
 τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου, ἐκδέξασθαι τὴν βασιλῆην τὸν  
 ἀδελφεὸν αὐτοῦ Χεφρῆνα. καὶ τοῦτον δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ  
 διαχρᾶσθαι τῷ ἐτέρῳ, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ πυραμίδα ποιῆσαι,  
 ἐς μὲν τὰ ἐκείνου μέτρα οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν  
 καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐμετρήσαμεν οὔτε γὰρ ὕπεστι οἰκήματα ὑπὸ  
 γῆν, οὔτε ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου διώρυξ ἦκει ἐς αὐτὴν, ὥσπερ ἐς  
 τὴν ἐτέρην ρέουσα· διὰ οἰκοδομημένου δὲ αὐλῶνος ἔσω  
 νῆσον περιρρέει, ἐν τῇ αὐτὸν λέγουσι κεῖσθαι Χέοπα. ὑπο-  
 δείμας δὲ τὸν πρῶτον δόμον λίθου Αἰθιοπικοῦ ποικίλου,  
 τεσσεράκοντα πόδας ὑποβὰς τῆς ἐτέρης τῶντὸ μέγας,  
 ἐχομένην τῆς μεγάλης οἰκοδόμησε. ἐστᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ λόφον  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμφότεραι, μάλιστα ἐς ἑκατὸν πόδας ὑψηλοῦ.  
 βασιλεύσαι δὲ ἔλεγον Χεφρῆνα θξ καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔτεα.  
 Ταῦτα ἔξ τε καὶ ἑκατὸν λογίζονται ἔτεα, ἐν τοῖσι Αἰγυ- 128  
 πτίοισί τε πᾶσαν εἶναι κακότητα, καὶ τὰ ἰρὰ χρόνον  
 τοσούτου κατακληῖσθέντα οὐκ ἀνοιχθῆναι. τούτους ὑπὸ  
 μίσεος οὐ κάρτα θέλουσι Αἰγύπτιοι ὀνομάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ  
 τὰς πυραμίδας καλέουσι ποιμένος Φιλιτίνως, ὃς τοῦτον  
 τὸν χρόνον ἔνεμε κτήνεα κατὰ ταῦτα τὰ χωρία.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτον, βασιλεύσαι Αἰγύπτου Μυκερίων 129  
 ἔλεγον, Χέοπος παῖδα· τῷ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ἔργα ἀπα-  
 δεῖν τὸν δὲ τὰ τε ἰρὰ ἀνοῖξαι, καὶ τὸν λεῶν τετρυμένον ἐς  
 τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀνεῖναι πρὸς ἔργα τε καὶ θυσίας· δίκας  
 δὲ σφι πάντων βασιλέων δικαιοτάτας κρίνειν. κατὰ  
 τοῦτο μὲν νυν τὸ ἔργον, ἀπάντων ὅσοι ἤδη βασιλέες

- ἐγένοντο Αἰγυπτίων, αἰνέουσι μάλιστα τοῦτον τὰ τε ἄλλα γάρ μιν κρίνειν εὖ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἐπιμεμφομένῳ ἐκ τῆς δίκης παρ' ἑωυτοῦ διδόντα ἄλλα, ἀποπιμπλάναι αὐτοῦ τὸν θυμόν. Ἐόντι δὲ ἡπίῳ τῷ Μυκερίῳ κατὰ τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύοντι πρῶτον κακῶν ἄρξαι τὴν θυγατέρα ἀποθανοῦσαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν μοῦνόν οἱ εἶναι ἐν τοῖσι οἰκίοισι τέκνον. τὸν δὲ, ὑπεραλγῆσαντά τε τῷ περιεπεπτῳκέε πρήγματι, καὶ βουλόμενον περισσώτερόν τι τῶν ἄλλων θάψαι τὴν θυγατέρα, ποιήσασθαι βούν ξυλλήνῃ κοίλῃν. καὶ ἔπειτα καταχρυσώσαντά μιν ταύτην, ἔσω ἐν αὐτῇ θάψαι ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἀποθανοῦσαν
- 130 θυγατέρα. Αὕτη ὣν ἡ βούς γῇ οὐκ ἐκρύφθη, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν φανερὴ ἐν Σαῖι μὲν πόλι ἐοῦσα, κειμένη δὲ ἐν τοῖσι βασιλεῦσι, ἐν οἰκίῳ ἡσκημένῳ θυμῆματα δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ παντοῖα καταγίξουσι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέρην νύκτα δὲ ἐκάστην πάννηχος λύχνος παρακαίεται. ἀγχοῦ δὲ τῆς βοδὸς ταύτης ἐν ἄλλῳ οἰκίῳ εἰκόνες τῶν παλλακῶν τῶν Μυκερίνου ἐστᾶσι, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ ἐν Σαῖι πόλι ἱρέες ἐστᾶσι μὲν γὰρ ξύλινοι κολοσσοί, ἐοῦσαι ἀριθμὸν ὡς ἑλικοσι μάλιστα κη, γυμναὶ ἐργασμέναι· αἱ τινες μέντοι
- 131 εἰσὶ, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα. Οἱ δὲ τινες λέγουσι περὶ τῆς βοδὸς ταύτης καὶ τῶν κολοσσῶν τόνδε τὸν λόγον ὡς Μυκερίνος ἐράσθη τῆς ἑωυτοῦ θυγατρὸς, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐμίγη οἱ ἀκούσῃ. μετὰ δὲ, λέγουσι ὡς ἡ παῖς ἀπήγξατο ὑπὸ ἄχεος· ὁ δὲ μιν ἔθαψε ἐν τῇ βοτῇ ταύτῃ ἢ δὲ μήτηρ αὐτῆς τῶν ἀμφιπόλων τῶν προδουσέων τὴν θυγατέρα τῷ πατρὶ ἀπέταμε τὰς χεῖρας· καὶ νῦν τὰς εἰκονας αὐτέων εἶναι πεπονθυίας· ταπερ αἱ ζῶαι ἔπαθον. ταῦτα δὲ λέγουσι φλυηρέντες, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκέω, τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χεῖρας τῶν κολοσσῶν ταῦτα γὰρ ὦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὠρέομεν, ὅτι ὑπὸ χρόνου τὰς χεῖρας ἀποβεβλήκασι, αἱ ἐν ποσὶ αὐτέων
- 132 φαίνονται ἐοῦσαι ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ. Ἡ δὲ βούς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατακίεμπται φοινικέῳ εἵματι· τὸν αὐχένα δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φαίνει κεχρυσωμένα παχεῖ κάρτα χρυσῷ· μεταξὺ δὲ τῶν κερῶν, ὁ τοῦ ἡλίου κύκλος μεμμημένος ἔπεισι χρύσεος. ἔστι δὲ ἡ βούς οὐκ ὀρθή, ἀλλ' ἐν γούνασι κειμένη μέγαθος δὲ, ὅσηπερ μεγάλη βούς ζῶη.

ἐκφέρεται δὲ ἐκ τοῦ οἰκήματος ἀνὰ πάντα τὰ ἔτεα. ἐπεὶ τὸν τύπτωνται οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν οὐκ ὀνομαζόμενον θεὸν ὑπ' ἐμεῦ ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι, τότε ὦν καὶ τὴν βοῦν ἐκφέρουσι ἐς τὸ φῶς. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ αὐτὴν δεσθῆναι τοῦ πατρὸς Μυκερίνου ἀποθνήσκουσας, ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαξ μιν τὸν ἥλιον κατιδεῖν.

Μετὰ δὲ τῆς θυγατρὸς τὸ πάθος, δεύτερα τοῦτῳ τῷ 133 βασιλεῖ τάδε γενέσθαι. ἐλθεῖν οἱ μαντήϊον ἐκ Βουτούς πόλιος, ὡς “μέλλοι ἐξ ἔτεα μῦνον βιὸς τῷ ἐβδόμῳ “τελευτήσῃν.” τὸν δὲ, δεινὸν ποιησάμενον, πέμψαι ἐς τὸ μαντήϊον τῷ θεῷ ὀνειδισμα, ἀντιμεμφόμενον ὅτι “ὁ “μὲν αὐτοῦ πατήρ καὶ πάτριος, ἀποκληίσαντες τὰ ἱρά, “καὶ θεῶν οὐ μεμνημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους “φθείροντες, ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐ- “σεβῆς ἔων, μέλλοι ταχέως οὕτω τελευτήσῃν.” Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χρηστηρίου αὐτῷ δεύτερα ἐλθεῖν λέγοντα “τούτων “εἵνεκα καὶ συνταχύνειν αὐτῷ τὸν βίον. οὐ γὰρ ποιῆσαι “μιν τὸ χρεὼν ἦν ποιέειν· δεῖν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον κακοῦσθαι “ἐπ' ἔτεα πεντήκοντά τε καὶ ἑκατόν καὶ τοὺς μὲν δι' οὗ “τοὺς πρὸ ἐκείνου γενομένους βασιλέας μαθεῖν τοῦτο, “κεῖνον δὲ οὐ.” Ταῦτα ἀκούσαντα τὸν Μυκερίνον, ὡς κατακεκριμένων ἤδη οἱ τούτων, λύχνα ποιησάμενον πολλὰ, ὅπως γίνοιτο νύξ, ἀνάψαντα αὐτὰ, πίνειν τε καὶ εὐπαθέειν, οὔτε ἡμέρης οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνιέντα, ἐς τε τὰ ἔλα καὶ τὰ ἄλσεα πλανώμενον, καὶ ἵνα πυνθάνοιτο εἶναι (γῆς) ἐνηβητήρια ἐπιτηδεώτατα. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμνηχανάτο, θέλων τὸ μαντήϊον ψευδόμενον ἀποδέξαι, ἵνα οἱ δυνάδεκα ἔτεα ἀντὶ ἐξ ἐτέων γένηται, αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι.

Πυραμίδα δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἀπελίπετο πολλὸν ἐλάσσῃ 134 τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐείκοσι ποδῶν καταδέουσας κῶλον ἕκαστον τριῶν πλέθρων, εἰούσης τετραγώνου, λίθου δὲ ἐς τὸ ἥμισυ Αἰθιοπικοῦ· τὴν δὲ μετεξέτεροί φασι Ἑλλήνων Ῥοδῶπιος ἐταίρης γυναικὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγοντες. οὐδὲ ὦν οὐδὲ εἰδότες μοι φαίνονται λέγειν οὗτοι ἥτις ἦν ἡ Ῥοδῶπις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἱ πυραμίδα ἀνέθεσαν ποιήσασθαι τοιαύτην, ἐς τὴν ταλάντων χιλιάδες ἀναρίθμητοι, ὡς λόγῳ εἰπεῖν, ἀναισίσμυνται· πρὸς δὲ, ὅτι κατὰ Ἀμασιῶν βασιλεύοντα ἦν ἀκμάζουσα Ῥοδῶπις, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον. ἔτεσι γὰρ

- κάρτα πολλοῖσι ὕστερον τούτων τῶν βασιλέων τῶν τὰς πυραμίδας ταύτας ἦν λιπομένων 'Ροδῶπις γενεὴν μὲν, ἀπὸ Θρηίκης δούλη δὲ ἦν 'Ιάδμονος τοῦ 'Ηφαιστοπόλιος, ἀνδρὸς Σαμίου, σύνδουλος δὲ Αἰσώπου τοῦ λογοποιοῦ. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος 'Ιάδμονος ἐγένετο, ὡς διέδεξε τῇδε οὐκ ἤκιστα· ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ πολλάκις κηρυσσόντων Δελφῶν ἐκ θεοπροπίου “ὅς βούλοιτο ποιῆν τῆς Αἰσώπου ψυχῆς ἀνελεῖσθαι,” ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐφάνη, 'Ιάδμονος δὲ παιδὸς παῖς, ἄλλος 'Ιάδμων, ἀνείλετο· οὕτω καὶ Αἰσώπος 'Ιάδμονος ἐγένετο. 'Ροδῶπις δὲ ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῖκετο, Ξάνθεω τοῦ Σαμίου κομίσαντός [μιν] ἀπικομένη δὲ κατ' ἐργασίην, ἐλύθη χρημάτων μεγάλων ὑπὸ ἀνδρὸς Μυτιληναίου Χαράξου, τοῦ Σκαμανδρυνύμου παιδός, ἀδελφεοῦ δὲ Σαπφούς τῆς μουσοποιοῦ. οὕτω δὴ ἡ 'Ροδῶπις ἐλευθερώθη, καὶ κατέμεινέ τε ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ κάρτα ἐπαφρόδιτος γενομένη, μεγάλα ἐκτήσατο χρήματα, ὡς ἂν εἶναι 'Ροδῶπιν, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ὥς γε ἐς πυραμίδα τοιαύτην ἐξικέσθαι. τῆς γὰρ τὴν δεκάτην τῶν χρημάτων ἰδέσθαι ἐστὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ, οὐδὲν δεῖ μεγάλα οἱ χρήματα ἀναθεῖναι. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ 'Ροδῶπις μνημῆιον ἐωυτῆς ἐν τῇ 'Ελλάδι καταλιπέσθαι, πώλημα ποιησαμένη τοῦτο, τὸ μὴ τυγχάνει ἄλλῳ ἐξευρημένον καὶ ἀνακείμενον ἐν ἱρῷ, τοῦτο ἀναθεῖναι ἐς Δελφούς μνημόσυνον ἐωυτῆς. τῆς ὦν δεκάτης τῶν χρημάτων ποιησαμένη ὀβελούς βουπόρους πολλούς σιδηρέους, ὅσον ἐνεχωρεῖ ἡ δεκάτη οἱ, ἀπέπεμπε ἐς Δελφούς· οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι συννέονται, ὅπισθε μὲν τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν Χῖοι ἀνέθεσαν, ἀντίον δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νηοῦ. Φιλέουσι δὲ κως ἐν τῇ Ναυκράτι ἐπαφρόδιτοι γίνεσθαι αἱ ἐταῖραι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ αὕτη, τῆς περὶ λέγεται ὅδε ὁ λόγος, οὕτω δὴ τι κλεινὴ ἐγένετο, ὡς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες 'Ροδῶπιος τὸ οὐνομα ἐξέμαθον· τοῦτο δὲ, ὕστερον ταύτης, τῇ οὐνομα ἦν 'Αρχιδίκη, ἀοιδίμος ἀνὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα ἐγένετο, ἥσσαν δὲ τῆς ἐτέρης περιλεσχήμεντος. Χάραξος δὲ ὡς λυσάμενος 'Ροδῶπιω ἀπενόστησε ἐς Μυτιλήνην, ἐν μέλει Σαπφῷ πολλὰ κατεκερτόμησέ μιν. 'Ροδῶπιος μὲν νυν περὶ πέπαυμαι.
- 186 Μετὰ δὲ Μικερῖνον γενέσθαι Αἰγύπτου βασιλέα ἔλεγον οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἄσυχιν, τὸν τὰ πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα

ποιῆσαι τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια, ἔοντα πολλῷ τε κάλλιστα καὶ πολλῷ μέγιστα. ἔχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ πάντα προπύλαια τύπους τε ἐγγεγλυμμένους, καὶ ἄλλην ὄψιν οἰκοδομημάτων μυρίην· ἐκεῖνα δέ, καὶ μακρῷ μάλιστα. Ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος, ἔλεγον, ἀμιξίης εὐσεύς πολλῆς χρημάτων, γενέσθαι νόμον Αἰγυπτίοισι, ἀποδεικνύντα ἐνέχυρον τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν νέκυν, οὕτω λαμβάνειν τὸ χρέος προστεθῆναι δὲ ἔτι τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ τόνδε, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χρέος καὶ ἀπάσης κρατέειν τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης· τῷ δὲ ὑποτιθέντι τούτο τὸ ἐνέχυρον, τήνδε ἐπεῖναι ζημίην, μὴ βουλομένῳ ἀποδοῦναι τὸ χρέος, μήτ' αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ τελευτήσαντι εἶναι ταφῆς κυρῆσαι μήτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρὶ ὀψὶ μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενί, μήτε ἄλλον μηδένα τῶν ἐωυτοῦ ἀπογενόμενον θάψαι. Ὑπερβαλέσθαι δὲ βουλόμενον τούτον τὸν βασιλεῦσαν τοὺς πρότερον ἐωυτοῦ βασιλέας γενομένους Αἰγύπτου, μνημόσυνον πυραμίδα λιπέσθαι, ἐκ πλίνθων ποιήσαντα· ἐν τῇ γράμματα ἐν λίθῳ ἐγκεκολλημένα ταῦτε λέγοντά ἐστι· ΜΗ ΜΕ ΚΑΤΟΝΟΣΘΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΙΘΙΝΑΣ ΠΥΡΑΜΙΔΑΣ. ΠΡΟΕΧΩ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΕΩΝ ΤΟΣΟΤΤΟΝ, ὍΣΟΝ Ὁ ΖΕΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ. ΚΟΝΤΩ ΓΑΡ ὙΠΟΤΤΙΠΤΟΝΤΕΣ ΕΣ ΛΙΜΝΗΝ, Ὁ ΤΙ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΙΤΟ ΤΟΤ ΠΗΛΟΤΩ. ΚΟΝΤΩ ΤΟΤΤΟ ΣΤΑΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ, ΠΛΙΝΘΟΤΣ ΕΙΡΤΣΑΝ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΡΟΠΩ ΤΟΙΟΤΤΩ ΕΞΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝ. τούτον μὲν τοσαῦτα ἀποδέξασθαι.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτον, βασιλεῦσαι ἄνδρα τυφλὸν ἐξ Ἀνύ- 137  
σιος πόλιος, τῷ οὐνομα Ἄνυσιν εἶναι. ἐπὶ τούτου βασιλεύοντος ἐλάσαι ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου χειρὶ πολλῇ Αἰθιοπίας τε καὶ Σαβακῶν τὸν Αἰθίοπῳ βασιλεῖ. τὸν μὲν δὴ τυφλὸν τούτον οἷχεσθαι φεύγοντα ἐς τὰ ἔλα· τὸν δὲ Αἰθίοπα βασιλεύειν Αἰγύπτου ἐπ' ἕτα πεντήκοντα· ἐν τοῖσι αὐτὸν ταῦτε ἀποδέξασθαι. ὅπως τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἀμάρτοι τε, κτείνειν μὲν αὐτῶν οὐδένα ἐθέλειν τὸν δὲ κατὰ μέγαθος τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκάστῳ δικάζειν, ἐπιτάσσοντα χῶματα χοῦν πρὸς τῇ ἐωυτῶν πόλει, ὅθεν ἕκαστος ἦν τῶν ἀδικούντων. καὶ οὕτω ἔτι αἱ πόλεις ἐγένοντο ὑψηλότεραι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον, ἐχώσθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰς διώρυχας

- ὀρυζάντων, ἐπὶ Σεσώστριος βασιλέος· δεύτερα δὲ, ἐπὶ  
 τοῦ Αἰθίοπος καὶ κάρτα ὑψηλαὶ ἐγένοντο. Ἰψηλέων δὲ  
 καὶ ἐτέρων τασσομένων ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πολλίων, ὡς ἐμοὶ  
 δοκέει, μάλιστα μὲν Βουβάστι πόλις ἐξεχώσθη, ἐν τῇ καὶ  
 ἱρὸν ἐστὶ Βουβάστιος ἀξιαπηγητότατον. μέζω μὲν γὰρ  
 ἄλλα, καὶ πολυδαπανώτερά ἐστι ἱρά· ἡδονὴ δὲ ἰδέσθαι  
 οὐδὲν τούτου μᾶλλον. ἡ δὲ Βούβαστις, κατὰ Ἑλλάδα
- 138 γλῶσσαν, ἐστὶ Ἄρτεμις. Τὸ δὲ ἱρὸν αὐτῆς ὧδε ἔχει.  
 πλὴν τῆς ἐσόδου, τὸ ἄλλο νησός ἐστι· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ Νείλου  
 διώρυχες ἐσέχουσι, οὐ συμμίσγουσαι ἀλλήλησι, ἀλλ'  
 ἄχρι τῆς ἐσόδου τοῦ ἱροῦ ἐκατέρῃ ἐσέχει· ἡ μὲν, τῇ περιρ-  
 ρέουσα, ἡ δὲ, τῇ· εὐρος εἰούσα ἐκατέρῃ ἐκατὸν ποδῶν,  
 δένδρεσι κατὰσκιος. τὰ δὲ προπύλαια, ὕψος μὲν δέκα  
 ὀργυιέων ἐστὶ, τύποισι δὲ ἐξαπήχεσι ἐσκευάδαται ἀξίωσι  
 λόγου. ἐὼν δ' ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ ἱρὸν, κατοράται πάν-  
 τοθεν περιύοντι· ἅτε γὰρ τῆς πόλιος μὲν ἐκκεχωσμένης  
 ὑψοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἱροῦ οὐ κεκινημένου, ὡς ἀρχῆθεν ἐποιήθη,  
 ἔσοπτὸν ἐστὶ. περιθίει δ' αὐτὸ αἵμασι· ἔγγεγλυμμένη  
 τύποισι. ἔστι δὲ ἔσωθεν ἄλσος δενδρέων μεγίστων, πε-  
 φυτευμένον περὶ νηὸν μέγαν, ἐν τῷ δὴ τῷγαλμα ἐνι.  
 εὐρος δὲ καὶ μήκος τοῦ ἱροῦ πάντῃ σταδίου ἐστὶ. κατὰ  
 μὲν δὴ τὴν ἐσοδὸν, ἐστρωμένη ἐστὶ ὁδὸς λίθου ἐπὶ στα-  
 δίους τρεῖς μάλιστα κη, διὰ τῆς ἀγορῆς φέρουσα ἐς τὸ  
 πρὸς ἡῶ· εὐρος δὲ, ὡς τεσσέρων πλέθρων· τῇ δὲ καὶ τῇ  
 τῆς ὁδοῦ δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα πέφυκε· φέρει δ' ἐς Ἑρμέω
- 139 ἱρὸν. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἱρὸν τοῦτο οὕτω ἔχει. Τέλος δὲ τῆς  
 ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος ὧδε ἔλεγον γενέσθαι. ὄψιν ἐν  
 τῷ ὕπνῳ τοιήνδε ἰδόντα αὐτὸν, οἴχεσθαι φεύγοντα· ἐδόκέε  
 οἱ ἄνδρα ἐπιστάντα συμβουλευεῖν, τοὺς ἱρέας τοὺς ἐν Αἰ-  
 γύπτῳ συλλέξαντα πάντας, μέσους διαταμέειν ἰδόντα δὲ  
 τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην λέγειν αὐτὸν, ὡς πρόφασιν οἱ δοκοῖ  
 ταύτην τοὺς θεοὺς προδεικνύναι, ἵνα ἀσεβήσας περὶ τὰ  
 ἱρά, κακὸν τι πρὸς θεῶν ἢ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων λάβοι· οὐκὼν  
 ποιήσῃ ταῦτα· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οἱ ἐξεληλυθέναι τὸν χρόνον,  
 ὁκόσον κεχρηῆσθαι ἄρξαντα Αἰγύπτου ἐκχωρήσῃ. ἐν  
 γὰρ τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ τὰ μαντήια, τοῖσι χρέωνται  
 Αἰθίοπες, ἀνείλε, ὡς δέοι αὐτὸν Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσαι  
 ἕτεα πενήκοντα, ὡς ὅν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἐξήιε, καὶ αὐτὸν

ἡ ὄψις τοῦ ἐνυπνίου ἐπετάρασσε, ἐκὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ὁ Σαβακῶς.

Ὡς δ' ἄρα οἴχεσθαι τὸν Αἰθίοπα ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, αὐτὶς 140 τὸν τυφλὸν ἄρχειν, ἐκ τῶν ἐλέων ἀπικόμενον ἔνθα πεντήκοντα ἔτεα, νῆσον χώσας σποδῶ τε καὶ γῇ, οἴκεε. ὅκως γάρ οἱ φοιτᾶν σίτου ἄγοντας Αἰγυπτίων ὡς ἐκάστοισι προστετάχθαι σιγῇ τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐς τὴν δωρεὴν κελεύειν σφέας καὶ σποδὸν κομίζειν. ταύτην τὴν νῆσον οὐδεὶς πρότερον ἐδυνάσθη Ἀμυρταίου ἐξευρεῖν ἀλλὰ ἔτεα ἐπὶ πλέω· ἡ ἐπτακόσια οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν αὐτὴν ἀνευρεῖν οἱ πρότεροι γενόμενοι βασιλεῖς Ἀμυρταίου οὐνομα δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ Ἐλβῶ μέγαθος· δ' ἐστὶ πάντῃ δέκα σταδίων.

Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον, βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, 141 τῷ οὐνομα εἶναι Σεθῶν τὸν ἐν ἀλογίῃσι ἔχειν παραχρησάμενον τῶν μαχίμων Αἰγυπτίων, ὡς οὐδὲν δεησόμενον αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ τε δὴ ἄτιμα ποιεῦντα ἐς αὐτοὺς, καὶ σφεας ἀπελῆσθαι τὰς ἀρούρας, τοῖσι ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων βασιλέων δεδοσθαι ἐξαιρέτους ἐκάστῳ δυώδεκα ἀρούρας. μετὰ δὲ, ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον ἐλαΐνειν στρατὸν μέγαν Σαναχάριβον βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων. οὐκὼν δὴ ἐθέλειν τοὺς μαχίμους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βοηθεῖν τὸν δὲ ἱερά ἐς ἀπορίην ἀπειλημένον, ἐσελθόντα ἐς τὸ μέγαρον, πρὸς τῷ γαλμα ἀποδύρεσθαι οἷα κινδυνεύει παθεῖν. ὀλοφυρόμενον δ' ἄρα μιν ἐπελθεῖν ὕπνον, καὶ οἱ δόξαι ἐν τῇ ὄψι, ἐπωτάντα τὸν θεὸν θαρσύνειν, ὡς οὐδὲν πείσεται ἄχαρι ἀντιάζων τὸν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν αὐτὸς γάρ οἱ πέμψειν τιμωροὺς. τούτοις δὴ μιν πλύνουν τοῖσι ἐνυπνίοις, παραλαβόντα Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς βουλομένους οἱ ἔπεσθαι, στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἐν Πηλουσίῳ ταύτῃ γὰρ εἰσι αἱ ἐσβολαί· ἔπεσθαι δὲ οἱ τῶν μαχίμων μὲν οὐδένα ἀνδρῶν, καπήλους δὲ, καὶ χειρῶνακτας, καὶ ἀγοραίους ἀνθρώπους. ἐνθαῦτα ἀπικομένους, τοῖσι ἐναντίοις αὐτοῖσι ἐπιχυθέντας νυκτὸς μῦς ἀρουραίους, κατὰ μὲν φαγέειν τοὺς φαρετρεῶνας αὐτῶν, κατὰ δὲ τὰ τόξα· πρὸς δὲ, τῶν ἀσπίδων τὰ ὄχανα, ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίῃ φευγόντων σφέων, γυμνῶν ὕπλων, πεσέειν πολλοὺς. καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐστῆκε ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου λίθινος, ἔχων

ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς μὲν, λέγων διὰ γραμμάτων τάδε ΕΣ  
ΕΜΕ ΤΙΣ ὈΡΕΩΝ, ΕΤΣΕΒΗΣ ΕΣΤΩ.

- 142 Ἐς μὲν τοσόνδε τοῦ λόγου Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ οἱ ἱεεὶς  
ἔλεγον, ἀποδεικνύντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἐς τοῦ  
Ἡφαιστου τὸν ἱεῖα τοῦτον τὸν τελευταῖον βασιλεύσαντα  
μίαν τε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκοσίας ἀνθρώπων  
γενεὰς γενομένας, καὶ ἐν ταύτῃσι ἀρχιρέας καὶ βασιλέας  
ἐκατέρους τοσοῦτους γενομένους. καὶ τοὶ τριηκόσιοι μὲν  
ἀνδρῶν γενεαὶ δυνέσται μύρια ἑτεᾶ· γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀν-  
δρῶν, ἑκατὸν ἑτεᾶ ἐστί. μῆς δὲ καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔτι  
τῶν ἐπιλοίπων γενεῶν, αἱ ἐπῆσαν τῇσι τριηκοσίῃσι, ἔστι  
τεσσεράκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια καὶ χίλια ἑτεᾶ. οὕτω ἐν  
μυρίοις τε ἑτεσὶ καὶ χιλίοις καὶ πρὸς τριηκοσίοις τε  
καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ἔλεγον θεὸν ἀνθρωποειδέα οὐδένα  
γενέσθαι οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ πρότερον, οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐν τοῖσι  
ὑπολοίποισι Αἰγύπτου βασιλεῦσι γενομένοις, ἔλεγον  
τοιούτον οὐδέν. Ἐν τοίνυν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις  
ἔλεγον ἐξ ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι· ἐνθα τε νῦν κατα-  
δύεται, ἐνθεῦτεν δις ἐπαντεῖλαι· καὶ ἐνθεν νῦν ἀνατέλλει,  
ἐνθαῦτα δις καταδύναι· καὶ οὐδέν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὑπὸ  
ταῦτα ἑτεροιωθῆναι, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, οὔτε τὰ ἐκ τοῦ  
ποταμοῦ σφί γινόμενα, οὔτε τὰ ἀμφὶ νούσους, οὔτε τὰ  
143 κατὰ τοὺς θανάτους. Πρότερον δὲ Ἐκαταίῳ τῷ λογοποιῷ  
ἐν Θήβῃσι γενεηλογήσαντί τε ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἀναδήσαντι  
τὴν πατριὴν ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον θεὸν, ἐποίησαν οἱ ἱεεὶς τοῦ  
Διὸς, οἷόν τι καὶ ἐμοὶ οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἐμεωυτὸν. ἔσα-  
γάγοντες ἐς τὸ μέγαρον ἔσω, ἔδν μέγα, ἐξηρίθμεον δει-  
κνύντες κολοσσούς ξυλίνους τοσοῦτους ὅσους περ εἶπον  
ἀρχιρεὺς γὰρ ἕκαστος αὐτόθι ἴσταται ἐπὶ τῆς ἐωυτοῦ ζῆς  
εἰκόνα ἐωυτοῦ. ἀριθμύοντες ὦν, καὶ δεικνύντες οἱ ἱεεὶς  
ἐμοὶ, ἀπεδείκνυσαν παῖδα πατρὸς ἐωυτῶν ἕκαστον ἔοντα,  
ἐκ τοῦ ὄγχιστα ἀποθανόντος τῆς εἰκόνης διεξιόντες διὰ  
πασέων, ἕως οὐ ἀπέδεξαν ἀπάσας αὐτάς. Ἐκαταίῳ δὲ  
γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτὸν, καὶ ἀναδήσαντι ἐς ἑκκαιδέκατον  
θεὸν, ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμύσει, οὐ δεκόμενοι  
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἀνθρώπον. ἀντεγενεηλό-  
γησαν δὲ ὧδε, φάμενοι ἕκαστον τῶν κολοσσῶν Πιρώμιν  
ἐκ Πιρώμιος γεγονέναι· ἐς δὲ τοὺς πάντε καὶ τεσσεράκοντα

καὶ τριηκοσίους ἀπέδεξαν κολοσσούς Πύρωμιν ἐκ Πιρώμιος  
γενόμενον, καὶ οὔτε ἐς θεὸν, οὔτε ἐς ἥρωα ἀνέδησαν αὐ-  
τούς. Πύρωμις δέ ἐστι κατ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν καλὸς  
κάγαθος. Ἦδη ὦν, τῶν αἱ εἰκόνες ἦσαν, τοιούτους ἀπε- 144  
δείκνυσάν σφεας πάντας ἔοντας, θεῶν δὲ πολλὸν ἀπαλ-  
λαγμένους. τὸ δὲ πρότερον τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων θεοὺς  
εἶναι τοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἄρχοντας, οἰκέοντας ἅμα τοῖσι  
ἀνθρώποισι· καὶ τούτων αἰεὶ ἓνα τὸν κρατέοντα εἶναι  
ἕστατον δὲ αὐτῆς βασιλεύσαι Ὠρον τὸν Ὀσίριος παῖδα,  
τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἕλληνας ὀνομάζουσι· τούτον, καταπαύ-  
σαντα Τυφῶνα, βασιλεύσαι ἕστατον Αἰγύπτου. Ὀσιρις  
δὲ ἐστὶ Διόνυσος κατὰ Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν.

Ἐν Ἕλλησι μὲν νῦν νεώτατοι τῶν θεῶν νομίζονται 145  
εἶναι Ἡρακλῆς τε καὶ Διόνυσος καὶ Πάν· παρ' Αἰγυ-  
πτίοισι δὲ Πάν μὲν ἀρχαιότατος, καὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ τῶν  
πρώτων λεγομένων θεῶν Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τῶν δευτέρων, τῶν  
δυνάδεκα λεγομένων εἶναι· Διόνυσος δὲ, τῶν τρίτων, οἱ ἐκ  
τῶν δυνάδεκα θεῶν ἐγένοντο. Ἡρακλεῖ μὲν δὴ ὅσα αὐτοὶ  
Αἰγύπτιοι φασὶ εἶναι ἕτεα ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα, δεδήλωται  
μοι πρόσθε· Πανὶ δὲ ἔτι τούτων πλέονα λέγεται εἶναι,  
Διονύσῳ δ' ἐλάχιστα τούτων καὶ τούτῳ πεντακισχίλια  
καὶ μύρια λογίζονται εἶναι ἐς Ἀμασιν βασιλέα. καὶ  
ταῦτα Αἰγύπτιοι ἀτρεκέως φασὶ ἐπίστασθαι, αἰεὶ τε  
λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αἰεὶ ἀπογραφόμενοι τὰ ἕτεα. Διονύσῳ  
μὲν νῦν τῷ ἐκ Σεμέλης τῆς Κάδμου λεγομένῳ γενέσθαι,  
κατὰ ἑξακόσια ἕτεα καὶ χίλια μάλιστα ἐστὶ ἐς ἐμέ·  
Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ τῷ Ἀλκμήνης, κατὰ εἰνακόσια ἕτεα· Πανὶ  
δὲ τῷ ἐκ Πηνελόπης, (ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ καὶ Ἑρμῆω λέγεται  
γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ὁ Πάν) ἐλάσσῳ ἑτεά ἐστὶ τῶν  
Τρωϊκῶν, κατὰ τὰ ὀκτακόσια μάλιστα ἐς ἐμέ. Τούτων 146  
ὦν ἀμφοτέρων πάρεστι χρᾶσθαι τοῖσι τις πείσεται λεγο-  
μένοις· μάλλον ἐμοὶ δ' ὦν ἢ περὶ αὐτῶν γνώμη ἀποδέ-  
δεκται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ φανεροί τε ἐγένοντο καὶ κατεγήρασαν  
καὶ οὔτοι ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, κατάπερ Ἡρακλῆς ὁ ἐξ  
Ἀμφιτρύωνος γενόμενος, καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσος ὁ ἐκ Σε-  
μέλης, καὶ Πάν ὁ ἐκ Πηνελόπης γενόμενος, ἔφη ἄν τις,  
καὶ τούτους ἄλλους, ἀνδρας γενομένους, ἔχειν τὰ ἐκείνων  
ὀνόματα τῶν προγεγονότων θεῶν. νῦν δὲ Διόνυσόν τε

λέγουσι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς αὐτίκα γενόμενον ἐς τὸν μηρὸν ἐνεργάφατο Ζεὺς, καὶ ἤνεκε ἐς Νύσαν τὴν ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου ἐοῦσαν ἐν τῇ Αἰθιοπίῃ καὶ Πανὸς γε πέρι οὐκ ἔχουσι εἰπεῖν ὅκη ἐτράπετο γενόμενος. δῆλὰ μοι ὦν γέγονε, ὅτι ἕστερον ἐπύθοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες τούτων τὰ οὐνόματα, ἢ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν· ἀπ' οὗ δὲ ἐπύθοντο χρόνου, ἀπὸ τούτου γενεηλογέουσι αὐτῶν τὴν γένεσιν. Ταῦτα μὲν νυν αὐτοὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι.

147. "Ὅσα δὲ οἱ τε ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι λέγουσι, ὁμολογέοντες τοῖσι ἄλλοισι, κατὰ ταύτην τὴν χώραν γενέσθαι, ταῦτ' ἤδη φράσω· προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὄψιος. Ἐλευθερωθέντες Αἰγύπτιοι μετὰ τὸν ἱερά τοῦ Ἡφαίστου βασιλεύσαντα, (οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον οἰοί τε ἦσαν ἄνευ βασιλέος διαιτᾶσθαι,) ἐστήσαντο δυῶδεκα βασιλέας, δυῶδεκα μοίρας δασάμενοι Αἴγυπτον πᾶσαν. οὗτοι ἐπυγαμίας ποιησάμενοι, ἐβασίλευον, νόμοισι τοισίδε χρεώμενοι, μήτε καταίρειν ἀλλήλους, μήτε πλεον τι διζῆσθαι ἔχειν τὸν ἕτερον τοῦ ἐτέρου, εἶναί τε φίλους τὰ μάλιστα. τῶνδε δὲ εἵνεκα τοὺς νόμους τούτους ἐποιεῦντο, ἰσχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες. ἐκέχρηστό σφι κατ' ἀρχὰς αὐτίκα ἐνισταμένοισι ἐς τὰς τυραννίδας "τὸν "χαλκῆν φιάλῃ σπείσαντα αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τοῦτον ἀπάσης βασιλεύσειν Αἰγύπτου." ἐς γὰρ
- 148 δὴ τὰ πάντα ἱρὰ συνελέγοντο. Καὶ δὴ σφι μνημόσυνα ἔδοξε λιπέσθαι κοινῇ· δόξαν δέ σφι, ἐποίησαντο λαβύρινθον, ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος, κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κη κείμενον· τὸν ἐγὼ ἤδη ἴδον λόγου μέζω. εἰ γὰρ τις τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεά τε καὶ ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν συλλογίσαιτο, ἐλάσσονος πόνου τε ἂν καὶ δαπάνης φανείη ὄντα τοῦ λαβυρίνθου τούτου καὶ τοι ἀξιόλογός γε καὶ ὁ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐστὶ νηὸς, καὶ ὁ ἐν Σάμῳ ἦσαν μὲν νυν καὶ αἱ πυραμίδες λόγου μέζονες, καὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστη αὐτέων Ἑλληνικῶν ἔργων καὶ μεγάλων ἀνταξίῃ· ὁ δὲ δὴ λαβύρινθος καὶ τὰς πυραμίδας ὑπερβάλλει. τοῦ γὰρ δυῶδεκα μὲν εἰσι αὐλαὶ κατὰ στεγοί, ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλησι, ἕξ μὲν πρὸς βορέω, ἕξ δὲ πρὸς νότον τετραμμέναι συνεχέες· τοῖχος δὲ ἕξωθεν ὁ αὐτός σφεας περιέρχει. οἰκήματα δ' ἐνεσσι διπλᾶ, τὰ μὲν,

ὑπόγαια, τὰ δὲ, μετέωρα ἐπ' ἐκείνοισι, τρισχίλια ἀριθμὸν, πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίων ἑκάτερα. τὰ μὲν νυν μετέωρα τῶν οἰκημάτων αὐτοὶ τε ὀρέομεν διεξιόντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ θεησάμενοι λέγομεν τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὑπόγαια λόγοισι ἐπυνθανόμεθα. οἱ γὰρ ἐπεστεῶτες τῶν Αἰγυπτίων δεικνύναι αὐτὰ οὐδαμῶς ἠθελον, φάμενοι θήκας αὐτόθι εἶναι τῶν τε ἀρχὴν τὸν λαβύρινθον τοῦτον οἰκοδομησαμένων βασιλέων, καὶ τῶν ἱρῶν κροκοδείλων· οὕτω τῶν μὲν κάτω πέρα οἰκημάτων ἀκοῇ παραλαβόντες λέγομεν τὰ δὲ ἄνω, μέζονα ἀνθρωπῆϊων ἔργων, αὐτοὶ ὀρέομεν. αἱ τε γὰρ ἔξοδοι διὰ τῶν στεγῶν, καὶ οἱ ἐλιγμοὶ διὰ τῶν αὐλέων ἔοντες ποικιλώτατοι, θῶμα μυρίον παρείχοντο ἐξ αὐλῆς τε ἐς τὰ οἰκήματα διεξιούσι, καὶ ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἐς παστάδας, ἐς στέγας τε ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν παστάδων, καὶ ἐς αὐλὰς ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν οἰκημάτων. ὁροφὴ δὲ πάντων τούτων, λιθίνη, κατάπερ οἱ τοῖχοι· οἱ δὲ τοῖχοι, τύπων ἐγγεγλυμμένων πλέοι. αὐλὴ δὲ ἐκάστη, περίστυλος, λίθου λευκοῦ ἀρμοσμένου τὰ μάλιστα. τῆς δὲ γωνίης τελευτῶντος τοῦ λαβυρίνθου ἔχεται πυραμὶς τεσσαρακοντόργυιος, ἐν τῇ ζῶα μεγάλη ἐγγέγλυπται· ὁδὸς δ' ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπὸ γῆν πεποιήται.

Τοῦ δὲ λαβυρίνθου τούτου ἔντος τοιούτου, θῶμα ἔτι 149 μέζον παρέχεται ἡ Μοίριος καλεομένη λίμνη, παρ' ἣν ὁ λαβύρινθος οὗτος οἰκοδόμηται. τῆς τὸ περίμετρον τῆς περιόδου εἰςὶ στάδιοι ἑξακόσιοι καὶ τρισχίλιοι, σχοίνων ἐξήκοντα ἔντων ἴσοι καὶ αὐτῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸ παρὰ θάλασσαν. κέεται δὲ μακρὴ ἡ λίμνη πρὸς βορρην τε καὶ νότον, ἐοῦσα βάθος, τῇ βαθυτάτῃ αὐτῇ ἑωυτῆς, πενηκοντάργυιος. ὅτι δὲ χειροποίητός ἐστι καὶ ὀρυκτῇ, αὐτῇ δηλοῖ. ἐν γὰρ μέσῃ τῇ λίμνῃ μάλιστα κη ἐστᾶσι δύο πυραμίδες, τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπερέχουσαι πενήκοντα ὀργυιάς ἑκατέρῃ, καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος οἰκοδόμηται ἕτερον τοσούτο· καὶ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρῃσι ἔπεστι κολοσσὸς λίθινος, κατήμενος ἐν θρόνῳ. οὕτω αἱ μὲν πυραμίδες εἰςὶ ἑκατὸν ὀργυιῶν, αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυιαί δίκαιαι εἰςὶ στάδιον ἑξάπλεθρον· ἑξαπέδου μὲν τῆς ὀργυιῆς μετρεομένης, καὶ τετραπῆχεος γῶν ποδῶν μὲν τετραπαλαίστων ἔντων, τοῦ δὲ πῆχεος, ἑξαπαλαίστου. Τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ, αὐθυγενές

μὲν οὐκ ἔστι· ἄνδρος γὰρ δὴ δεινῶς ἐστὶ ταύτῃ ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου δὲ κατὰ διώρυγα ἐσθίεται, καὶ ἔξ μὲν μῆνας ἔσθ' ὅρει ἐς τὴν λίμνην, ἔξ δὲ μῆνας ἔξω ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον αὐτὴν καὶ ἑπεῖτα μὲν ἐκρέη ἔξω, ἡ δὲ τότε τοὺς ἔξ μῆνας ἐς τὸ βασιλεῖον καταβάλλει ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἐκάστην τάλαντον ἀργυρίου ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων ἑπεῖτα δὲ ἐσίη τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτὴν.

150 εἰκοσι μνέας. Ἐλεγον δὲ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ ὥς ἐς τὴν Σύρτιν τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐκδιδοῖ ἡ λίμνη αὕτη ὑπὸ γῆν, τετραμμένη τὸ πρὸς ἐσπέρην ἐς τὴν μεσόγαιαν παρὰ τὸν ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιος. Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος τοῦτου οὐκ ὄρεον τὸν χοῦν οὐδαμοῦ ἔοντα, ἐπιμελὲς γὰρ δὲ μοι ἦν, εἰρόμην τοὺς ἀγγιστα οἰκούντας τῆς λίμνης, ὅπως εἴη ὁ χοῦς ὁ ἐξορυχθεὶς. οἱ δὲ ἔφρασαν μοι ὅτι ἐξεφορήθη καὶ εὐπετέως ἔπειθον ἥδεα γὰρ λόγῳ καὶ ἐν Νίνῳ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων πόλι γενόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτο. τὰ γὰρ Σαρδαναπάλλου τοῦ Νίνου βασιλεὺς χρήματα, ἔοντα μεγάλα καὶ φυλασσόμενα ἐν θησαυροῖσι καταγαλοῖσι, ἐπενόησαν κλῶπες ἐκφορῆσαι. ἐκ δὴ ὧν τῶν σφετέρων οἰκίων ἀρξάμενοι οἱ κλῶπες, ὑπὸ γῆν σταθμεύοντες ἐς τὰ βασιλεῖα οἰκία ὀρύσσον. τὸν δὲ χοῦν τὸν ἐκφορεύμενον ἐκ τοῦ ὀρύγματος, ὅπως γένοιτο νύξ, ἐς τὸν Τύγρι ποταμὸν παραρρέοντα τὴν Νῖνον, ἐξεφόρεον ἐς δὲ κατεργάσαντο τι ἐβούλοντο. τοιοῦτον ἕτερον ἤκουσα καὶ τὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου λίμνης ὀρυγμα γενέσθαι· πλὴν οὐ νυκτὸς, ἀλλὰ μετ' ἡμέρην ποιούμενον ὀρύσσοντας γὰρ τὸν χοῦν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου, ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον φορέειν ὁ δὲ, ὑπολαμβάνων ἔμελλε διαχεῖν. ἡ μὲν νυν λίμνη αὕτη οὕτω λέγεται ὀρυχθῆναι.

151 Τῶν δὲ δυνάδεκα βασιλέων δικαιοσύνην χρεωμένων, ἀνελθόντων ὡς ἔθυσαν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, τῇ ὑστάτῃ τῆς ὁρτῆς μελλόντων κατασπείσειν, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐξένευκε σφί φιάλας χρυσείας, τῇσ' ἑκάστη περ ἐώθεσαν σπένδειν, ἁμαρτῶν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ἑνδεκα, δυνάδεκα ἑοῦσι. ἐνθαῦτα ὡς οὐκ εἶχε φιάλην ὁ ἑσχατος ἐστὼς αὐτῶν Ψαμμίτιχος, περιελόμενος τὴν κυνέην, ἑοῦσαν χαλκῆν, ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἑσπένδειν κυνέας δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες ἐφόρεον τε βασιλεῖς, καὶ ἐπίγχαρον τότε ἔχοντες. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νυν οὐδὲν δολερῶ νόφ χρεώμενος, ὑπέσχετο τὴν κυνέην. οἱ δὲ, ἐπὶ

φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμίτιχου, καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὃ τι ἐκέχρητό σφι, τὸν χαλκῆν σπείσαντα αὐτῶν φιάλῃ, τοῦτον βασιλέα ἔσεσθαι μόνον Αἰγύπτου ἀναμνησθέντες τοῦ χρησμοῦ, κτείνειν μὲν οὐκ ἐδικαίωσαν Ψαμμίτιχον, ὥς ἀνεύρισκον βασανίζοντες ἐξ οὐδεμῆς προνοίης αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα· ἐς δὲ τὰ ἔλεα ἔδοξέ σφι διώξαι, ψιλώσαντας τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς δυνάμει· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἐλέων ὀρμεώμενον μὴ ἐπιμίλογεσθαι τῇ ἄλλῃ Αἰγύπτῳ. Τὸν δὲ Ψαμμίτιχον τοῦτον, πρότερον φεύγοντα τὸν Αἰ- 152 θίοπα Σαβακῶν, ὃς οἱ τὸν πατέρα Νεκῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοῦτον φεύγοντα τότε ἐς Συρίην, ὥς ἀπαλλάχθῃ ἐκ τῆς ὑψίος τοῦ οὐέρου ὁ Αἰθίοψ, κατήγαγον Αἰγυπτίων οἱτοὶ οἱ ἐκ νομοῦ τοῦ Σαίτew εἰσι. μετὰ δὲ, βασιλεύοντα, τὸ δεύτερον πρὸς τῶν ἑνδεκα βασιλέων καταλαμβάνει μιν διὰ τὴν κυνὴν φεύγειν ἐς τὰ ἔλεα. Ἐπιστάμενος ὢν ὥς περιυβρισμένος εἶη πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἐπενύεε τίσασθαι τοὺς διώξαντας. πέμψαντι δὲ οἱ ἐς Βουτοῦν πόλιν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τῆς Λητοῦς, ἔνθα δὴ Αἰγυπτίοισι ἐστὶ μαντήιον ἀψευδέστατον, ἦλθε χρησμός, ὥς τίσις ἦξει ἀπὸ θαλάσσης χαλκῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανέντων. καὶ τῷ μὲν δὴ ἀπιστῇ μεγάλῃ ὑπεκέχυτο, χαλκούς οἱ ἄνδρας ἦξειν ἐπικούρους. χρόνου δὲ οὐ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἀναγκαίῃ κατέλαβε Ἰωνᾶς τε καὶ Κᾶρας ἄνδρας, κατὰ λήϊον ἐκπλώσαντας, ἀπενειχθῆναι ἐς Αἴγυπτον· ἐκβάντας δὲ ἐς γῆν, καὶ ὅπλισθέντας χαλκῷ, ἀγγέλλει τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὰ ἔλεα ἀπικόμενος τῷ Ψαμμίτιχῳ, (ὥς οὐκ ἰδὼν πρότερον χαλκῷ ἄνδρας ὅπλισθέντας,) ὥς χάλκεοι ἄνδρες ἀπυγμένοι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης λεηλατεῦσι τὸ πεδῖον. ὁ δὲ, μαθὼν τὸ χρηστήριον ἐπιτελούμενον, φιλα τε τοῖσι Ἰωσι καὶ Καρσί ποιεῖται, καὶ σφεας, μεγάλα ὑπισχνέμενος, πείθει μετ' ἐωντοῦ γενέσθαι. ὥς δὲ ἔπεισε, οὕτω ἅμα τοῖσι μετ' ἐωντοῦ βουλομένοισι Αἰγυπτίοισι, καὶ τοῖσι ἐπικούροισι, καταίρει τοὺς βασιλέας.

Κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πάσης ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος, ἐποίησε 153 τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ προπύλαια ἐν Μέμφι, τὰ πρὸς νότον ἄνεμον τετραμμένα· αὐλήν τε τῷ Ἄπι, ἐν τῇ τρέφεται ἐπεὶ φανῇ ὁ Ἄπις, οἰκοδόμησε, ἐναντίον τῶν προπυλαίων, πᾶσάν τε περιστύλον δοῦσαν, καὶ τύπων πλὴν ἀντὶ δὲ

κίωνων, ὑπεστᾶσι κολοσσοὶ δυωδεκαπήχες τῇ αὐλῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἄπις, κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστι Ἑπαφος.  
 154 Τοῖσι δὲ Ἰωσι καὶ τοῖσι Καρσί τοῖσι συγκατεργασάμενοι αὐτῷ ὁ Ψαμμίτιχος δίδωσι χώρους ἐνοικῆσαι ἀντίους ἀλλήλων, τοῦ Νείλου τὸ μέσον ἔχοντος· τοῖσι οὐνόματα ἐτέθη Στρατόπεδα. τούτους τε δὴ σφί τοὺς χώρους δίδωσι, καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ ὑπέσχετο πάντα ἀπέδωκε καὶ δὴ καὶ παῖδας παρέβαλε αὐτοῖσι Αἰγυπτίους, τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν ἐκδιδάσκεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων ἐκμαθόντων τὴν γλῶσσαν οἱ νῦν ἐρμηνέες ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γεγόνασι. οἱ δὲ Ἰωνές τε καὶ οἱ Κᾶρες τούτους τοὺς χώρους οἰκησαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν· εἰς δὲ οὗτοι οἱ χώροι πρὸς θαλάσσης, ὀλίγον ἐνερθε Βουβάστιος πόλις, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηλουσίῳ καλευμένῳ στόματι τοῦ Νείλου. τούτους μὲν δὴ χρόνῳ ὕστερον βασιλεὺς Ἀμασις ἐξαναστήσας, ἐνθεύτεν κατοίκησε ἐς Μέμφιν, φυλακὴν ἑωυτοῦ ποιεύμενος πρὸς Αἰγυπτίων. τούτων δὲ οἰκισθέντων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, οἱ Ἕλληνες οὕτω ἐπιμισγόμενοι τούτοις τὰ περὶ Αἴγυπτον γινόμενα ἀπὸ Ψαμμίτιχου βασιλέως ἀρξάμενοι πάντα καὶ τὰ ὕστερον ἐπιστάμεθα ἀτρεκέως. πρῶτοι γὰρ οὗτοι ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ἀλλόγλωσσοι κατοικίσθησαν. ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἐξανέστησαν χώρων, ἐν τούτοις δὴ οἱ τε ὄλκοι τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐρείπια τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ ἦσαν. Ψαμμίτιχος μὲν νῦν οὕτω ἔσχε τὴν Αἴγυπτον.

155 Τοῦ δὲ χρηστήριου τοῦ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ ἐπεμνήσθην ἤδη, καὶ δὴ λόγον περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀξίου ἐόντος ποιήσομαι. τὸ γὰρ χρηστήριον τοῦτο τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, ἔστι μὲν Λητοῦς ἱρὸν, ἐν πόλει δὲ μεγάλη ἰδρυμένον, κατὰ τὸ Σεβεννυτικὸν καλούμενον στόμα τοῦ Νείλου, ἀναπλέοντι ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω. οὐνομα δὲ τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὅκου τὸ χρηστήριον ἔστι, Βουτῶ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον οὐνόμασται μοι. ἱρὸν δὲ ἔστι ἐν τῇ Βουτοῖ ταύτῃ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος. καὶ ὁ γε νηὸς τῆς Λητοῦς, ἐν τῷ δὴ τὸ χρηστήριον ἐνι, αὐτὸς τε τυγχάνει ἐὼν μέγας, καὶ τὰ προπύλαια ἔχει ἐς ὕψος δέκα ὀργυίων. τὸ δὲ μοι τῶν φανερῶν θῶνμα μέγιστον παρεχόμενον, φράσω. ἔστι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τούτῳ Λητοῦς νηὸς ἐξ ἐνὸς λίθου πεποιημένος, ἐς τε ὕψος, καὶ ἐς μῆκος καὶ τοῖχος ἕκαστος τούτοις ἴσος τεσσαρά-

κοντα πήχεων τούτων ἑκαστὸν ἐστὶ. τὸ δὲ καταστέγασμα τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἄλλος ἐπικέεται λίθος, ἔχων τὴν παρωροφίδα τετραπηχυν. Οὕτω μὲν νυν ὁ νηὸς τῶν φανερῶν μοι τῶν 156 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρόν ἐστι θωυμαστότατον τῶν δὲ δευτέρων, νήσος ἡ Χέμμης καλευμένη. ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν λίμνῃ βαθέῃ καὶ πλατέῃ κειμένη παρὰ τὸ ἐν Βουτοῖ ἱρόν λέγεται δὲ ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων εἶναι αὕτη ἡ νήσος πλωτή. αὐτὸς μὲν ἔγωγε οὔτε πλέουσας, οὔτε κινηθείσας ἴδον τέθηπα δὲ ἀκουων, εἰ νήσος ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ πλωτή. ἐν δὲ ὧν ταύτῃ νηὸς τε Ἀπόλλωνος μέγας ἐνι, καὶ βωμοὶ τριφάσιοι ἐνδρύαται. ἐμπεφύκασι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ φοίνικες συχνοὶ, καὶ ἄλλα δένδρεα, καὶ καρποφόρα καὶ ἄφορα, πολλὰ. λόγον δὲ τόνδε ἐπιλέγοντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, φασὶ εἶναι αὐτὴν πλωτήν ὥς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ οὐκ εἴουση πρότερον πλωτῇ, Λητῶ, εἴουσα τῶν ὀκτῶ θεῶν τῶν πρώτων γενομένων, οἰκέουσα δὲ ἐν Βουτοῖ πόλει, ἵνα δὴ οἱ τὸ χρηστήριον τοῦτό ἐστι, Ἀπόλλωνα παρὰ Ἴσιος παρακαταθήκην δεξαμένη, διέσωσε κατακρύψασα ἐν τῇ νῦν πλωτῇ λεγομένη νήσῳ· ὅτε δὴ τὸ πᾶν διζήμενος ὁ Τυφὼν ἐπῆλθε, θέλων ἐξευρεῖν τοῦ Ὀσίριος τὸν παῖδα. (Ἀπόλλωνα δέ, καὶ Ἄρτεμιν, Διονύσου καὶ Ἴσιος λέγουσι εἶναι παῖδας Λητοῦν δέ, τροφὸν αὐτοῖσι καὶ σώτειραν γενέσθαι. Αἰγυπτιστὶ δὲ Ἀπόλλων μὲν, Ὀρος Δημήτηρ δέ, Ἴσις Ἄρτεμις δέ, Βούβαστις. ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄλλου, Αἰσχύλος ὁ Εὐφορίωνος ἤρπασε τὸ ἐγὼ φράσω, μῦθος δὴ ποιητέων τῶν προγενομένων. ἐποίησε γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν εἶναι θυγατέρα Δήμητρος.) τὴν δὲ νήσον δια τοῦτο γενέσθαι πλωτήν. ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω λέγουσι.

Ψαμμίτιχος δὲ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτου τέσσερα καὶ 157 πεντήκοντα ἔτεα· τῶν τὰ ἐνὸς δέοντα τριήκοντα, Ἀζωτον, τῆς Συρίης μεγάλην πόλιν, προσκατήμενος ἐπολιόρκεε, ἐς τὸ ἐξεῖλε. αὕτη δὲ ἡ Ἀζωτος ἀπασέων πολίων ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον πολιορκευμένη ἀντέσχε, τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.

Ψαμμίτιχου δὲ Νεκῶς παῖς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε 158 Αἰγύπτου ὃς τῇ διώρυχι ἐπεχείρησε πρῶτος τῇ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν φερούσῃ, τὴν Δαρείος ὁ Πέρσης δεύτερα διώρυξε· τῆς μῆκος μὲν ἐστὶ πλῆθος ἡμέραι τέσσερες, εὐρὸς δὲ ὠρύχθη ὥστε τριήρεας δύο πλέειν ὁμοῦ

ἐλαστρευμένας. ἦκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς αὐτήν· ἦκται δὲ κατύπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλις, παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν· ἐσέχει δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἐρυθρὴν θάλασσαν. ὥρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου τὰ πρὸς Ἀραβίην ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατύπερθε τοῦ πεδίου τὸ κατὰ Μέμφιν τεῖνον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ λιθοτομῆαι ἔνευσι. τοῦ ὧν δὴ οὐρεος τούτου παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρέην ἦκται ἡ διώρυξ ἀπ' ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡῶ καὶ ἔπειτα τείνει ἐς διασφάγας, φέρουσα ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρεος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νότον ἄνεμον, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Ἀράβιον. τῇ δὲ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι καὶ συντομώτατον, ἐκ τῆς βορητῆς θαλάσσης ὑπερβῆναι ἐς τὴν νοτίην καὶ Ἐρυθρὴν τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην καλεομένην, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κασίου οὐρεος, τοῦ οὐρῶντος Αἰγυπτὸν τε καὶ Συρίην, ἀπὸ τούτου εἰς στάδιοι χίλιοι ἀπαρτὶ ἐς τὸν Ἀράβιον κόλπον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ συντομώτατον ἡ δὲ διώρυξ πολλῷ μακροτέρη, ὅσῳ σκολιωτέρη ἐστὶ, τὴν ἐπὶ Νεκῷ βασιλεὺς ὀρύσσοντες Αἰγυπτίων ἀπώλοντο δυώδεκα μυριάδες. Νεκῷς μὲν νυν μεταξὺ ὀρύσσων ἐπαύσατο, μαντήτου ἐμποδίου γενομένου τοιοῦδε, "τῷ βαρβάρῳ αὐτὸν προεργάζεσθαι." βαρβάρους δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ

159 καλέουσι τοὺς μὴ σφίσι ὁμογλώσσους. Πανσάμενος δὲ τῆς διώρυχος ὁ Νεκῷς, ἐτράπετο πρὸς στρατηγίας καὶ τριήρεις, αἱ μὲν, ἐπὶ τῇ βορητῇ θαλάσῃ ἐποιήθησαν, αἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Ἀραβίῳ κόλπῳ ἐπὶ τῇ Ἐρυθρῇ θαλάσῃ τῶν ἔτι οἱ ὅλκοι ἐπίδηλοι. καὶ ταύτησί τε ἐχρᾶτο ἐν τῷ δέοντι καὶ Σύροισι πεζῇ ὁ Νεκῷς συμβαλὼν ἐν Μαγδόλῳ ἐνίκησε μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην, Κάδυτιν πόλιν τῆς Συρίας ἐοῦσαν μεγάλην εἶλε. ἐν τῇ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἔτυχε ταῦτα κατεργασάμενος, ἀνέθηκε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, πέμψας ἐς Βραγχίδας τὰς Μιλησίων. μετὰ δὲ, ἑκαδέκα ἔτεα τὰ πάντα ἄρξας, τελευτᾷ, τῷ παιδί Ψάμμῳ παραδούς τὴν ἀρχήν.

160 Ἐπὶ τούτον δὴ τὸν Ψάμμῳ βασιλεύοντα Αἰγύπτου ἀπῆκοντο Ἡλείων ἄνδρες ἄγγελοι, αὐχέοντες δικαιοτάτα καὶ κάλλιστα τιθέσαι τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ ἀγῶνα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δοκίοντες παρὰ ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν τοὺς σοφωτάτους ἀνθρώπων Αἰγυπτίους οὐδὲν ἐπιξευρεῖν. ὥς δὲ

ἀπικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ Ἥλαιοι ἔλεγον τῶν εἵνεκα ἀπίκοντο, ἐνθαῦτα ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος συγκαλέεται Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λεγομένους εἶναι σοφωτάτους. συνελθόντες δὲ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν Ἥλειων λεγόντων ἅπαντα τὰ κατήκει σφέας ποιέειν περὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα· ἀπηγησάμενοι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἔφασαν ἦκειν ἐπιμαθησόμενοι “εἴ τι ἔχοιεν Αἰγύπτιοι τούτων δικαιοτέρον ἐπεξευρεῖν.” οἱ δὲ, βουλευσάμενοι, ἐπειρώτων τοὺς Ἥλείους εἴ σφι οἱ πολιῆται ἐναγωνίζονται. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν, καὶ σφέων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐξεῖναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔφασαν σφέας, οὕτω τιθέντας, “παντὸς τοῦ δικαίου ἡμαρτηκένα· οὐδεμίαν γὰρ εἶναι μηχανὴν, ὅπως οὐ τῷ ἀστῷ ἀγωνιζομένῳ προσθήσονται, ἀδικέοντες τὸν ξεῖνον. ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ βούλονται δικαίως τιθέναι, καὶ τούτου εἵνεκα ἀπικοῖατο ἐς Αἴγυπτον, ξείνοισι ἀγωνιστῇσι ἐκέλευον τὸν ἀγῶνα τιθέναι, Ἥλειων δὲ μηδενὶ εἶναι ἀγωνίζεσθαι.” Ταῦτα μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι Ἥλείοις ὑπεθήκαντο.

Ψάμμιος δὲ ἔξ ἔτεα μούνον βασιλεύσαντος Αἰγύπτου, 161 καὶ στρατευσαμένου ἐς Αἰθιοπίην, καὶ μεταντίκα τελευτήσαντος, ἐξεδέξατο Ἀπρίης ὁ Ψάμμιος· ὃς μετὰ Ψαμμίτιχον τὸν ἐωυτοῦ προπάτορα ἐγένετο εὐδαιμονέστατος τῶν πρότερον βασιλέων, ἐπ’ ἔτεα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι ἄρξας ἐν τοῖσι ἐπὶ τε Σιδῶνα στρατὸν ἤλασε, καὶ ἐναυμάχησε τῷ Τυρίῳ. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ ἔδεε κακῶς γενέσθαι, ἐγένετο ἀπὸ προφασίως τὴν ἐγὼ μεζόνως μὲν ἐν τοῖσι Λιβυκοῖσι λόγοισι ἀπηγήσομαι, μετρίως δ’ ἐν τῷ παρεόντι. ἀποπέμψας γὰρ στράτευμα ὁ Ἀπρίης ἐπὶ Κυρηναίους, μεγαλωστὶ προσέπταισε. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ταῦτα ἐπιμεμφόμενοι, ἀπέστησαν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, δοκέοντες τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐκ προνοίης αὐτοὺς ἀποπέμψαι ἐς φαινόμενον κακόν, ἵνα δὴ σφέων φθορὴ γένηται, αὐτὸς δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀσφαλέστερον ἄρχῃ. ταῦτα δὲ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι οὗτοί τε οἱ ἀπονοστήσαντες, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀπολομένων φίλοι, ἀπέστησαν ἐκ τῆς ἰθείης. Πυθόμενος δὲ Ἀπρίης ταῦτα, 162 πέμπει ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς Ἀμασιν, καταπαύσοντα λόγοισι. ὁ οὐ ἐπεὶ τε ἀπικόμενος κατελάμβανε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ταῦτα μὴ ποιέειν λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, τῶν τις Αἰγυπτίων

ἔπισθε στὰς, περιέθηκέ οἱ κυνέην καὶ περιτιθεῖς, ἔφη  
 “ἐπὶ βασιλεῖτῃ περιτιθέναι.” καὶ τῷ οὐ πως ἀκούσιον  
 ἐγένετο τὸ ποιεῦμενον, ὥς διεδείκνυε. ἐπεὶ τε γὰρ ἐστή-  
 σαντὸ μιν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἀπεστεῶτες, παρε-  
 σκευάζετο ὥς ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην. Πυθόμενος δὲ  
 ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ἔπεμπε ἐπ’ Ἀμασιν ἄνδρα δόκιμον τῶν  
 περὶ ἑωυτὸν Αἰγυπτίων, τῷ οὖνομα ἦν Πατάρβημις  
 ἐντειλόμενος αὐτῷ ζῶντα Ἀμασιν ἀγαγεῖν παρ’ ἑωυτόν.  
 ὥς δὲ ἀπικόμενος τὸν Ἀμασιν ἐκάλεε ὁ Πατάρβημις, ὁ  
 Ἀμασις (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐπ’ ἵππου κατήμενος) ἐπάρας, ἀπε-  
 ματαίισε καὶ τοῦτό μιν ἐκέλευε Ἀπρίην ἀπάγειν. ὁμῶς  
 δὲ αὐτὸν ἀξιούν τὸν Πατάρβημιν, βασιλέος μεταπεμπο-  
 μένου, ἵεναι πρὸς αὐτόν· τὸν δὲ αὐτῷ ὑποκρίνεσθαι, ὥς  
 “ταῦτα πάλαι παρεσκευάζετο ποιεῖν, καὶ αὐτῷ οὐ μέμ-  
 “ψασθαι Ἀπρίην· παρέσεσθαι γὰρ καὶ αὐτός, καὶ  
 “ἄλλους ἄξειν.” τὸν δὲ Πατάρβημιν ἐκ τε τῶν λεγο-  
 μένων οὐκ ἄγνοεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ παρασκευαζόμενον  
 ὀρέοντα, σπουδῇ ἀπιέναι, βουλόμενον τὴν ταχίστην βα-  
 σιλεῖ δηλῶσαι τὰ πρησσόμενα. ὥς δὲ ἀπικέσθαι αὐτόν  
 πρὸς τὸν Ἀπρίην, οὐκ ἄγοντα τὸν Ἀμασιν, οὐδένα λόγον  
 αὐτῷ δόντα, ἀλλὰ περιθύμως ἔχοντα, περιταμῆν προσ-  
 τάξει αὐτοῦ τὰ τε ὦτα καὶ τὴν ῥίνα. ἰδόμενοι δ’ οἱ  
 λοιποὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, οἱ ἔτι τὰ ἐκείνου ἐφρόνεον, ἄνδρα  
 τὸν δοκιμώτατον ἑωυτῶν οὕτω αἰσχροῦς λύμῃ διακείμε-  
 νον, οὐδένα δὴ χρόνον ἐπισχόντες, ἀπιστέατο πρὸς τοὺς  
 133 ἑτέρους, καὶ ἐδίδουσαν σφέας αὐτοὺς Ἀμάσι. Πυθόμενος  
 δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ Ἀπρίης, ὥπλιζε τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ ἤλανε  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους· εἶχε δὲ περὶ ἑωυτὸν Κᾶράς τε καὶ  
 Ἰωνας, ἄνδρας ἐπικούρους τρισμυρίους· ἦν δὲ οἱ τὰ βασι-  
 λῆϊα ἐν Σαῖ πόλει, μεγάλα εἶοντα καὶ ἀξιοθέητα. καὶ οἱ  
 τε περὶ τὸν Ἀπρίην ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἦσαν, καὶ οἱ περὶ  
 τὸν Ἀμασιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ξείνους. ἐν τε δὴ Μωμέμφι πόλει  
 ἐγένοντο ἀμφότεροι, καὶ πειρήσεσθαι ἔμελλον ἀλλήλων.  
 164 Ἔστι δὲ Αἰγυπτίων ἑπτὰ γένη· καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν,  
 ἱρτές, οἱ δὲ, μάχιμοι κεκλέαται· οἱ δὲ, βουκόλοι· οἱ δὲ,  
 συβῶται· οἱ δὲ, κάπηλοι· οἱ δὲ, ἐρμηνέες· οἱ δὲ,  
 κυβερνήται· γένη μὲν Αἰγυπτίων τσαυτὰ ἐστὶ οὐνό-  
 ματα δὲ σφί κέεται ἀπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν. οἱ δὲ μάχιμοι

αὐτῶν καλέονται μὲν Καλασίριές τε καὶ Ἑρμοτύβιες· ἐκ νομῶν δὲ τῶνδε εἰσὶ κατὰ γὰρ δὴ νομοὺς Αἴγυπτος ἅπαντα διαραίρηται. Ἑρμοτυβίων μὲν οἶδε εἰσὶ νομοί· 165 Βουσιρίτης, Σαΐτης, Χεμμίτης, Παπρημίτης, νῆσος ἡ Προσωπίτις καλεομένη, Ναθὼ τὸ ἥμισυ. ἐκ μὲν τούτων τῶν νομῶν Ἑρμοτύβιες εἰσὶ γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστοις γενοίατο, ἐκκαίδεκα μυριάδες. καὶ τούτων βανασίης οὐδεὶς δεδάηκε οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνέονται ἐς τὸ μάχιμον. Καλασιρίων δὲ οἶδε ἄλλοι νομοί εἰσι· Θηβαῖος, Βουβα- 166 στίτης, Ἀφθίτης, Ταλίτης, Μενδήσιος, Σεβεννύτης, Ἀθριβίτης, Φαρβαιθίτης, Θμουίτης, Ὀνουφίτης, Ἀνύσιος, Μυεκφορίτης· οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ οἰκέει, ἀντίον Βουβάστιος πόλιος. οὗτοι δὲ οἱ νομοὶ Καλασιρίων εἰσὶ γενόμενοι, ὅτε ἐπὶ πλείστοις ἐγενέατο, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν. οὐδὲ τούτοις ἐξεστὶ τέχνην ἐπασκῆσαι οὐδεμίαν, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐς πόλεμον ἐπασκέουσι μούνα, παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐκδεκόμενος. Εἰ μὲν νυν καὶ τοῦτο 167 παρ' Αἰγυπτίων μεμαθήκασι οἱ Ἕλληνες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως κρίναι ὁρέων καὶ Θρήικας καὶ Σκύθας καὶ Πέρσας καὶ Λυδοὺς, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἀποτιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημένους πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τέχνας μαυθάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τούτων τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένους τῶν χειρωναξίεων γενναίους νομιζομένους εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνειμένους. μεμαθήκασι δ' ὦν τοῦτο πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ μάλιστα Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἥκιστα δὲ Κορίνθιοι ὄνονται τοὺς χειροτέχνας. Γέρεα δὲ σφί ἦν τὰδε ἐξαραιρημένα μούνοισι 168 Αἰγυπτίων, πάρεξ τῶν ἱρέων ἄρourke ἐξαίρετοι δυώδεκα ἐκάστῳ ἀτελέες. ἡ δὲ ἄρουρα ἑκατὸν πηχέων ἐστὶ Αἰγυπτίων πάντη. ὁ δὲ Αἰγυπτίος πῆχυς τυγχάνει ἴσος ἐὼν τῷ Σαμίῳ. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ τοῖσι ἅπασι ἦν ἐξαραιρημένα. τὰδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρποῦντο, καὶ οὐδαμὰ ὧντο. Καλασιρίων χίλιοι, καὶ Ἑρμοτυβίων ἄλλοι, ἐδορυφόρον ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστοι τὸν βασιλέα· τούτοις δ' ὦν τὰδε πάρεξ τῶν ἀρουρέων ἄλλα ἐδίδοδοτο ἐπ' ἡμέρῃ ἐκάστη, ὅππου σίτου σταθμὸς πέντε μνέαι ἐκάστῳ, κρεῶν βοέων δύο μνέαι, οἶνου τέσσερες ἀρυστήρες. ταῦτα τοῖσι αἰεὶ δορυφοροῦσι ἐδίδοδοτο.

- 169 Ἐπεὶ τε δὲ συνιόντες, ὃ τε Ἀπρίης ἄγων τοὺς ἐπικούρους, καὶ ὁ Ἀμασις πάντας τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀπίκοντο ἐς Μώμεμφιν πόλιν, συνέβαλον καὶ ἐμαχέσαντο μὲν εὖ οἱ ξεῖνοι, πλήθει δὲ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονες ὄντες, κατὰ τοῦτο ἐσώθησαν. Ἀπρίεω δὲ λέγεται εἶναι ἡδε ἡ διάνοια, μὴδ' ἂν θεὸν μιν μηδένα δύνασθαι παῖσαι τῆς βασιληΐης οὕτω ἀσφαλῶς ἐωυτῷ ἰδρῦσθαι ἐδόκεε. καὶ δὴ τότε συμβαλὼν ἐσώθη καὶ ζωγρηθεὶς, ἀπήχθη ἐς Σαῖν πόλιν, ἐς τὰ ἐωυτοῦ οἰκία πρότερον ὄντα, τότε δὲ Ἀμάσιος ἡδὴ βασιληΐα. ἐνθαῦτα δὲ τέως μὲν ἐτρέφετο ἐν τοῖσι βασιληΐοις, καὶ μιν Ἀμασις εὖ περιεΐπε. τέλος δὲ, μεμφομένων Αἰγυπτίων ὡς οὐ ποιοῖ δίκαια, τρέφων τὸν σφίσι τε καὶ ἐωυτῷ ἔχθιστον, οὕτω δὴ παραδιδόει τὸν Ἀπρίην τοῖσι Αἰγυπτίοις. οἱ δὲ μιν ἀπέπνιξαν, καὶ ἔπειτα ἔθαψαν ἐν τῇσι πατρώησι ταφῇσι. αἱ δὲ εἰσι ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ἀγχιστάτω τοῦ μεγάρου, ἐσιόντι ἀριστερῆς χειρός. ἔθαψαν δὲ Σαῖται πάντας τοὺς ἐκ νομοῦ τούτου γενομένους βασιλέας ἔσω ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀμύσιος σῆμα ἑκαστέρῳ μὲν ἐστὶ τοῦ μεγάρου ἢ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπρίεω καὶ τῶν τούτου προπατόρων ἐστὶ μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, παστὰς λιθίνη μεγάλῃ, καὶ ἡσκημένη στύλοισι τε φοίνικας τὰ δένδρεα μεμνημένοις, καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ δαπάνῃ. ἔσω δὲ ἐν τῇ παστιδί διξὰ θυρώματα ἔστηκε ἐν δὲ τοῖσι θυρώμασι ἡ θήκη
- 170 ἐστὶ. Εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ταφαὶ τοῦ οὐκ ὄσιον ποιεῦμαι ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ πρήγματι ἐξαγορεύειν τοῦνομα ἐν Σαῖ, ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, ὅπισθε τοῦ νηοῦ, παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐχόμεναι τοίχου. καὶ ἐν τῷ τεμένει ὀβελοὶ ἐστῦσι μεγάλοι λίθινοι λίμνη τέ ἐστὶ ἐχομένη, λιθίνῃ κρηπιδὶ κεκοσμημένη, καὶ ἐργασμένη εὖ κύκλῳ, καὶ μέγαθος, ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε, ὅση περ ἢ ἐν Δήλῳ, ἢ τροχοειδὲς καλεομένη.
- 171 Ἐν δὲ τῇ λίμνῃ ταυτῇ τὰ δεικτέλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ νυκτὸς ποιεῦσι, τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια Αἰγύπτιοι. περὶ μὲν νυν τοῦτων, εἰδότε μοι ἐπὶ πλεον ὡς ἕκαστα αὐτῶν ἔχει, εὐστομα κείσθω. καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος τελετῆς περὶ τὴν οἱ Ἕλληνες θεσμοφόρια καλέουσι, καὶ ταύτης εἰδοτὶ μοι περὶ εὐστομα κείσθω, πλὴν ὅσον αὐτῆς ὁσίη ἐστὶ λέγειν. αἱ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρες ἦσαν αἱ τὴν τελετὴν ταύτην

ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐξαγαγοῦσαι, καὶ διδάξασαι τὰς Πελασγιώ-  
τιδας γυναῖκας. μετὰ δέ, ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοπον-  
νήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων, ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή· οἱ δὲ ὑπολει-  
φθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκαῖδες  
διέσωζον αὐτὴν μῦνοι.

Ἀπρίεω δὲ ὧδε καταραιρημένου, ἐβασίλευσε Ἀμασις, 172  
νομοῦ μὲν Σαῖτεω ἑὸν ἐκ τῆς δὲ ἦν πόλις, οὐνομά οἱ  
ἐστὶ Σιοῦφ. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα κατόνοντο τὸν Ἀμασιν  
Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ ἐν οὐδεμῇ μοίρῃ μεγάλη ἤγον, ὥτε δὴ  
δημότην τὸ πρὶν ἔοντα, καὶ οἰκίης οὐκ ἐπιφανέος μετὰ  
δὲ, σοφίῃ αὐτοῦς ὁ Ἀμασις, οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγά-  
γετο. ἦν οἱ ἄλλα τε ἀγαθὰ μυρία, ἐν δὲ καὶ ποδανιπτῆρ  
χρύσεος, ἐν τῷ αὐτός τε ὁ Ἀμασις καὶ οἱ δαιτυμόνες οἱ  
πάντες τοὺς πόδας ἐκάστοτε ἐναπενιζέατο. τοῦτον κατ'  
ὦν κόψας, ἀγαλμα δαίμονος ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησατο, καὶ  
ἵδρυσεν τῆς πόλις ὅκου ἦν ἐπιτηδεύατον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι  
φοιτέοντες πρὸς τῷγαλμα, ἐσέβοντο μεγάλως. μαθὼν δὲ  
ὁ Ἀμασις τὸ ἐκ τῶν ἀστῶν ποιούμενον, συγκαλέσας  
Αἰγυπτίους, ἐξέφηεν φὰς "ἐκ τοῦ ποδανιπτῆρος τῷγαλμα  
"γεγονέναι, ἐς τὸν πρότερον μὲν τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐνεμεῖν  
"τε καὶ ἐνουρέειν, καὶ πόδας ἐναπονιζέσθαι, τότε δὲ μεγά-  
"λως σέβεσθαι. ἤδη ὦν, ἔφη λέγων, ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ  
"ποδανιπτῆρι πεπρηγέναι. εἰ γὰρ πρότερον εἶναι δημότης,  
"ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ παρεόντι εἶναι αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς." καὶ τιμᾶν  
τε καὶ προμηθέσθαι ἐωντοῦ ἐκέλευε. τοιοῦτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ  
προσηγάγετο τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεύειν.  
Ἐχρᾶτο δὲ καταστάσει πρηγμάτων τοιῆδε. τὸ μὲν 173  
ὄρθριον, μέχρι ὅτου πληθώρας ἀγορῆς, προθύμως ἔπρησσε  
τὰ προσφερόμενα πρήγματα· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τούτου ἔπινε τε  
καὶ κατέσκωπτε τοὺς συμπότας, καὶ ἦν μάταιός τε καὶ  
παιγνιήμων. ἀχθεσθέντες δὲ τούτοις οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ,  
ἐνουθέτεον αὐτὸν, τοιάδε λέγοντες "ὦ βασιλεῦ, οὐκ  
"ὀρθῶς σεωντοῦ προέστηκας, ἐς τὸ ἄγαν φαῦλον προ-  
"αγων σεωντόν. σὲ γὰρ χρὴν ἐν θρόνῳ σεμνῷ σεμνὸν  
"θωκέοντα, δι' ἡμέρης πρήσσειν τὰ πρήγματα· καὶ οὕτω  
"Αἰγύπτιοι τ' ἂν ἐπιστέατο ὡς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς μεγάλου ἄρ-  
"χονται, καὶ ἄμεινον σὺ ἂν ἤκουες. νῦν δὲ ποιέεις οὐδα-  
"μῶς βασιλικά." Ὁ δ' ἀμείβετο τοισίδε αὐτοῦς "Τὰ

“τόξα οἱ κεκτημένοι, ἐπεὰν μὲν δέωνται χρᾶσθαι, ἐντα-  
 “νύουσι· ἐπεὰν δὲ χρήσωνται, ἐκλύουσι. εἰ γὰρ δὴ  
 “τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐντεταμένα εἴη, ἐκραγείη ἂν ὥστε  
 “ἐς τὸ δέον οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιεν αὐτοῖσι χρῆσθαι. οὕτω δὴ καὶ  
 “ἀνθρώπου κατάστασις· εἰ ἐθέλοι κατεσπουνδᾶσθαι αἰεὶ,  
 “μὴδὲ ἐς πανγνίην τὸ μέρος ἐωυτὸν ἀνιέναι, λάθοι ἂν ἦτοι  
 “μανεῖς, ἢ ὅγε ἀπόπληκτος γενόμενος. τὰ ἐγὼ ἐπιστά-

174 “μενος, μέρος ἐκατέρῳ νέμω.” Ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς φίλους  
 ἀμείψατο. Λέγεται δὲ ὁ Ἀμασις, καὶ ὅτε ἦν ιδιότης, ὡς  
 φιλοπότης εἶναι καὶ φιλοσκώμμων, καὶ οὐδαμῶς κατεσπου-  
 δασμένος ἀνὴρ· ὅπως δὲ μιν ἐπιλείποι πίνοντά τε καὶ  
 εὐπαθέοντα τὰ ἐπιτήδεα, κλέπτεσκε ἂν περιϊών. οἱ δ'  
 ἂν μιν φάμενοι ἔχειν τὰ σφέτερα χρήματα ἀρνεύμενον  
 ὤγεσκον ἐπὶ μαντήϊον, ὅκου ἐκάστοισι εἴη· πολλὰ μὲν  
 δὴ καὶ ἀλίσκετο ὑπὸ τῶν μαντήϊων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπο-  
 φεύγεσκε. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε, ἐποίησε τοιάδε·  
 ὅσοι μὲν αὐτὸν τῶν θεῶν ἀπέλυσαν μὴ φῶρα εἶναι, τού-  
 των μὲν τῶν ἱρῶν οὔτε ἐπεμέλετο, οὔτε ἐς ἐπισκευὴν  
 ἐδίδου οὐδὲν οὐδὲ φοιτέων ἔθνε, ὡς οὐδενὸς εἶναι ἀξίοισι,  
 ψεύδεά τε μαντήϊα κεκτημένοισι. ὅσοι δὲ μιν κατέδησαν  
 φῶρα εἶναι, τούτων δὲ, ὡς ἀληθῆως θεῶν ἐόντων καὶ  
 ἀψευδέα μαντήϊα παρεχομένων, τὰ μάλιστα ἐπεμέλετο.

175 Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐν Σαῖ τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ προπύλαια θου-  
 μάσιά οἱ ἐξεποίησε, πολλὸν πάντας ὑπερβαλλόμενος τῷ  
 τε ὕψει καὶ τῷ μεγάθει, ὅσων τε τὸ μέγαθος λίθων ἐστὶ,  
 καὶ ὁκοίων τέων· τοῦτο δὲ, κολοσσοὺς μεγάλους καὶ  
 ἀνδρόσφυγας περιμήκειας ἀνέθηκε, λίθους τε ἄλλους ἐς  
 ἐπισκευὴν ὑπερφυέας τὸ μέγαθος ἐκόμισε. ἡγάγετο δὲ  
 τούτων τοὺς μὲν, ἐκ τῶν κατὰ Μέμφιν ἐουσέων λιθοτο-  
 μίων τοὺς δὲ ὑπερμεγάθεις, ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος,  
 πλὸν καὶ δεῖκοσι ἡμερέων ἀπεχούσης ἀπὸ Σαΐος. τὸ δὲ  
 οὐκ ἦκιστα αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα θωυμάζω, ἔστι τόδε  
 οἰκῆμα μουνόλιθον ἐκόμισε ἐξ Ἐλεφαντίνης πόλιος καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἐκόμιζον μὲν ἐπ' ἑτα τρία, δισχιλίοι δὲ οἱ προσε-  
 τετάχατο ἄνδρες ἀγωγέες, καὶ οὗτοι ἅπαντες ἦσαν κυβερ-  
 νῆται. τῆς δὲ στέγης ταύτης τὸ μὲν μήκος ἑξῶθεν, ἔστι  
 εἰς τε καὶ εἰκοσι πῆχεις· εὖρος δὲ, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα  
 ἑξῶς δὲ, ὀκτώ. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μέτρα ἑξῶθεν τῆς στέγης

τῆς μουνολίθου ἐστὶ ἀτὰρ ἔσωθεν τὸ μήκος, ὀκτωκαίδεκα πηχέων καὶ πυγόνος· τὸ δὲ εὖρος, δυνάδεκα πηχέων τὸ δὲ ὕψος, πέντε πηχέων ἐστὶ. αὕτη τοῦ ἱροῦ κέεται παρὰ τὴν ἔσοδον. ἔσω γάρ μιν ἐς τὸ ἱρόν φασι τῶνδ' εἵνεκα οὐκ ἐσελκύσαι τὸν ἀρχιτέκτονα αὐτῆς, ἐλκομένης τῆς στέγης, ἀναστενάζειν, οἷά τε χρόνου ἐκγεγονότος πολλοῦ, καταχθόμενον τῷ ἔργῳ· τὸν δὲ Ἄμασιν ἐνθυμιστὸν ποιησάμενον, οὐκ ἔαν ἔτι προσωτέρω ἐλκύσαι. ἤδη δέ τινες λέγουσι, ὡς ἄνθρωπος διεφθάρη ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῶν τις αὐτὴν μοχλευόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου οὐκ ἐσελκυσθῆναι. Ἀνέ- 176  
 θηκε δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ἄλλοις ἱροῖσι ὁ Ἄμασις πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐλλογίμοις ἔργα τὸ μέγαθος ἀξιοθέητα· ἐν δὲ, καὶ ἐν Μέμφι, τὸν ὑπτίον κείμενον κολοσσόν, τοῦ Ἡφαιστείου ἔμπροσθε τοῦ πόδες πέντε καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα εἰσι τὸ μήκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ βάθρῳ ἐστᾶσι, Αἰθιοπικοῦ ἑόντος λίθου, δύο κολοσσοί, ἐλκοσι ποδῶν τὸ μέγαθος ἑὸν ἐκάτερος· ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δ' ἔνθεν τοῦ μεγάρου. ἔστι δὲ λίθινος ἕτερος τοσοῦτος καὶ ἐν Σαῖ, κείμενος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ ἐν Μέμφι. τῇ Ἰσι τε τὸ ἐν Μέμφι ἱρόν Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ ἐξοικοδομήσας, ἑὸν μέγα τε καὶ ἀξιοθεητότατον.

Ἐπ' Ἀμάσιος δὲ βασιλέος λέγεται Αἴγυπτος μάλιστα 177  
 δὴ τότε εὐδαιμονῆσαι, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῇ χώρῃ γινόμενα, καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις. καὶ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ γενέσθαι τὰς ἀπάσας τότε δις μυρίας τὰς οἰκεομένας. νόμον δὲ Αἰγυπτίοις τόνδε Ἄμασις ἐστὶ ὁ καταστήσας· ἀποδεικνύναι ἕτεος ἐκάστου τῷ νομάρχῃ πάντα τινα Αἰγυπτίων, ὅθεν βιοῦται· μὴ δὲ ποιεῖν ταῦτα, μηδὲ ἀποφαίνοντα δικαίην ζῆν, ἰθύνεσθαι θανάτῳ. Σόλων δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος λαβὼν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τούτον τὸν νόμον, Ἀθηναίοις ἔθετο· τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐς αἰεὶ χρέωνται, ἑόντι ἀμώμῳ νόμῳ. Φιλέλλην δὲ γενόμενος ὁ Ἄμασις, 178  
 ἀλλὰ τε ἐς Ἑλλήνων μετεξετέρους ἀπεδέξατο, καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖσι ἀπικνευμένοις ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικῆσαι· τοῖσι δὲ μὴ βουλομένοις αὐτῶν οἰκέειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ ναυτιλλομένοις, ἔδωκε χώρους ἐνιδρύσασθαι βωμοὺς καὶ τεμένεα θεοῖσι. τὸ μὲν νυν μέγιστον αὐτῶν τέμενος, καὶ οὐνομαστότατον ἑὸν καὶ χρησιμώτατον, κα-

- λείμενον δὲ Ἑλλήνιον, αἶδε πόλις εἰσὶ αἱ ἰδρυμέναι κοινῇ, Ἰάνων μὲν, Χίος, καὶ Τέως, καὶ Φώκαια, καὶ Κλαζομεναί· Δωριέων δὲ, Ῥόδος, καὶ Κνίδος, καὶ Ἀλικαρνησσοῦς, καὶ Φίσηλιν· Αἰολέων δὲ, ἡ Μυτιληναίων μούνη. τούτων μὲν ἔστι τοῦτο τὸ τέμενος, καὶ προστάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου αὐται αἱ πόλις εἰσὶ αἱ παρέχουσαι. ὅσαι δὲ ἄλλαι πόλις μεταποιεῦνται, οὐδὲν σφί μετεὸν μεταποιεῦνται. χωρὶς δὲ, Αἰγινῆται ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν ἰδρύσαντο τέμενος Διός· καὶ
- 179 ἄλλο Σάμιοι, Ἡρῆς· καὶ Μιλήσιοι, Ἀπόλλωνος. Ἦν δὲ τὸ παλαιὸν μούνη ἡ Ναύκρατις ἐμπόριον, καὶ ἄλλο οἰδὲν Αἰγύπτου. εἰ δέ τις ἐς τῶν τι ἄλλο στομάτων τοῦ Νείλου ἀπῆκοιτο, χρῆν ὁμόσαι “μὴ μὲν ἐκόντα ἐλθεῖν” ἀπομόσαντα δὲ, τῇ νηὶ αὐτῇ πλέειν ἐς τὸ Κανωβικόν· ἢ εἰ μὴ γε οἶά τε εἴη πρὸς ἀνέμους ἀντίους πλέειν, τὰ φορτία ἔδεε περιάγειν ἐν βάρισι περὶ τὸ Δέλτα, μέχρι οὐ ἀπῆκοιτο ἐς Ναύκρατιν. οὕτω μὲν δὴ Ναύκρατις ἐτετί-
- 180 μητο. Ἀμφικτυονικῶν δὲ μισθωσάντων τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖσι νῦν ἔοντα νηὸν τριηκοσίων ταλάντων ἐξεργάσασθαι· (ὁ γὰρ πρότερον ἔων αὐτόθι αὐτομάτως κατεκυῖ· τοὺς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἐπέβαλλε τεταρτημόριον τοῦ μισθώματος παρασχεῖν)· πλανώμενοι δὲ οἱ Δελφοὶ περὶ τὰς πόλις, ἔδω-  
 τινάζον ποιεῦντες δὲ τοῦτο, οὐκ ἐλάχιστον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐνείκοντο. Ἀμασις μὲν γάρ σφί ἔδωκε χίλια στυπτη-  
 ρίης τάλαντα· οἱ δὲ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ οἰκέοντες Ἕλληνες, εἴκοσι μνέας.
- 181 Κυρηναίοισι δὲ Ἀμασις φιλότητά τε καὶ συμμαχίην συνεθήκατο. ἐδικαίωσε δὲ καὶ γῆμαι αὐτόθεν, εἴτ' ἐπι-  
 θυμήσας Ἑλληνίδος γυναικὸς, εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως φιλότητος Κυρηναίων εἵνεκα. γαμέει δ' ὧν, οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Βάττεω, οἱ δ' Ἀρκεσίλειω θυγατέρα, οἱ δὲ, Κριτοβούλου, ἀνδρὸς τῶν ἀστῶν δοκίμου· τῇ οὖνομα ἦν Λαδίκη. τῇ ἐπεὶ τε συγκλίνοιτο ὁ Ἀμασις, μίσγεσθαι οὐκ οἶος τε ἐγένετο· τῇσι δὲ ἄλλῃσι γυναιξὶ ἐχράτο. ἐπεὶ τε δὲ πολλὸν τοῦτο ἐγένετο, εἶπε ὁ Ἀμασις πρὸς τὴν Λαδίκην ταύτην καλεομένην “ὦ γύναι, κατὰ με ἐφάρμαξας, καὶ “ἔστι “τοὶ οὐδεμία μηχανὴ μὴ οὐκ ἀπολωλέναι κάκιστα γυναι-  
 “κέων πασέων.” Ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη, ἐπεὶ τέ οἱ ἀρνευμένη οὐδὲν ἐγένετο πρηύτερος ὁ Ἀμασις, εὐχεται ἐν τῷ νόῳ τῇ

Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἣν οἱ ὑπ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα μυχθῇ ὁ Ἀμασις, τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ κακοῦ εἶναι μῆχος, ἄγαλμά οἱ ἀποπέμψειν ἐς Κυρήνην. μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχὴν αὐτίκα οἱ ἐμίχθη ὁ Ἀμασις καὶ τὸ ἐνθεῦτεν ἤδη, ὁκότε εἶλθοι πρὸς αὐτήν, ἐμίσητο· καὶ κάρτα μιν ἔστερξε μετὰ τοῦτο. ἡ δὲ Λαδίκη ἀπέδωκε τὴν εὐχὴν τῇ θεῷ. ποιησαμένη γὰρ ἄγαλμα ἀπέπεμψε ἐς Κυρήνην, τὸ ἐτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦν σοον, ἔξω ἰδρυμένου τοῦ Κυρηναίων ἄστεος. ταύτην τὴν Λαδίκην, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε Καμβύσης Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἐπύθετο αὐτῆς ἢ τις εἴη, ἀπέπεμψε ἀσινέα ἐς Κυρήνην.

Ἀνέθηκε δὲ καὶ ἀναθήματα ὁ Ἀμασις ἐς τὴν Ἑλ- 182  
λάδα· τοῦτο μὲν, ἐς Κυρήνην ἄγαλμα ἐπίχρυσον Ἀθη-  
ναίης, καὶ εἰκόνα ἑωυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένην τοῦτο δέ,  
τῇ ἐν Λίνδῳ Ἀθηναίῃ δύο τε ἀγάλματα λίθινα, καὶ θώ-  
ρηκα λίνεον ἀξιοθέητον· τοῦτο δ', ἐς Σάμον τῇ Ἡρῇ  
εἰκόνας ἑωυτοῦ διφασίας ξυλίνας, αἱ ἐν τῷ νηῷ τῷ με-  
γάλῳ ἰδρύατο ἐτι καὶ τὸ μέχρις ἐμεῦ, ὅπισθε τῶν θυρέων.  
ἐς μὲν νυν Σάμον ἀνέθηκε κατὰ ξεινίην τὴν ἑωυτοῦ τε καὶ  
Πολυκράτεος τοῦ Αἰάκεος· ἐς δὲ Λίνδον, ξεινίης μὲν  
οὐδεμιῆς εἵνεκεν, ὅτι δὲ τὸ ἱρὸν τὸ ἐν Λίνδῳ τὸ τῆς  
Ἀθηναίης λέγεται τὰς τοῦ Δαναοῦ θυγατέρας ἰδρύσασθαι  
προσχοῦσας, ὅτε ἀπεδίδρησκον τοὺς Αἰγύπτου παῖδας.  
ταῦτα μὲν ἀνέθηκε ὁ Ἀμασις. Εἶπε δὲ Κύπρον πρῶτος  
ἀνθρώπων, καὶ κατεστρέψατο ἐς φόρου ἀπάγωγῃν.

ἹΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ ἩΡΟΔΟΤΟΥ Β.



# NOTES.

## I. CLIO.

**Ἀλικαρνησῆς.** In the *Rhet.* III. 9, Aristotle quotes him as "the Thurian," probably because the work was chiefly composed at Thurium, and in the *dialect* of that his adopted country (see Preface).

**ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις ᾗδε** = "what follows is the setting-forth of the researches," not *history* (a sense *ἱστορία* does not bear in Herodotus). ἀπόδειξις = Attic ἀπόδειξις.

**τὰ γενόμενα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων.** Herodotus often uses *ἐξ* or *ἐκ* for *ἐν*. Thucydides does the same, I. 160, III. 48, VII. 175.

**βαρβάρουσι.** The Greeks applied this term to all who did not speak their language; it was analogous to our word "foreigners." *θαυμαστά* (Ionic) = *θαυμάσια* (Attic) = "marvellous."

**τὰ τε ἄλλα, κ. τ. λ.** = "and especially through what cause they made war upon each other." This is more fully stated in Bk. V. 97. Observe the formula *τὰ τε ἄλλα, καὶ* is literally = "and (in mentioning) *all the other* (matters, I will mention) *also*."

1. How the feud began between Greece and the East, according to the Persians.

**οἱ λόγιοι** = "the story-tellers." This word, with its cognates, is chiefly used by Herod. to express narration by *word of mouth*. See Bk. II. 3, and 77.

**Ἐρυθρῆς θαλάσσης** = "The Red Sea," i.e. the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf: so called from the red reflection of the porphyry rocks along the coasts. What we call the Red Sea is called by Herod. the *Arabian Gulf*.

**τῆδε τὴν θάλασσαν**,—a common expression for the *Mediterranean Sea*; compare the Latin expression for the same sea, "*nostrum mare*," or "*mare magnum*." The Greeks sometimes vary their phrase to *ἡμεῶν θάλασσα*. For the migration of the Phœnicians, see Bk. VII. 89. Rawlinson well observes on this passage, "Everything indicates a spread of the Semites from Babylonia westward, while nothing appears of any movement in the opposite direction. The name 'Phœnician,' which connects with 'Erythrean,' both meaning 'red,' the colour of the Semites, confirms the general connexion, but does not show in which way the migration proceeded."

**τοῦτον τὸν χώρον τὸν (=δὲνερ).** Here, as elsewhere in Herodotus, the article is partly *demonstrative*, and partly *relative*, after the *Homeris* usage.



τὰς πλεῖστας = "the majority," like οἱ πολλοί.

ἐσβαλομένους δὲ εἰς τὴν νέαν—"having thrown themselves with all speed into their ship." The verb is aor. 2, mid. and the article is generally possessive with a mid. verb.

ὄχρεσθαι ἀποπλέοντας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου = "they were off, sailing away, towards Egypt." Mark the force of ἐπὶ with genitive after a verb of motion.

## 2. The Greeks retaliate by carrying off Europa.

οὐκ ὡς Φοίνικες. Here Bühr, Matthies, Schmsfer, give this reading, and not Ἕλληνες, with Gaisford. Rawlinson too is against Gaisford's reading. On the subject of Io, Herodotus records only two opinions, that of the Persians, and that of the Phœnicians: in Chap. v. he says, ταῦτα μὲν νῦν Πέρσαι τε καὶ Φοίνικες λέγουσι.

δίκημάτων = Lat. "injuriarum" = "acts of injustice;" what he calls in Chap. v. ἀδικῶν ἔργων.

οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι = "have it not (in their power)," i.e. cannot. So in Homer (*Odys.* XVIII. 363) we have ἔχω with the infinitive as here. Compare the Lat. "habeo polliceri" = "I have it in my power, and so can promise." Cic. *Fam. Ep.* I. 4.

προσχόντας: supply τὴν νέαν = "putting to their ship."

εἴησαν δ' ἂν οὗτοι Κρήτες = "and these might possibly be Cretans." The early naval power of Crete (now *Candia*) is noticed by Thucyd. I. 4. Their cheating and lying are mentioned by St Paul, Tit. I. 12, and by Homer throughout the *Odyssey*. For the Hellenic legend of Europa; see IV. 45.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ἴσα, κ.τ.λ. = "and that these things happened to them (in the way of) like for like." Compare the Lat. "par pari referri."

μακρῇ νηὶ = Lat. "nave longâ," "in a war-galley." The round vessels were ships of burden and merchantmen: hence we may guess the hostile intentions of these pirates.

Αἶδν τε τὴν Κολχίδα—now "Mingrelia." Colchis is not mentioned either by Homer or Hesiod.

ἀτίκατο (Ionic) = ἀφ' ἑγμέναι ἦσαν.

ἀρπάσαι τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν θυγατέρα. Compare the parody of Aristophanes (*Αἰσάκων*. 488—494), in which he ironically accounts for the Peloponnesian war after this manner.

τὸν Κόλχον = "the Colchian" (king). The head of a despotic government is thus made to represent the whole nation. Compare ὁ Μακεδὼν, ὁ Ἀνδρῆς, ὁ Περσὴς, κ.τ.λ.

ἰκας τῆς ἀρπαγῆς = "satisfaction for the rape"—an objective genitive.

τοὺς δὲ ὑπεκρίνασθαι = "now those pretended, by way of an answer, that." In this way I would connect this remarkable word with its fully developed Attic sense of "acting a part on the stage;" it is here evidently in its transition state, the notion of dissimulation as well as simulation being implied in ὑπὲρ. See Herod. I. 90.

### 3. Retaliation of Alexander (Paris) by carrying off Helen.

γενεῖ. Herodotus generally calculates the generation at about 33 years, II. 143, γενεαὶ γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνδρῶν ἐκατὸν ἐστὶ ἐστὶ. Müller supposes the interval between the Argonautic expedition and the Trojan war to have been 40 years.

ἐθέλειν = "resolved," stronger than βούλεσθαι = "to wish" or "prefer." Compare the English "would," expressive of strong resolution.

οὕτω δὲ = "it was precisely thus." δὲ makes a definite particle still more definite, and an indefinite one still more indefinite.

τοῖσι Ἕλλησι...τέμψαντας. Herodotus makes the accusative of the corresponding participle, in these constructions, more usual than the dative. See I. 19.

ἀναστρέω = "to demand back," Lat. "repetere."

τοῖς δὲ, προῖσχυμένῳ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. = "and that they (the Trojans), when the Greeks kept alleging these matters, throw in their teeth the rape of Medea, and how (the Greeks), though neither themselves giving satisfaction, nor giving up (Medea) when demanded back, (yet) could wish to receive satisfaction from others." With προῖσχυμένῳ supply τῷ ἄγγελλῳ; the genitive absolute is here used instead of a dative. An anacolouthon Herodotus is especially fond of. Observe also the *iterative* and *intensive* form of ἔχω in προῖσχυμένῳ, literally = "continually and vehemently holding forth." προφέρω = Lat. "objicere."

### 4. This abduction of Helen is retaliated by the Trojan war.

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀπράγῃ. Here we may fairly trace the rudiments of the Sophistical reasoning.

τὸ δὲ ἀπραγματοῦν σπουδῇ, κ.τ.λ. = "now, when women have been carried off, to consider it one's serious business to avenge them, is the action of fools."

ἀφω = "care," regard for anything: hence πολυμερῶν and διωγμῶν.

δέσμευον κατελεῖν = "to pull down the power," Lat. "deripere."

καὶ τὸ Ἕλλησιν—supply ἔθνεσιν. Europe and Asia are thus opposed to each other, as Greek and Barbarian. This pride of the Greeks sprang from their success in the Persian war. Formerly the Asiatic Greeks were superior to their kinsmen in Europe (see II. 116, and *Æsch. Persæ*, 176—196, and Thucyd. I. 1).

οἰκισθέντας = "consider as belonging to their family or house" (mid.).

ἐγνώκειν = not "they thought," but = "they believed" (as a leading principle or conviction).

ἀπχωρίσθαι = "have been and continue to be separated."

### 5. A different legend of Io, told by the Phœnicians.

ἠμαρ ἐγνώκει ἑστῆναι = "she learned she was pregnant." This construction is very common in Greek, by which a verb stating a fact is

thrown into a *participial* form, while the verb stating the impression, opinion, or sense, or general consequence produced by that fact upon the mind, is retained in its purely *verbal* form: this may be accounted for by attempting to follow the *order of time*, and thus stating *first* that which occurred *first*. Thus we have ἤδew τοὺς παῖδας θνητοὺς γενήσας = "I was aware that I had begotten mortal children;" χαίρω ποιεῖν = "I am delighted to do:" but χαίρω ποιών = "I am delighted that I am doing" = "I am doing, and therefore my mind is impressed with delight." Compare also I. 9, μαθεῖν ἐφθάρειν; I. 44, ἐλάνθανε βόσκων.

τοῖσι Φοίνεσι συνεκπλώσαι = "sailed out in company with the Phœnicians."

κατάδηλοι = "thoroughly exposed," put to open shame: often the force of *κατά* in compounds, like the Lat. "*per*" and English "*down-right*."

ἐρχομαι ἐπέω = "I am going to speak." Compare the French "*je vais dire*," and also the "*iri*" (from "*eo*" = "*to go*") of *passive* Latin verbs in the future infinitive; and observe that ἐπέω is always *future* in sense. See II. 35, and I. 194. In the same way we can connect μέλλω = "that which is going to be," with μολεῖν = "to go."

πρῶτον ὑπάρξαντα ἐδίκων ἔργων, κ.τ.λ. See Bk. II. 69, and VII. 11.

τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἐμοῦ ἦν μεγάλα = "and those cities that were great in my time." Such is the force of ἐπὶ with a personal pronoun or noun denoting a person in the genitive case.

εὐδαμὰ ἐν τῶντ' ἔμενεν = "never remains in the same (stay)."

6. Cræsus the first barbarian despot who subdued Hellenes.

Λυδοὺς μὲν γένος = "a Lydian by birth," the accusative of *clear* definition; no need to supply *κατά*.

τύραννος (a dialectic form of *κόρανος*). The Greek notion of a tyrant was "one who ruled, without a *right* to rule, according to the constitution of the state." Our notion is "one who *abuses* power for his own purposes," whether he has a right to the use of it or not. Pœsistratus made the best and most legitimate use of his power as a ruler, yet, as he had no constitutional right, was to the Greeks a tyrant.

τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰλίου ποταμῶν. This tallies well with what he says, Chap. 72, σχεδὸν πάντα τῆς Ἀσίας τὰ κάτω ἐκ θαλάσσης τῆς ἐντὸς Κύπρου ἐς τὸν Εὐξείνου πόντον. This use of ἐντὸς is evidently an *Asiatic* form of expression, and used with reference to the coast of Asia Minor; just as Cisalpine was Italian. The Halya, now "*Kisil-Ermağ*," had two branches, Eastern and Southern,—here the *latter* is meant. Rawlinson translates the passage: "was lord of all the nations to the west of the river *Halya*." Observe that generally the name of the river precedes ποταμῶν; the reason of this seems to be that the proper name was originally an *adjective*, with a substantive at times understood, as in ἐπὶ Φάσω ποταμῶν in Chap. 2, above: the full expression requires an article, as ἐ Ἰλίου ποταμῶν.

Σέρων = "the Cappadocians." See I. 72, V. 49, VII. 72.

πρῶτος κατεστρέψατο = "was the first man (among the barbarians) who turned upside down for himself," i.e. *subjugated to himself*. Mark the personal force of πρῶτος = Lat. "primus," used in the same way with verbs: πρῶτος would imply that he did this before he did anything else, not that he was the first so to do.

Κιμμερίων ἐσφάδευμα. The invasion of the Cimmerians (Kymry) took place in the reign of Ardys, king of Lydia. See I. 15, IV. 12.

## 7. The Lydian dynasties, how founded.

περιήλθε (pregnant = περιήλθε καὶ δίκται εἰς. See I. 129) = "came round to."

τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλων ὀνομάζουσι. According to the Greek myths this means that Myrsilus and Candaules correspond to each other.

πρότερον Μήων καλούμενος. Thus we find in Homer the Lydians called Mæonians, their original name.

ἐπιτραφέντες = "having been entrusted with." Thus, in Thucyd. I. 126, οἱ τὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτραφέντες τὴν φυλακίαν. The accusative of clearer definition.

εἶχον = "got at once," i.e. *obtained* (force of the aorist). εἶχον, the imperfect, would imply "they continued to hold," or "used to hold" it.

## 8. The foolish and wicked exhibition of his wife by Candaules.

ὑπερετίθετο κ.τ.λ. = "was in the habit of making over to him the most important part of his business." Observe the force of the imperfect as well as the composition and middle voice of the verb. From Homer it is clear that τίθημι meant *to make* as well as *to place*.

χρὴν γὰρ = "for it was fated." In this signification Herodotus more generally uses εἶε. See II. 161, IV. 79, V. 92, VI. 64, VIII. 53.

ὅσα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ. So Horace in his *Ars Poet.*:

"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aures."

τοῖς θεῶις = Lat. "fac ut" = "take care that" = "make it your business that."

ἀμβόσας. The Ionic form of ἀναβόσας. See I. 10, III. 38.

λέγω λόγον = "I speak this speech." The accusative of the cognate word. In Homer and Herodotus we have abundant examples of the verb with its cognate notion or cognate word: this construction gives strength and clearness to language, and is of very frequent occurrence in our old chronicles and poetry, where we are always meeting such expressions as "die the death," "vow the vow," &c.

οὐκ ἔγχεα. Compare Soph. *Phil.* 994:

ὃ μὰρ ἐγὼς μὰρ δένθερον φρονῶν.

ἅμα δὲ καθῶτι ἐκδυμένη, κ.τ.λ. = "for when a woman strips off from her her under garment, she strips off along with it her modesty also."

καὶ σεο θέλωμαι μὴ θέεσθαι ἀνόμων = "and I require of thee not to require unlawful things." The verb θέλωμαι is *generally* = "to have need of."

### 9. How the queen of Candaules was exposed to view.

ἀνερμύχετο = "continued to fight *sky of it*," literally, "to fight off" (a thing). Force of imperfect.

μὴ τι εἰ—γένηται κακόν = "lest some calamity should soon happen to him." Observe the *subjunctive* with the *probability*; if it were merely possible, we should have had the *optative*: observe also the *aorist*.

ἀρχὴν γὰρ ἐγώ, κ.τ.λ. = "for, to start with, I will thus contrive (the matter)."

θρόνος = "a seat of honour" (and so often a throne) used by personages of exalted rank. It was properly a high-backed arm-chair, provided with a *foot-stool*.

κατὰ ἐν ἑκαστον = "one by one" (distributively).

κατ' ἡσυχίην πολλήν = "quite at your ease."

θεήσασθαι, not merely = "to see," but = "to watch" = "to observe."

κατὰ ὥσπου = "behind her back." See I. 75, and Thucyd. III. 108, αὐτοῖς κατὰ ὥσπου προσπίπτουσι.

διὰ θυρῶν. The plural here shows that there was not a *single* door, but one with *two* valves, i. e. folding-doors.

### 10. The exposing of the person of the Queen.

ἐτοιμος = the Attic ἐτοιμος = "prepared," "ready."

καὶ ἀνδρα δόξῃναι, κ.τ.λ. The argument is here *a fortiori* = "even for a man to be seen naked brings him into great disgrace" (*much more then for a woman*). From Thucydides, Bk. I. 6, we learn that it was but recently that the Greeks exhibited the naked person at their games, wearing formerly *draivers*. Homer, however, with true heroic simplicity, not only tells us of female servants who assisted men at the bath, but even of young girls of the highest rank bathing and anointing men, as in the case of Polycarte, Helen, and even the Goddess Circe. See *Odys.* III. 468, IV. 252, X. 361; see also Plato's *Rep.* V. 452.

The name of the wife of Candaules was *Mysia*.

### 11. The Queen conspires to murder Candaules.

οὕτως = "just as she was."

ἡσυχίην εἶχε = "kept quiet."

τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῦ μάλιστα, κ.τ.λ. = "of those domestics whom she saw to be *really* most attached to her person."

βασίλισσα = "the Queen," but βασιλεῖα = "the kingdom."

ὥς ἂν μὴ, πάντα πειθόμενος, κ.τ.λ. = "to prevent the chance of your seeing for the future the things you should not see, obeying Candaules in all matters as you do."

ὁ δὲ Γύγης τέως μὲν ἀπεθώνμαζε, κ.τ.λ. = "now Gyges for a little time continued *lost in wonder* at the things said (by the Queen)."

μὴ μὴ ἀναγκάζειν ἐνδεῖν = "not to bind down to the necessity" (of coming to a decision on such a choice). The notion of *binding* by any force, *figuratively*, was a favourite one among the ancients. See Homer, *Il.* II. 110: Ζεὺς με μέγα Κρονίδης ἀγρὲν ἐνέδησε βαρελῇ; and Pindar, *Pyth.* IV. 125: τίς δὲ κίνδυνος κρατεροῖς ἀδάμαρτος δῆσεν ἄλως;

ἢ εἰδὼν ὅτι ἄλλων ἀπέλλυσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Here properly we should have εὖ πείθεω δὲ, ἀλλ' οὐκ—αἰστέται. According to Self, it is a peculiarity in Herodotus that when he wishes to express a *negative* notion he prefixes it co-ordinately with οὐκ (= οὐκουν, Attic) to the consequences which result from it, while the sentence expressing those consequences is not connected by any particle.

φέρε, ἀκούσω = "bear with me, and let me now hear." Aor. 1, subjunctive. Mark the force of the aorist, which in non-indicative moods denotes the *speedy* and *immediate* occurrence of events, actions, &c. signified by the verb. It exactly corresponds to the ordinary Irish expression, "to be *after*," joined to a verb, as here, ἀκούσω = "let me be *after* hearing," i.e. let me hear so quickly, that I may be said to have *heard* it. This is one of the many idioms common to Greek and Irish which support the theory of the Milesian origin of the latter. Compare the English expression "begone."

ἔσω περ = "precisely whence." (περ is emphatic.)

## 12. The murder of Candaules.

ἐγχειρίδιον = Lat. "pugio," a small dagger, or dirk, made of bronze; literally = "a little (thing) (to fit) into the hand."

ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν θύρην = "under *skeliet* of the same door."

στεινέειν = "gently stealing into" (the chamber). Such is often the force of ὑπὸ in composition, like Lat. "sub."

Ἀρχιλοχὸς ὁ Πάριος...ἐπεμνήσθη. Found in Arist. *Rhet.* III. 17: οὐ μοι τὰ Γύγην τοῦ πολυχρύσου μέλει. Plato, in the *Republic*, Bk. II, tells us that Gyges became King by finding a magic ring which rendered him invisible, and by it he murdered the King and took possession of his kingdom and Queen.

## 13. The Oracle of Delphi sanctions the reign of the Mermnads.

ἐντείνετε (mid. voice) = "considered."

ἀποδοῦναι = "restore," give away back, active: in the middle voice = "to sell," i.e. to give away for one's own advantage.

τίς ἔξει. See Chap. 91.

λόγων οὐδένα ἐντείνετε = "went on making no account of (this declaration)." Mid. and imperfect.

ἐπετελέσθη = "subsequently accomplished." This is often the force of εἰ in composition.

## 14. Gyges makes offerings to Delphi.

οὕτω ἔχον. Not = "thus held," but exactly our common phrase = "thus got hold of." Aor. 2. of ἔχω. See on 1, 2.

δραθήματα = Lat. "donaria" = "offerings to the God" laid up or suspended to view in their temples. Another form of this word is δρόθεμα = Lat. "sacer," in its bad sense (sacer Dis inferis); or the English term "devoted" (in a bad sense, to God's anger, or to destruction); or the Bible expression, "accursed to the Lord" (Josh. vi. 17). The whole of this perplexed passage may be thus rendered: "Now Gyges, when he became sovereign, sent away offerings to Delphi that were not few (in number). On the contrary, of all the silver offerings at Delphi the most of them belong to him; and, beside and beyond the silver, he presented an enormous quantity of gold, both other gold and that which more especially deserves mention; there are laid up (there) golden mixing-bowls of his, six in number, and these stand in the treasury of the Corinthians, having thirty talents as their weight."

ἐς τὸν προκατίζων ἐδίκασεν = "that (royal seat) on which he used to sit in front (of the city gates) and administer justice." From the Bible, and many other sources, we learn that it was customary for the eastern monarchs to sit for this purpose at the city gates.

ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέντος ἐπωνυμίην = "a name founded upon (the name) of the offerer."

ἐπέβαλε στρατὸν ἐς Μίλητον = "dashed his army into Miletus (territory)," i.e. made an expedition against the territory of Miletus. ἠπεσβόλλω = "to dash at," and so = "to attack."

ἀλλὰ γὰρ = ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ. The whole passage may be thus rendered: "but since no other great deed was done by him, during a reign of forty years wanting two, we will pass the King by, having recorded so much (about him)."

## 15. The Cimmerian invasion.

οὗτος δὲ ἱππικὴς εἶλε. Grote observes (Vol. III. p. 301), "This possession cannot have been maintained, for the city appears afterwards as autonomous." Rawlinson denies this, and on good grounds: he is supported by *Dic. of Geog.* of Dr Smith.

Κιμμέριοι. According to Strabo, this invasion happened in Homer's time, or before it.

ἡθεῖον = "usual haunts," from ἡθός (1) = "usual place of abode;" (2) = "habit," manner, custom. Compare the English similar words in their connexion: "habit, habitation, haunt, holding;" the Greek ἔξις; Latin, "habitus, and habitus, habeo."

ἐξαναστάντες = "made to get up and go out from." Observe that verbs of a passive signification are followed by ἐνδὲ with a genitive, just as much as if they were also passive in form.

## 16. The reigns of Sadyattes and Halyattes.

ἐξεδέξατο = Lat. "excepit (regnum)" = "succeeded to the (kingdom)."

ἔβασλευεν ἑξὲς δωδέκα = "he reigned (during) twelve years." Observe the accusative of *duration*, which is more properly defined with the preposition διὰ, as in Lat. by "per" with the accusative.

Κυαζάρι. See Chaps. 73 and 74.

ἔργα ταῦτα = "actions which follow:" ταῦτα would refer to what goes before.

οὐκ ὥς ἤθελε—an euphemism or litotes. See L. 32, and Virgil, *Æn.* VI. 86: "soul non et venisse volent."

## 17. The exploits of Halyattes.

(ὁπρὸς αὐλοῦ γυναικίῳ τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν) = "(marched to the sound) of the female and male pipe." According to Gellius = "the pipe played by females and males." Some say αὐλὸς ἀνδρ. = Lat. "tibia dextra," played with the "right hand," and so *bass*; αὐλὸς γυν. = Lat. "tibia sinistra," played with the *left* hand, and so *treble*, like a woman's voice. Observe the force of the imperfects in this chapter, denoting the *continuance* of action. We may account for ὁπρὸ here with a genitive of *locality*, as the music rises above the marching army.

ὡς δρικόετο = "as often as he might come." Here we have the optative of *indefinite frequency*. This occurs whenever, after a principal verb in a past tense, the thing denoted is not what *did* really occur in some special case, but what happened to recur as often as such a case came into existence; here the optative is used after *relatives* or conjunctions of time, as *ὅτε*. The indicative would mark a particular and special case.

τῆς γὰρ θαλάσσης εἰ Μιλήσιαι ἐπεκράτεον. We must remember that the Milesians were *Carians* by extraction, and this will account for their maritime superiority. Miletus is said too to have had a hundred colonies, chiefly on the coast, or in islands. See also Bk. II. 178.

ὥστε ἐπείρησι μὴ εἶναι, κ.τ.λ. = "so that there was no use in his army's besieging it;" literally, "could do nothing by, &c."

εἰσέρθαι = ἀποφύγειν, "to bear off."

## 18. His eleven years' war with Miletus.

ἐπὶ Ἀνδῶν ἦρχε = "still continued the ruler of the Lydians." Mark the force of the imperfect. The aor. ἦρξε would = "he became ruler," "succeeded to the power." Compare ἔρχε = "he obtained;" εἶχε = "he retained." The force of the imperfect in Greek is for the most part the same as that of the Latin imperfect, and may be rendered, according to the required sense, by (1) *proceeded to*; (2) *went on*, or *continued* (as here); (3) *made an attempt to* (of *incompleted actions*); (4) *was wont to*, or in the *habit of*.

Σαδύαττης γὰρ οὗτος καὶ ὁ τὸν πόλεμον ἦν συνάψας = "for it was this Sadyattes that brought about the war." Rawlinson renders the participle here by "*lighted the flames*" (of war), applying to the compound συνάπτω a sense which it has no where else, even if it could be shown to have it here. Again, the simple verb ἄπτω, in its unusual sense of *setting on fire* (by touch or contact), seems limited to a *literal* sense, and is not used *figuratively*, at all events in Herodotus. Compare Æsch. (Ag. 295), ἄπτω τι πυρὶ, and Herod. VIII. 52, and *infra*, Chap. 19. On the other hand, συνάπτω μάχην, συνάπτω πόλεμον = Lat. "conserere manus," are used of "*joining battle*," or "*contracting a war*;" and συνάπτειν is thus capable of the *figurative* sense.

τοῖσι δὲ Μιλησίοισι, κ.τ.λ. = "for none of the Ionians came over (ἐπὶ) to the Milesians, to join them (σύν) in making the war light (ελαφρύνω), except the Chians alone." Observe the force of the compounds here, also that οὐ μὴ, here as elsewhere = *ei μή*. Verbs in -ύνω (from adjectives) are always *factive*, as βαρύνω (from βαρὺς) = "to make heavy;" ελαφρύνω (as here) from ελαφρὸς = "to make light."

τὸ ὁμοίον ἀνταποδίδόντες = "paying off, in their turn, a similar (obligation)."

καὶ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον = "for some time before (these events)."

συνεβήρικαν = "had aided them in carrying the war to an end." See I. 142. These all belonged to the Ionian confederacy, which celebrated its festival of the Panionia at the temple of the Heliconian Neptune at Mycale.

## 19. The building of the Temple of Assesian Athens.

ὡς ἀφθὴ τάχιστα, κ.τ.λ. = "as soon as ever the standing corn (Lat. "seges") caught fire, being pressed on by the wind, it (seized) and set on fire the temple." See note on συνάψας, Chap. 18.

## 20. Milesian legend about Periander and Thrasylbulus.

Μιλήσιοι δὲ τὰδε προστιθεῖσι τοῦτοις = "now the Milesians add the following (circumstances) to these (mentioned) before."

τι προειδώς = "with some previous intelligence." To take τι with βουλευῆται seems out of place, and not after the manner of Herodotus, who generally collocates it with the words to which it is related in signification. Indeed its enclitic power implies as much. See I. 24, εἰ τι λέγοις; I. 27, εἴ τι εἴη; I. 31, ἐπειρῶτα τίνα δεύτερον; I. 43, τίς ἀγγελέω; I. 199, μέγα τι; and especially the very peculiar expressions, I. 51, τῶν τις Δελφῶν, and I. 71, τῶν τις Δυδῶν.

## 21. The device of Thrasylbulus.

ὡς οἱ ταῦτα ἐξαγγέλον = "when these things were reported to him in detail" = Lat. "enuntiatia erant." The force of ἐκ in composition with verbs is often (like the Latin "e," "ex") = "*utterly*" (*outerly*), "*fully*," "*out and out*."

σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι = ἐπείδεσθαι (mid.) = "to get a truce made (for himself)." Observe that when ποίω is used, as here, *periphrastically*,

the middle voice is assumed; as ποιεῖσθαι πόλεμον = πολεμεῖν, ἀναβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι = ἀναβάλλεσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

χρῆνον δὲν—not δν, as πάντα is understood with χρόνον. The rule seems to be, that whenever the notion of *all* is expressed or understood (as here) with the antecedent, the relative is expressed by δος, making the construction more symmetrical. Compare below, δος ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀστὲρ σῖγῃ...τούτων πάντα. In the same way, I. 14, δσα...πλείστα, ἀναθήματα; I. 199, μέγαθος ἐστὶ δσων; III. 52, ζημίην...δσῃν θῆ; II. 170, καὶ μέγαθος...δσῃ περ, κ.τ.λ.

συγκομίσας = "having conveyed, at the same time." σύν = Lat. "cum," in composition with verbs implies either (1) "cum tempore," as here, (= contemporary), or (2) "cum aliis," along with others.

ἀγορῇ = "market-place," where things were brought to be sold (ἀγω), as in Latin "forum" from "fero."

ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς σημήνην = "whenever he should give the signal." Here δν supplies the sense of the Lat. "cunque" to the particle of time, and to harmonise with this indefinite notion, the verb is put into the conjunctive (subjunctive) mood. The same construction holds when δν is added to relative pronouns, as δς δν, κ.τ.λ.

κόμην χρῆεσθαι = Lat. "commensations uti" = "indulge in merry-making."

## 22. How it turns out.

ἐν ᾧ τε εἶναι = "on condition of being." The notion of ἐν in this sense seems that of taking one's stand upon a thing, and so making it a condition.

ἀνέστη (stood up) = "recovered." The general notion of ἀνέ in composition seems to be that of getting up, after being down, and so recovering either intransitively, as here, or transitively, as ἀναβλέπω = "to recover one's sight," "to look up."

## 23. The digressive story of Arion (moral, and creditable to Greece).

παρῆσθαι = "was presented (to view)." In Ionic and Attic Greek many simple and compound verbs are intransitive in aor. 2 and perfect 2, and transitive in aor. 1 and perfect 1; as perfect 2, ἐφθόρα = "I was destroyed," but ἐφθόρα, perfect 1, "I destroyed;" ἐστηρα, aor. 1, = "I placed," ἐστην, aor. 2, = "I stood."

Ἀπλωα. Virgil (Ecl. VIII. 55), "inter delphinias Arion."

ἐξωρχέσθαι (from ἐκέρπει) = "had been carried all the way." See on Chap. 21.

ἐνὶ θαλάσσης...ἐνὶ Ταύραρον. With a genitive (of place) ἐνὶ denotes "rest upon," with an accusative (of place) "motion up to," or, "as far as." Tamarus is now "Cape Matapan."

αἰσχυρὸν = "one who played on and sang to his harp." This exact sense of the term brings out more clearly Horace's expression (Od. I. xv.), "citharæ carmina dividet."

*διθύραμβον*, "the hymn of Bacchus," the germ of Attic tragedy. In every stage of its development it was the recognised type of the turbulent and enthusiastic element of Greek sacred music. Blakesley derives the word from an Egyptian term Tithrambos="furorem movens." Arion, however, did not invent the Dithyramb, he merely improved it: it was well known before his time to Archilochus, who boasts (in a fragment) of his skill "in leading off the Dithyramb, the lovely song of Dionysus." See Arist. *Poet.* IV., *Rhet.* III. 1, Pind. *Oly.* XIII. 25.

*τῶν ἡμεῖς ὤμεν*. Here, as in Homer, the article is *relative* and *demonstrative*, and is in the genitive case by *attraction*. *ὤμεν*=Attic *ἔμεν*, for *εἶμεν*.

*διδάξαντα*="exhibited"=Lat. "docuit" (*fabulam*), as the poet in those days used to *teach* the actors his *compositions* before they could be *exhibited*.

#### 24. The Corinthians and Lesbians confirm this story.

*τὸν πολλὸν τοῦ χρόνου*="the greater (portion) of his time." Such is the force of the article when preceding *πολύς*: thus, *οἱ πολλοί*="the majority."

*διατρίβοντα* (*rubbing through it*)="spending," Lat. "conterere" (*tempus*). Compare Thucy. III. 38, *διατριβή χρόνου*="waste of time."

*παρὰ Περίανδρον*="at the court of Periander." Here *παρὰ*=Lat. "apud," French "chez." Compare I. 86, 105.

*ἐπιθυμήσαι πλῶσαι*="(set) his heart upon sailing (without further delay)." Observe here the common force of the aorist in non-indicative moods, so like the Irish "to be after" doing anything.

*ἐργασάμενον δὲ χρήματα μέγала*="having made (for himself) a large fortune."

*θελῆσαι ὀπίσω εἰς Κόρινθον ἀπικέσθαι*="he was resolved to go away back again to Corinth." *βούλομαι* would have expressed merely the wish or preference.

*ὀρμᾶσθαι*="(that) he started," mid. of *ὀρμᾶν*="to impel." Distinguish this from *ὀρμίσαι*="to be at anchor" and *ἀρμίζειν*="to bring to anchor."

*μισθώσασθαι*="got the hire of" (mid. voice), *μισθῶσαι*="to let out to hire." *ἐν τῷ πελάγῳ*="in the deep, open sea," far away from land. The Greek *πελάγος* is evidently from the Hebrew "peleg"="separation." In early times the ocean did not, as now, *unite*, but rather *divide* nations, hence Horace's *distinctive* attribute for the ocean, "*dissociabili*."

*διαχρᾶσθαι μὲν*="to dispatch himself" (literally, "to use himself up)."

*ὡς δὲ τὰ φύξι, κ.τ.λ.* As custom forbade them to throw the *dead* overboard.

τὴν ταχίστην. An elliptical accusative of the cognate word, supply ἀπὸ τῆς.

ἀπειληθέντα...ἐς ἀπορίην = "being completely cooped up in a dilemma without ways or means (to extricate himself)."

περιδέειν = "to allow" (literally, to look round about, and not straight at, as we say, "to blink" a thing; so to neglect, and compare our "overlook").

ἐν τῇ σκευῇ πύργῳ. This may refer to the long robe, reaching to the feet, called ὀρθοσταβίαι, worn by the harpers; so invested he might better claim the protection of his patron god, Apollo, who saved poets and musicians: hence Horace's expression, "sic me servavit Apollo."

κατεργάσασθαι = "would without delay dispatch himself." Mark the aorist here, and compare the Lat. "conficere" in the same sense.

καὶ τοῖσι δελεθεῖν γὰρ ἦδοντο, κ.τ.λ. These inverted clauses seem = καὶ τοῦτους ἀναχωρήσαι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, δελεθεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἦδοντο, κ.τ.λ. Here γὰρ = ἐπει = "since that."

διελεθεῖν νόμον τὸν ὁρβιον = "went completely through the rousing measure;" a song of a martial character.

ὡς εἶχε. Supply αὐτὸν = "as he had himself," just as he was, i. e. attired in his minstrel's dress.

ὕπὸ ἀπιστίας = "under the influence of disbelief."

ἀνακῶς δὲ ἔχων = φροντίζων (according to Suidas). Supply λέγοντι. περὶ Ἰταλίῃν = "near Italy," as Tarentum was not included in the term Italy until about 400 B.C.

ὅς τις πρὸς ἑαυτὰ = "doing well," as we say for "prosperous."

25. Presents of Alyattes to the Delphic temple.

τελευτῇ. Supply τὸν βίον = "closes (his life)."

δεύτερος. Gyges had been the first.

ἀργυρὰ τε ἀργύρεον = "a silver mixing-cup." Adjectives ending in -eos and -eas = English "-en," Lat. "-eus," denote the material from which anything is made, as χρύσεος = "golden," Lat. "aureus." Compare below σιδήρεον.

θείς εἶδον = "worth seeing."

26. The reign of Cræsus—his attack upon the Ephesians.

ἐπεθήκατο = "at once set himself upon," i. e. attacked.

ἀνέθεον τὴν πόλιν. So Polycrates consecrated Rhomía to Apollo. Thucy. III. 104.

ἔστι δὲ...ἑπτὰ στάδιοι = "now there is (an interval) of seven stadia between." Here the verb is impersonal, see VII. 34, and compare the Attic formula ἔστιν εἰς, and the French idiom "il est des hommes."

πρώτοι μὲν δὲ, κ.τ.λ. = "These indeed, observe, were the first (of the Greeks) that Cræsus laid hands upon."

## 27. Cræsus makes an alliance with the Ionian Islanders.

κατεστράφατο, Ionio = Attic κατεστραμμένοι ἦσαν.

καταπαύσαι = "put a downright stop to." This is often the force of κατὰ in composition.

μυρίην ἵππων = "ten thousand horse." ἵππος *collective* is always *feminine*. So Thucy. I. 62, δικοσίαν ἵππων, and Herod. I. 80, ἡ κάμπος.

Λυδῶν παῖδας = Λύδων. So in Homer we have υἱες and κόβρος 'Αχαιῶν, so in the Holy Bible we read "sons of the Prophets," "sons of Levi," and in Herod. V. 49, παῖδας Ἰώνων.

ἐν ἵπποισι. It seems from Homer (*Iliad*, x. 431) that the Lydians, formerly called Misonians, were long distinguished as cavalry-warriors; Homer's words are Μῆνορες ἵπποκαρυσταί.

ὑπολαβόντα. Supply τὸν λόγον.

νησιῶτας δὲ τί δοκέεις, κ.τ.λ. = "what else do you fancy that the islanders have been praying for (aye, as soon as ever they learned that you were about to build ships against them) than to catch, and soon too (the acrist), the Lydians at sea!" Observe that λαβεῖν here depends on ᾗ.

τίσονται σε = "take their vengeance on you," (mid).

δουλώσας ἔχεις = (whom) "you have enslaved and keep enslaved." This combination of the participle of a verb with ἔχω marks not only a *completed* action but also the *present state* resulting from it. Compare Soph. *ἔγωγε θαυμάσας ἔχω* = "I have wondered, and still hold on wondering." In Latin after the same way we have "habeo" used with a participle; this was the germ of the usage common to modern languages, of using the verb corresponding to the English "have" as an *auxiliary* verb. Compare I. 28, εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος; 37, ἀποκλέψας ἔχεις; chap. 120, διατράς εἶχε.

## 28. The extent of the Lydian empire.

ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄλιον = "to the west of the Halys."

Λυδοί. There is a difficulty here about the Lydians being named among the *subdued* nations, when they were the *subjects* of Cræsus. Some suppose that Herodotus wished to enumerate *all the subjects*, and therefore began with the Lydians. Others say the passage implies Cræsus to have been an *usurper*. We are inclined to suspect a sort of *zeugma* here, and that one portion of the verbal notion, expressed by ἐν ἑσυνῷ εἶχε, applies *primarily* to the Lydians, and *secondarily* to the other tribes, while the other portion of the verbal notion καταστρεψάμενος applies rather to the *other tribes* than to the Lydians; a view which is perfectly borne out by his own words at the beginning of the next chapter, κατεστραμμένων δὲ τούτων, καὶ προσεπικτωμένον Κροίσου Αὐδοίσι, where the *complex* verb of the former chapter is *split up* into its *two component parts*, and each part is thus applied *distinctly* and *distinctively* to the object it properly belongs to.

Ξαλυσται. On the coast of Pontus, east of Paphlagonia (see Oramer Asia Minor). Their country was famous for iron.

εἰ Θωολ. See VII. 75.

### 29. Solon's visit to Sardis.

ἀκμαΐστας πλεόντω = "in the zenith of her wealth." See Thucy. I. 1. σοφισταί = not "sophists" but "sages." See Grote, Vol. VIII. 479.

καὶ δὲ καὶ = "and now (observe), even." Solon. See on I. 1.

κατὰ θεωρίας πρόφασιν = "for the pretended purpose of seeing the world."

ἐρκίσαι γὰρ κατεῖχοντο = "for they continued to be bound down by their oaths."

δέκα ἔτη χρῆσθαι. Observe that the proper form of the oath was χρυσόμεθα, κ.τ.λ., the accompaniment being τοὺς ἄν σφι, κ.τ.λ.

### 30. Solon's discourse with Croesus.

παρὰ Ἀμασιν...παρὰ Κροίσῳ = "to the court of Amasis of Croesus." Compare Lat. "apud," French, "chez."

ἰμερος μοι ἐπέλθε = "a longing desire has come upon me."

εἰ τινα = Lat. "quemnam."

εἶναι ὀλβιώτατος. The rule seems to be both in Latin and Greek that the verb signifying "to be" takes after it whatever case goes before it, whether the preceding case is expressed or understood; here a nominative (αὐτός) seems to precede, therefore a nominative succeeds.

οὐδὲν ὑποβιβάζοντας = "without the slightest flattery." ὑπὸ = Lat. "sub" in a diminutive sense in composition. θυρέω = θέω, "compono," and ὤψ = "vultum." So Shakespeare, "frame my face to all occasions;" and Tacitus, "vultu composito."

ἀποθουμνέας = "lost in wonder for the moment" (at what was said).

ἐπιστρέφεις, not = "diligently," but literally = "turning upon him."

καὶ δὲ = καί δὲ ὅθῃ = "now in what way;" δὲ = ἥδη.

τῆς πόλιος εὖ ἡκούσῃ = "his state going on well." Observe here the possessive force of the Article.

παῖδες ἦσαν καλοὶ τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ = "and he had children both beautiful and good." Aristotle in *Rhet.* I. 4 regards εὐτεκνία and πολυτεκνία as necessary elements of man's happiness (εὐδαιμονία), and in his *Ethics*, I. 8: εὖ πάντων γὰρ εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τῆς ἰδίας παραλόχης ἢ δυσγαῆς ἢ μονώτης καὶ ἀτεκνός. Compare the language of Holy Scripture, "Happy is the man that has his quiver full of them" (i. e. children), and the Brahminical proverb, "The sun of happiness never smiles on the ugly, ill-born, eunuch."

τοῦ βίου εὖ ἡκοντι = "having gone on well (in the course) of his life." Observe that βίη is = "life intensive." Lat. "vita" quam vivimus. βίος =

"life *extensive*" (course of life). Lat. "*vita*" quam vivimus. Hence the "means" and "manner" of life: under all these senses lies Aristotle's definition, βίος ἐστὶ λογικὴ ζωή, making it equivalent to "*animal existence, accompanied with reason*;" a distinction that has made itself felt in our own language, as in the words "*seology*" and "*biography*." See Dean Trench, *Greek Text. Syn.* p. 105.

ὥς τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν = "as things are with us." In our own power would require ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

τελευτῇ λαμπροτάτῃ ἐπεγένετο = "a most brilliant ending came to crown his life." Compare I. 14, ἐπετελέσθη.

ἐθαψαν αὐτοῦ, τῇ περ ἐπείκει = "buried on the spot, exactly where he fell." With αὐτοῦ some would supply τοῦ τέπρου.

### 31. Solon's discourse continued.

ὥς δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Τέλλον, κ.τ.λ. = "Now when Solon roused the curiosity of Croesus about Tellus." γὰρ = γοῶν = "at all events."

ἐκκλητῶμενοι τῇ ᾠρῃ. Compare Caesar's expression, "*tempore conclusus*," and see VII. 139, ἀναγκαίῃ ἐξέργυμαι, and Thucyd. III. 70.

διδίδεξαι = "clearly pointed out" (in a *distinguished* manner). Such often is the force of διὰ in composition. δευτερεῖα (supply δθλα) = "the second prize."

ὡς τῶν τέκνων = ὅτι τοιούτων τέκνων. Observe πρὸς τοῦτο = "in addition to this," but πρὸς τοῦτο = "on this account."

περιχαρῆς = "exceedingly glad" (περὶ = περισσῶς).

κατακοιμηθέντες = "having laid down to sleep."

ποιησάμενος (mid.) = "having caused to be made." So διδάσκειν = "to have taught."

### 32. Solon's discourse continued.

ἐνεμε = "went on to assign:" force of the imperfect, as elsewhere.

σπερχοίς = "hasty." See v. 33: this usage of the word is peculiarly Ionic.

ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρῃ. Jelf observes that δὲ here marks the suppression of a thought, — probably ἰδιώτας μὲν εὐδαίμονας νομίζεις.

οὐδὲ ἰδιωτίων ἀνδρῶν δέξιοις = "not even equal to men in a private (life)." οὐδὲ is here emphatic, and not connective.

ἀπέρριπται ἐς τὸ μηδὲν = "rejected as nothing," "set at naught."

τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἰδὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "that the Divinity is *really* and entirely jealous and apt to cause confusion." This sentiment is often found: see III. 40; VII. 10. 5; VII. 46; VIII. 109. Compare the language of Holy Writ (Exod. xx. 5), "for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God;" Nah. i. 2, "God is jealous, and the Lord revengeth;" Jer. i. 17, "Be not dismayed, lest I confound thee before them." Compare too the "*Dens Ultor*" of the Romans. It is the overweening conceit of primperity, rather than prosperity itself, and the pride fostered by distinction,

rather than distinction itself, that provokes the righteous indignation (*νέμεσις*) of the jealous Divinity. The cases of Croesus and Xerxes alone are enough to show this. Observe how Herodotus begins the 34th chapter: Μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, εἶλατο ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροίσου, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ζωντὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων δαβνύτατον. See also VII. 10. 5: οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑφρονίειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλων ἢ ζωντὸν. Observe he is here accounting for the action of the ὁ θεὸς φθονήσας. Again, VIII. 109: θεοὶ τε...οὐ ἐφθόνησαν ἀνδρα...ἐόντα ἀνισίων τε καὶ ἀτάσθαλον, κ.τ.λ. Such passages show that the jealousy of the Deity, according to the conception of Herodotus, was *conditional*, and only called forth by the *sin of man*, or his *conceit*, and did not arise, as Rawlinson erroneously supposes, because the Deity did not like any one to be great or happy but himself. In connection with this, observe, in Bk. III. 108, Herodotus *explicitly* states a doctrine he had before implied,—καὶ κως τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ πρόκλη, ὥστερ καὶ οἰκός, ἐστὶ εὐδαιμοσύνη: and, in following out this declaration of the *goodness* of providence, he enunciates as one phase of it,—a law of *compensation*. According to this law Greece has the best climate, though she has not the best *productions*, and other countries denied good *climates* are blessed with *good productions*; and so with men and cities, the humble are exalted, and the proud are debased. From a view of the whole tenor of the character of Croesus, he seems to have been a most fitting object to call down the humbling dispensations of providence on his head. We may glance at his *unprincipled* aggressions (ἄλλοισι ἄλλας αἰτίας ἐπιφέρειν), his vain-glorious fondness for display, his overweening conceit of his own grandeur, and his revengeful and captious spirit. Valckenaer's explanation of the passage is this: "Istiusmodi Historicorum dicta minus etiam videbuntur invidiosa cogitanti, τὸ θεῖον Deum esse ultorem, φθόνον vindictam dirinam vulgo dictam νέμεσιν. Quos Deus sequitur ultor, superbia videtur, diciturque φθονερός." In connection with this, observe that Herodotus calls the φθόνος by another term in chap. 34, namely, νέμεσις. According to Arist. *Rhet.* II. 9, it is a feeling to be attributed to the Gods rather than men. Strictly the word means a *distribution* (*νέμω*) of *what is due*, hence "righteous indignation" due against *undeserved* prosperity. See *Ethics*, II. 7, 15. It is considered by Aristotle a *virtue* lying between φθόνος, "envy," and ἐπιχαιρεκακία = "a malignity."

τὸ μακρὸν χρόνον = "in the length of time." Here the *attribute* is *emphatic*.

ὡς γὰρ ἐβδόμηκοντα, κ.τ.λ. = "for I set the limit of human life at seventy years, *at the farthest*?" so the Psalmist, "The days of our years are threescore years and ten."

παύχεται, κ.τ.λ. Here Herodotus is guilty of the strange error of making the solar year to average 375 days: though he knew its proper average (see II. 4). He makes Solon count his months at 30 days each, instead of 29 and 30 alternately, and then he forgets to say that from time to time the *intercalary* month was omitted altogether: these blunders therefore led to his wrong calculation.

τὸν ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπος συμφορά = "man is altogether an accident."

ἐπισχέω—supply *χρή*—"we ought to hold on," i.e. to stop. Compare *Æsch. Ag.* 901:

ἄλβισαι δὲ χρή  
βίῳ τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φάη.

See *Arist. Ethics*, I. 10, where this opinion is controverted.

καταρκτεῖ παρέχουσα="is fully competent to supply."

παρ' ἐμοί="in my judgment." See III. 160: παρὰ Δαρειῶ κριτῇ.

δικαίως ἐστὶ φέρεσθαι="has a right to carry off for himself."

ὑποδέξας="having given glimpses of." συλλάβω="grasp at the same time."

33. Croesus dismisses Solon in dishonour.

λόγου μὴ ποιησάμενος οὐδενός="having made him of no account."

ἀποπέμπεται="has him sent off," not escorts him in person.

ὁς...μετεῖς=Lat. "qui pratermisit."

34. Croesus dreams about the death of his son Atys.

μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνι οἰχόμενον="after the departure of Solon." Compare the Lat. use of "post" or "ante" with an accusative and participle, thus "post annum exactum," "post urbem conditam," "ante urbem conditam."

ὡς εἰκδσαι. Elliptical and aoristic. Supply *ἔξεστι*="as one may conjecture on the spur of the moment."

ἀπάντων (ἅμα πᾶς)=Lat. "cunctorum" ("conjunctorum"), either "of all, taken in a body," or "all without exception," the latter is the more common meaning with superlatives, as here.

οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη δρεῖπος="the phantom stood over him as he slept." Observe the Homeric personality thus given to the Dream-God, in taking this attitude: in Bk. VII. 14, it is more fully brought out, and represented as a speaking character, νυκτὸς δὲ γενομένης αὖτις τῶντ' ἐνείρον τῷ Ἐλέκτῳ κατακνυμένῳ ἔλεγε ἐπιστάν. And compare the case of the Dream-God that visited Agamemnon's pillow in *Iliad*, II. 20, στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ... Ὀνειρος; a passage which Milton evidently had in view when he dictated

"When suddenly stood at my head a dream."

ὁς ἔφαυε="who proceeded to show forth." Observe the change from the aorist of previous verbs to the imperfect here.

κωφός="deaf and dumb." In the early form of the language the word seems to have been taken in both senses.

τοῦτον δὲ ὡς τὸν Ἄτυν="this, observe, then is the Atys which." Some have said that Atys comes from ἀτῆ="the man judicially blind," and Adrastus="the man unable to fly from (his doom)," ἀ and διδράσκω. See Mure's *Greek Lit.* Vol. IV. p. 326.

ἀπαλεῖι contracted future for ἀπαλέσει=(how) "he will lose" him.

δωντὶ λόγον ἔδωκε = "gave himself up to consideration."

ἀγεται γυναῖκα = "he is procuring a wife" (force of the mid. voice).

ἀκόρτια δὲ καὶ δορδρία. Mark the father's tender care in these minute precautions which led him to put away even all these *little* instruments. In Latin, Greek, and English the rule of diminutives seems to be this, we *shorten* the *thing signified* by lengthening the *word significant of it*. ἀκων = "javelin;" ἀκόρτιον = "a little javelin," or "a boy's javelin" (as here). Lat. "homo" = "man," "homunculus" = "a *maunickia*."

ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους στήθησε, κ.τ.λ. " (he brought) them into the women's chambers, and **FILED** them up there, to prevent any (weapon) falling upon his son, by being suspended over him."

### 35. Adrastus visits Cræsus.

ἔχοντες δὲ οἱ ἐν χειρὶ τοῦ πατρὸς τὸν γάμον, just after our idiom = "whilst he has on hand the marriage of his son."

συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος = "held down by calamity." In Greek, calamity, joy, longing, desire, paleness, trembling, wrath, anguish, woo, indeed almost all passions and states, are conceived as either "seizing" or "holding" (ἐχω) us. Thus by a peculiar property of the Greek language *they* are made the *active* agents, while *we* are regarded as the *passive* subjects of the actions. This transference of active agency from the living being to his affections, states, feelings, and conditions, is after all more philosophical and true to nature than our own *modes of expression*, as these feelings, &c. do, in *point of fact*, influence us *more than we can be said to influence them* (see *Iliad*, III. 340—360. Weale's Edition.) The Romans endeavoured, though with no very great success, to naturalize this turn of thought among themselves, as in such phrases as "pallor habet vultum."

καθαρὸς χεῖρας = "clean in his hands," the accusative of closer definition. Æschylus expresses the pollution by human blood, as *ἐν τῷ χερῶν*.

οὐκ ἔδω = "being actually not" (μή ἔδω = "supposing he were not.")

ἐκδόρπε. From this it appears that Cræsus stands in the relation of a *priest-king*. This purification for homicide was *unknown* to Homer. The Greeks evidently borrowed it from the Lydians: at Athens it was taken cognizance of in the court of the Ephetae. Compare the Jewish cities of refuge, and see Eurip. *Iphig. in Taur.* 949, and *Æsch. Eum.* 445, with Müller's most able annotations and dissertations.

ὅτι δὲ παραλήρησεν ἡ καθαριὰς τοῖς Ἀνδροῖσι καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι. Grote, Vol. I. p. 34, well observes, "one remarkable proof, amongst many, of the deep hold which this idea took of the greatest minds in Greece, that serious mischief would fall upon the community, if family quarrels or homicide remained *without religious expiation*, is to be found in the objections which Aristotle urges against the community of women proposed in the Platonic republic. It could not be known what individuals stood in the relation of father, son, or brother: if therefore, wrong or murder of kindred should take place, the appropriate religious atone-

ments (αὶ νομιζόμεναι λόγου) could not be applied, and the crime would go unexpiated (Arist. Pol. II. 1, 14, and see Thuoyd. I. 115).

ἀπὸ τῆς Φρυγίης = "from what quarter of Phrygia:" the *local* genitive. Compare in Latin "qua gentium," "ubi terrarum." On this principle we may explain οὐ, "where," elliptical for οὐ τόρεον, and κατέργα τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὡς ποδῶν ἔχομαι, ὡς τάχους ἔχω, and the distinction between ἔβαλεν αὐτόν = "he hit him," the object aimed at, and ἔβαλεν αὐτόν = "he cast at *that place*, where the object was."

ἦκον = "having come." The present of this verb has always a perfect as well as present sense = "I have come, and am present." The imperfect ἦκον = "I had come." See *Heoub.* of Eurip. I.

ἐπίτοριος Ionio = Attic ἐφέτοριος = "one at the hearth" as a suppliant. See *Æsch. Eum.* 488 (Müller's Edition), and *Odys.* VII. 153.

ἀμείβετο = "returned" (an answer). Compare with the whole of this story the account given by Thucydides of the supplication of Themistocles.

ἀμυχανήσεις χρημάτων οὐδένος = "you shall be in a difficulty for nothing." The *privative* genitive.

ἐν ἡμετέρῳ. Supply εἰκῶ = (as we say) "in a house of ours" (see VII. 8).

ὡς κουφότατα φέρω, κ.τ.λ. Hor. Carm. I. 24. 19:

"Levius sit patientia  
Quicquid corrigere est nefas."

36. The lands of the Mysians devastated by a boar.

Μυσίῳ Οὐλόμπῳ. This is one of the highest mountains in Asia Minor, it lies on the western borders of Bithynia, a little to the south of Prusa. Its modern name is *Anadolî Dagh*. See Cramer's *Asia Minor*, and *Dic. of Geogr.* by Dr Smith.

ἐνὸς χρημα μέγα = "a great monster of a boar." A periphrasis to express *size* or *multitude*. See VII. 108, III. 109; Eurip. *Androm.* 181 and 718; and Xen. I. 4. 8.

ἔρμεώμενος = "taking its start," mid. voice.

τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα = "the laboured (fields) of the Mysians." Compare Homer's *Iliad*, II. 751, and Virgil's "*labores*" (*hominumque boûmque*).

διαφθείρσκε = "began, and went on destroying." Observe the force of the ending in -σκω and imperfect. Compare *τείδεσκον* a little below, a *Homeric* form.

συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν = "to send along with us *without delay*."

οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν, κ.τ.λ. = "for I could not possibly send him along with you." Observe how ἂν strengthens the *negative*.

τεθγαμὸς τε γὰρ ἐστὶ. Compare the language of Holy Writ, "I have married a wife, and therefore I cannot come."

ταῦτα = τὰ τοῦ γάμου.

τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν = "my entire hunting establishment," and so τὸ εἰρέσιον = "the rowing apparatus."

### 37. Atys goes to the hunting of the boar.

ἀποχρεωμένον τοῖσι = "making a full use of these" (offers), i. e. accepted them, were content with. See I. 102, VIII. 14.

ἐπεισέρχεται = "afterwards comes into (his father's presence)."

ὡ φάμενον = Lat. "quum negaret."

τίς γε παῖς = "that son, at all events." The article here is evidently demonstrative

ἀποκλείσας ἔχεις = "you have shut me out, and keep me shut out from" (these matters). See on I. 27.

τίσι δμμασι = τίσι δμμασι = "with what eyes," with what a face. Compare Soph. *Ajax*, 457, καὶ ποῖον δμμα πατρὶ ἐγλώσω φάει Τελαμῶνι. See *Phil.* 110, and Ovid, *Her.* VI. 145:

"Quo vultu natos, quo me accelerare videres."

### 38. The hunting of Atys.

ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα = "to the things taken in hand;" i. e. the hunting. Some say = "to the matter of which news is brought me."

διακλῆψαι = "to preserve you by stealth during (my life)."

διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοήν = "maimed in his hearing." The accusative of closer definition.

### 39. The hunting of Atys.

συγγνώμη = "a fellow-feeling."

τὸ δὲ ἐὸ μανθάνεις, κ.τ.λ. = "now the fact that you do not understand—nay, that you have missed the scope of the vision, it is right that I should tell you." In this sense of *μανθάνω* compare the Lat. "*fallo*," as Horace's "*castra fefellit*," "*qui moriens natusque fefellit*."

### 40. The hunting of Atys continued.

ἔστι τῇ μερικῇ = "there is the point in which you conquer me."

μεταγνώσκω = "I change my opinion." Compare μετανοία = "repentance" = "a change of heart." *μετά* often has this force in composition.

### 41. The hunting of Atys continued.

ἀχάρι. Contracted form of ἀχάριτι, as ἀπὸλι (VIII. 61) for ἀπὸλιδι. The term "unpleasant," ἀχάρις, is often applied by Herodotus to some very grievous calamity, by the figure litotes. See II. 141, VI. 9, VII. 138, 190. Compare Virgil's expression, *Georg.* III. 5: "*illaudati—Buciridia*."

ἐπεσφάμενος ἔχω = "I quickly received you into my house, and have kept you there." See on I. 27.

ἐλθόντες κακοῖσιν. Compare the robbers in Macbeth, and Horace's "*malis fures*."

ἐπὶ δηλήσει = "for the purpose of injuring you."

ἀπολαμπρύνει = ἀπολαμπρυνῇ = "you will gain *glory* for yourself."  
The ancients were as alive to "the *glory* of the chaos" as much as the moderns.

#### 42. Adrastus undertakes to accompany the son of Cræsus.

ἀν οὐκ ᾔτα = "I could not possibly have gone." ἀν here as elsewhere *strengthens* the negative.

συμφορῇ τοιῷδε κεχρημένον = "who has experienced such misfortune" (as I have). So the Latins used "utor."

οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι πάρα = "neither is the wish (so to do) present with me," i. e. mine. πάρα = πάρεστι: observe the accent.

ἀπήμονα τοῦ φυλάσσειντος, κ.τ.λ. = "look forward in *confidence* (τοι) to (your son's) returning home, free from calamity, as far as his guardian is concerned." εὔεκεν Ionic = Attic *εὔεκα*.

#### 43. Adrastus kills Atys.

ἐσηκόντιζον = "they *continued* to throw their darts upon him." Force of the imperfect.

ἐνθα δὴ ὁ ξείνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς τὸν φόνον = "it was *here*, observe, that the stranger—this stranger, observe, that had been purified from the blood of murder." δὴ strongly intensifies the word it precedes.

ἐξέπληρε τοῦ ὀνείρου, κ.τ.λ. = "immediately fulfilled the declaration of that dream."

#### 44. Cræsus overwhelmed with grief at the loss of his son.

μᾶλλον τι ἐδυνολογέστε = "and he reckoned it something the more dreadful" (because, &c.).

περιμακτίων. This word is peculiar to Herodotus. See III. 64, VIII. 109, I. 164. According to Suidas = δεινωπαθήσας. Schneider derives it from αἱμακτίω = "to smart very much from a bloody wound." περί = περισσῶς, and hence, as here, = "to suffer intensely."

Καθάριον = "as the God presiding over purification from the blood of murder." Ἐπίσιον = "as the God presiding over the (hospitable) hearth." Ἐταιρήιον = "as the God presiding over friendship."

ἐλάνθανε βόσκων = "he had continued to rear, and knew it not." See on L 5.

#### 45. Cræsus pardons Adrastus for having killed his son.

ἐπικατασφάξει μιν κελύων, κ.τ.λ. = "bidding him strike him down in death upon the corpse without hesitation."

ἀπολωλεκώς εἶη = "he had been the ruin of" (the father in the son).

κατοικτεῖρει = "pitied him from his heart." With verbs of feeling, especially, such is often the force of κατὰ.

εἰς δὲ ἐδ εν, κ.τ.λ. See Homer's *Iliad*, IV. 164.

εἰ μὴ ὅσον = "except inasmuch as." See Arist. *Rhet.* II. 3.

φονὸς δὲ τοῦ καθήρατος. This well accords with ἀπολωλεκώς above: destroying the father in the destruction of his only son.

ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ κατήστο = "continued settled down in great grief" (for the dead). Compare the Latin "*luctus*."

#### 46. Croesus consults and tests the Oracles.

πένθος μὲν Κροῖσον ἀπέταυσε = "made Croesus cease from his mourning for the dead." ταύομαι = "to stop oneself," "to cease" (intransitively).

ἐπέβησε δὲ ἐς φροντίδα = "and it entered into his serious consideration."

καταλαβεῖν αὐτῶν αὐξανομένην τὴν δύναμιν = "to take down their power, as it was increasing." See III. 36, 52, 128.

καὶ τοῦ ἐν Λιβύῃ = "and that one in Libya" (that of Ammon), because Egypt was regarded by Herodotus as in Asia, not in Africa. For the Egyptian oracles see II. 83; for that at Abn see Soph. *Œd. Ty.* 897—899, and Herod. VIII. 134; for Dodona see II. 51.

Ἀμφιάρεων καὶ Τροφώνιον. Both these oracles were in Boeotia.

δίτεμπε = "he sent amongst them" (διὰ being distributive).

#### 47. The Delphic oracle answers correctly the query of Croesus.

ἡμερολογέστας τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον = "reckoning the rest of the time by days" (λέγω, properly "to lay," and to reckon = "laying together").

οὐ λέγεται πρὸς οὐδαμῶν. Observe that οὐδαμοί in the plural is used exclusively by Herodotus. In IX. 58, the plural of οὐδαί occurs in the same clause, οὐδαί τε ἔδωκεν ἐν οὐδαμοῖσι.

ἐπαρώτεον τὸ ἐντεταλμένον = "they proceeded to ask that which they had been commissioned" (to ask).

ῥ χαλκὸς μὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "and beneath is brass strewn (as a couch), and above it is arrayed in brass." This is Blakeley's interpretation.

#### 48. Croesus regards the oracle at Delphi as true.

τὴν κρίσιν τῶν ἡμερέων = "the appointed day;" literally, "the chief of days."

ἐπινοήσας τὰ ῥ, κ.τ.λ. = "having set his mind upon those things which it was impossible to find out and to form conjectures upon."

χάλκεον ἐπίθημα ἐπιθεῖς = "having covered them with a brassen cover." The accusative of the cognate word.

#### 49. The correct answer of Amphiaraus.

τοῦ μαντήτος. This appears to Blakeley to be a gloss, and on good grounds, as Herodotus speaks rather of Amphiaraus himself than of his *ἀλγίνα*. See I. 46, VIII. 134.

#### 50. The offerings of Croesus to the Delphic oracle.

πάντα τρισχίλια ἕκαστε = "he offered three thousand of each kind," not "in all," which would require τὰ πάντα. See 1 Kings viii. 3, 63, and Herod. IV. 88, IX. 81.

ἐπιχρῶσιν καὶ ἐπαργύρου = "overlaid with gold and silver."

ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ = "gold purified" (by being boiled down).

τρίτων ἡμιτάλαντον = "two talents and a half." Professor Long observes here that this is Schweigheuser's correction: all the MSS. are said to have τρία ἡμιτάλαντα. If ἀπέφθου χρυσοῦ be the pure gold, as we may fairly conclude, and λευκὸς χρυσοῦ gold less pure, or a compound metal, some correction is necessary to make the pure gold weigh heavier than the baser metal. Valla's Latin translation is "*duo talenta cum dimidio*," which exactly expresses τρίτων ἡμιτάλαντον. Compare the expression τρίτος αὐτὸς = "himself, with two others," and see below, ἑξέμενον ἡμιτάλαντον = "six talents and a half."

51. Offerings of Croesus to the Delphian god.

καὶ τὰς δὲ ἄλλα = "and these things besides." See II. 74, IV. 52.

μεγὰρ μὲν μεγάλου = "great in size." Mark the Greek fondness for the cognate word.

ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσιόντι = "towards the right hand to one going in."

μετακινήθησαν = "were moved to different places."

ὑπὸ τὸν νῆον κατακαίοντα = "about the time the temple was burnt down." Compare the Latin "*sub*" with the accusative, as Horace's "*sub funera Trojae*." See also IX. 58, II. 36; Arist. Ach. 139.

ἐπικρίναται (supply ὁ κρητῆρ) = "mixes (by pouring) upon."

Θεοφανίαι. A celebrated festival at Delphi. Valckenauer thought the reading was corrupt, and that Θεοφάνεια should be read, as this festival is well known to have been celebrated by the Delphians: but both festivals are mentioned by Pollux and Philostratus.

Θεόδωρον τοῦ Σαμίου. It is supposed that there were two celebrated Samian artists of this name: one, the son of Rhæcus, the inventor of casting bronze, in the eighth century, B.C.; the other, who is here meant, the son of Telecles, contemporary with Alyattes and Croesus. See III. 41.

ὃ τὸ συντυχόν = "not the one to be met with every day," not ordinary.

οὐκ ὁρθῶς λέγοντες. Instead of λέγοντων, as if οὐ φασ: had preceded. (An anacolouthon.)

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς δειρῆς = "necklaces."

52. Presents sent by Croesus to Amphiarus.

χρῶσιν πάντων = "of entire gold," i. e. solid gold.

τὸ ξυστόν = "the shaft." The polished (ξίω) part of the δόρυ.

ἐς ἐμὴν = "up to my time." Compare the Latin "*usque ad nos*."

ἐν τῇ νηὶ τοῦ Ἰσμηίου Ἀπόλλωνος. From VIII. 134, it seems doubtful whether Amphiarus had a chapel in the temple of Apollo, on the banks of the Iameneus. Bähr thinks that these gifts were removed from the temple of Amphiarus, where his oracle was, and transferred to the

temple of Ismenian Apollo, where they remained in the time of Herodotus. Müller, *Orchomenos* (page 149), seems to think that a shrine of Amphiaraus was within the Ismenian.

53. Croesus inquires from the oracles if he should go to war.

*εἰ στρατεύεται...προσθήσεται* = "if he should make an expedition, and if he could attach to himself."

*ταῦτα ἐπαρώτεον* = "proceeded to ask these things in addition."

*εἰ γινώμαι συνέδραμον* = "the opinions concurred."

*καταλῦσαι*, aor. = "would quickly dissolve." Suidas has preserved the exact words of the oracle:

*Κροῖσος Ἄλυν διαβάς μεγάλην ἀρχὴν καταλύσει,*

which Cicero thus renders, *Div. II. 56*:

"Croesus, Halyn penetrans, magnam pervertet opum vim."

Compare the equally ambiguous oracle given to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus:

"Αἶο τε, Ἄεακίδα, Romanos vincere posse."

Croesus really destroyed his own empire, foolishly thinking he would destroy that of the Persians.

54. His gratitude to the Delphians.

*πάγχυ τε ἐλπίσας* = "having fully expected."

*προμαντήρ καὶ ἀρελείρ καὶ προεδρίη* = "precedency in consulting the oracle, exemption from tax (probably that imposed on foreigners by the Amphictyons), and a front seat at the games."

*εἰς τὸν δαί χρόνον* = "ever from time to time."

55. The Delphic oracle tells Croesus the duration of his power.

*ἐνεφορέτεσθαι αὐτὸν* = "he took his fill of it;" mid. and intensive.

*χρῆ* = "answers." *χρηόμεαι* = "to seek an answer" from the oracle.

*πυδαῖς* = "of delicate foot." See Eurip. *Troad.* 506, *Dout.* xxviii.

56. The Pelasgic and Hellenic races (see Appendix II.).

Blakesley proposes to read *ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν τὰ προεκκριμένα τὰ ἀρχαῖον, ἴστω τὸ μὲν Πελασγικὸν τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθνος*, and translates, "for these were the leading nations of olden time, being, the one a Pelasgian, the other a Hellenic tribe." This is certainly ingenious and sensible.

*ἐξιχώρης* refers to the Ionian tribe, not to the Pelasgian. See VII. 161, for the settled habits of the Athenians.

*ἐν τῷ μὲν γὰρ Δευκαλίωνος* = "for in the time of Deucalion." So *ἐν τῷ Δάφου* = "in Dorus's time."

*Δρυονίδα.* See VIII. 31.

57. The language of the Pelasgians.

*Κρότωνα.* Niebuhr proposes to read *Κροτόνα* for *Κρήτωνα*, and thinks Crotona or Etruria is meant. The great historian is supported

by Dionysius. The text of Herodotus is ably supported by Cramer (*Hist.* Vol. I. p. 159). See Thucyd. IV. 109.

οἱ σῶνικοι ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναῖοι. See VI. 137 and Thucyd. IV. 119. From Book II. 51, it would seem that Herod. uses σῶνικοι in its strict sense of the inhabitants of the same country, though of different origin.

δοῦναι ἄλλα. Supply πάντα as antecedent.

τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέβαλε = "learned to change their language."

### 58. The Hellenic language.

τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὴν γλῶσση μὲν, κ.τ.λ. = "now the Hellenic race, since it came into being, continues to use the same language, as is perfectly evident to me."

ἀποσχισθὲν = "having branched off from." The passive used in a middle sense. Observe that this metaphor is drawn from the stream that branches off or tears itself away from the regular course of the river. See IV. 56, II. 17, VII. 233.

τῶν ἐθνῶν πολλῶν = "those nations that were numerous."

τῶν πολλῶν ἐθνῶν = "the majority of nations."

προσχωρηκότων αὐτῷ = "that had gone over to it" as volunteers. This accords with Thucyd. I. 3.

### 59. An account of Athens.

τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν κατεχόμενον τε καὶ διεσπασμένον, κ.τ.λ. = "he learnt from inquiry that the Attic nation was being held down, and had been torn into factions by Pisistratus."

ἐκπέμπειν = "to divorce (a wife)," but ἀπολεῖν = "to depart from (a husband)."

ἀπεισθῆναι = "to repudiate" his son as his own, i. e. to disown him. In such words as ἀπεῖρα, ἀπειρηκα, the notion seems to be = "I have cried, off."

πείθεσθαι θέλει. Supply φασί, λέγεται, or some such word.

στάσιαζόντων. The factions may be thus classified :

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. The Hyperacrii (or Diacrii, being Highlanders)—Democrats ;         | { poor, and of the lowest orders, bearing the name of Θῆτες.                      |
| 2. The Pedisei (who held the plains or μεσότητες)—Aristocrats ;       |   |
| 3. The Paralι (the sea-coasters)—moderate, and for mixed government ; | { being noble, and rich from their landed possessions.                            |
|   | { being commercial, they dreaded both extremes ; i. e. Aristocracy and Democracy. |

καταφρονήσας τὴν τυραννίδα. Some say = "thinking of the tyranny, with contempt for his opponents." This seems rather strained, why not

= "having his mind absorbed in the tyranny," thinking of *nothing else*. This carries out the *intensive* notion often implied in *κατά* in composition. See Herod. VIII. 10.

καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῶν ὑπερακρίων προστάς = "and avowedly standing forth as the champion of the highland party."

ἴσθω = "forsooth," Latin, "scilicet." Almost always used in a bitterly *ironical* sense.

ἐν τῇ πρὸς Μεγαρίδας. This expedition was made to recover Salamis, which the Megarians had taken along with Nisaea at the time of Oylon's insurrection, B.C. 620.

Νισαίαν. The part of Megara connected by long walls to the city, as the Piræus was to Athens. See Thucyd. I. 103.

οἱ δορυφόροι... κερωηφόροι δέ. An instance of *εὐεκορισμός*. See Arist. Rhet. III. 2, 15. The softening of *δορυφόροι* down to *κερωηφόροι*, the less suspicious term, threw the Athenians off their guard.

τιμὰς = "authorities." So Soph. Ajax, 654:

καὶ γὰρ τὰ δευτὰ, καὶ τὰ καρτερώτατα  
τιμὰς ὀφείλει.

ἐπὶ ταῖσι κατεστηῶσι = "on condition that he conformed with the things as he found them established." Compare Thucyd. I. 13: ἐπὶ ῥηταῖς γράσει.

κοσμεῖν καλῶς τε καὶ εὖ = "ordering the city honourably and excellently." This shows that Pisistratus was no *tyrant* in one sense of the word.

60. Pisistratus is banished.

τὸντὲ φρονήσαντες = "having come to an understanding."

ἐκ νέως = Lat. "denovo" (= de novo), Eng. "anew."

ἐπεκρυκτέρε = "made his overtures by a herald."

ἀδεξαμένον τὸν λόγον = "having entertained the proposal."

ἐπὶ τῇ κατόδῳ = "with a view to his restoration." Compare below, κατέγει = "restores."

ὡς Ἀθηναῖοις ταῖσι πρώτοις. Compare Thucyd. II. 41, where Pericles calls Athens, τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσις, and Cicero, *de Orat.* I. 4, "illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices Athenas."

τῷ δήμῳ = "the *dème*," or district. There were 174 in Attica altogether: similar to our "*boroughs*."

προβέξαντες, κ.τ.λ. = "having pointed out beforehand to her (what kind of)," &c.

61. Pisistratus goes to Eretria.

ἀργίῳ εἶναι τὸν Ἀλκμαιωνίδην. See V. 70, 71, and Thucyd. I. 126.

ἐργῶ... ὡς εἶχε. The same expression is found in I. 114.

παράδωκεν = "all along," and so "entirely."

γνώμην νικήσαντος = the accusative of closer definition. So in μέγην, πάλαιμους, 'Ολύμπια νικῶν.

ἔγειρον δαρίδας = "they proceeded to collect contributions."

αἱ τινὲς σφί προεβόλτο καὶ τι = "which happened to owe them anything in former times," i. e. for past favours. See III. 140.

62. Pisistratus seizes Marathon.

διὰ ἐνδεκάτου ἔτους = "during a part of the eleventh year." Observe it is not the simple accusative of duration.

προείρρων = "continued to flow towards them." Imperfect tense.

οὕτω δὴ = "observe now in this case."

τοὺς κατῴτας = "those who were returning from exile."

οἱ ἀμφὶ Πεισιστρατῶν = "Pisistratus and his train." Compare the Homeric formula, οἱ ἀμφὶ Πηλεΐδων.

ἐς τῶντ' ἐνωμένοι = "coming together in the same place where (the enemies) were posted." See Jelf's *Greek Gram.*

ἐπὶ Παλληνίδος Ἀθηναίων ἱκόν. See Eurip. *Herac.* 849, Παλληνίδος γὰρ σεμνὴν ἐκπερὼν πάγον Δίας Ἀθάνας. Pallene was a *démus* of the tribe Antiochus, not far from Acharnæ. According to Colonel Leake it occupied some part of the opening between the Pentitic mountain and the northern end of Hymettus.

καὶ ἀντία ἔθετο τὰ στρα = "got his soldiers in array opposite."

παρίσταται = "takes his stand by;" (force of mid.).

ἔρπηται δ' ὁ βόλος, κ.τ.λ. = "the drop-net has been cast, and the seine (*large drag-net*) has been opened out, and the tunny-fishes will dart in through the moonshiny night." Here Blakesley well observes, "The position of the armies and their operations will be excellently described by the oracle, if we suppose, first, the Pisistratids from Mæsgæa marching upon Pallene; next, the Athenian force advancing to meet *these*, and opposing an obstacle to their advance; thirdly, the Pisistratids from Marathon, by a night-march from Stamata round the foot of Mount Brilessus, coming upon them about dinner-time. Then the Mæsgæan force would be aptly denoted by the *ἄλκων* (or seine), the Marathonian corps by the *βόλος* (or drop-net), and the Athenians by the shoal of tunny fish. The brightness of the mid-day, the critical time for the attack, is symbolized by the epithet *σεληναία* applied to νύξ; night (not a *bright*, but a dark one) being the proper time for fishing, after the manner common in Greece, when the shoal is attracted by a torch (held over the stern of the boat) into the entrance of the net prepared for them."

63. Pisistratus accepts the oracle of Amphilytus.

συλλαβὼν τὸ χρηστήριον = "having comprehended the oracle." So I. 90, αὐτὸ συλλαβὼν δὲ τὸ μῆθεον.

ἵκων μῆτε ἀλισθεῖν. Bähr very aptly explains this as "*non solum non...sed etiam*," "not only to prevent their being assembled, but to

keep them *scattered*." The optative mood is used with *δρω* because *ἐπενεργᾶται* is the *historical* present, used instead of the aorist.

*ἀνίεμαι ἑκαστος*. The nominative for the accusative. This anacolouthon is common in Herodotus.

#### 64. Pisistratus purifies Delos.

*τῶν μὲν αὐτόθεν* = "some, indeed, from the country itself;" namely, Attica, an allusion to the mine of Laurium. See Bösch's *Public Economy of Athens*, Vol. II. p. 415.

*ταραμεινόντων* = "who withstood him."

*ἐκ τῶν λόγιων* = "according to the oracles." Compare the force of *ex* in the phrase, "*ex tua sententia*."

*καθῆρας δὲ δεῖ*. Thucyd. III. 104, describing the subsequent purification of Delos by the Athenians in the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, agrees entirely with Herodotus.

#### 65. An account of Lacedæmon.

*προσέπταιον* = "had stumbled against." *Intransitive*.

*κακονομώτατοι ἦσαν...καὶ ξένοις ἀπρόσμικτοι, κ.τ.λ.* = "they were governed even in former times by the worst laws of almost all the Greeks, but with respect to themselves, and because they admitted no intercourse with strangers." According to Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. II. page 12), "when Herodotus describes the Spartans, before the time of Lycurgus, as being in a state of the greatest anarchy, he can only mean that the original constitution had been overthrown and perverted by external circumstances, until it was restored and renewed by Lycurgus." The words *ξένοις ἀπρόσμικτοι* relate to the prohibition to travel into foreign countries, as well as to receive foreigners, Athenians especially, into their own.

*τὸν νῦν κατεστηῶτα κόσμον* = "the present existing arrangement" (of affairs); literally, "*the now established arrangement*."

*ἐπιτροπεύσαντα, κ.τ.λ.* Müller (*Dorians*, Vol. I. p. 151) observes on this difficult passage: "It appears, however, that the name of Lycurgus was not preserved in any register of the kings; since in that case it would have been impossible that he should have been called by Herodotus the guardian of his nephew *Labidas*, the Eurysthenide, by Simonides (who lived in great intimacy with king Pausanias), the son of Prytanis, and the brother of Eunomus the Proclide, and by others the guardian of his nephew Charilaus, had there existed any genealogy of him that was sufficiently accredited." Clinton thinks the text here corrupt.

*δυσμερίας, κ.τ.λ.* These were military institutions. The *δυσμερία* appears to have consisted originally of 24 men and their chief. The *τρικλῆς* was probably the *thirtieth* part of an *ὥστ* or *φάρπλη*, with which also the *συστία* corresponded. The latter were not peculiar to Sparta, being practiced in Carthage; these *sysitia* are supposed to have originated amongst the Etruscans of South Italy.

## 66. Spartan designs on Arcadia.

ἀνὰ τε ἔδραμον αὐτίκα, κ.τ.λ. = "and *up* they *sprang* forthwith, and flourished, inasmuch as they were both in a *good* country, and in *considerable* number." Here the English and Greek idioms exactly correspond with each other; and see Herod. VII. 156, and Homer's *Iliad*, VI. 56.

βαλανφάγοι ἄνδρες. Bähr thinks that by the term "acorn-eating" the antiquity of the nation is described. See Virg. *Geo.* I. 148:

"Cum jam glandes atque arbuta sacrae  
Deficerent silvae, et victum Dodona negaret."

οἱ δὲ, πέντας, κ.τ.λ. When two predicates belong to the same subject Herodotus and Homer use μὲν with the first and οἱ δὲ with the second predicate, as here. See VI. 9.

χρησμῷ κλισθῆλῳ = "a counterfeit oracle." See Herod. V. 91, I. 75. κλισθῆλος = "clipped or counterfeit" (coin).

ἐν τῇσι ἐδεόεατο = "in which (fetters) they had been bound." See Chap. 80, ἐν πένθσι δεδμένον.

67. The Pythian oracle commands the Spartans to bring home the bones of Orestes.

κατὰ μὲν δὴ τὸν πρότερον, κ.τ.λ. = "from the beginning to the end of the former war, ever without interruption," &c. κατὰ gets this notion respecting time from its cognate notion respecting place, "from the top to the bottom," and so "throughout."

συνεχῶς = Lat. "continenter" = "holding on."

θεοπρόπους = θεωροῦς (in Herod.) = "those sent to consult an oracle."

ἐπαγαγομένους ὀστέα = "bring back and call to their aid the bones (of Orestes)." προσάγεσθαι is to "bring over to one's side."

λευρῇ ἐνὶ χώρῳ. See *Odyss.* VII. 121, where commentators explain by λείψ and ὁμαλῇ.

ἐπιτάροχος. Its more usual form is ἐπίτροχος, which properly signifies an auxiliary; here, however, ἐπιτάροχος has rather a middle signification, and means one who aids himself against his enemies, who gains advantage over them. In Homer it is used only of the gods.

ἀπείχων τῆς ἐξευρέσεως οὐδὲν ἔλασσαν = "not at all the less did they miss the discovery."

ἐς οὐ. Herodotus uses this form sometimes, instead of ἐς δ, or μέχρις οὐ.

ἀγαθοεργοί. The five Agathoergi, who served the state in missions for the space of a year, were taken out of the 300 knights, the flower of the Spartan youth.

## 68. Lichas finds the bones of Orestes.

ἐπιμειλίης = "intercourse by treaty," see Thucyd. V. 35; properly = "conditional intercourse," as from ἐνι in its conditional sense.

ἐς χαλκίον...σίδηρον, κ.τ.λ. The Greek term for a "smile" was drawn from the metal first used in early times; χαλκος, "copper," or "bronze." Compare Lucretius, v. 1292:

"Prior aris erat quam ferri cognitius usus."

ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀπιστίας, κ.τ.λ. = "under a feeling of incredulity," &c. The notion of the degeneracy of the human frame has prevailed in almost all countries, and has received support from the supposed discovery of bones far exceeding the ordinary stature of man.

ἐμισθεύετε παρ' οὐκ ἐκδίδοντος = "he tried to hire from (the smith), who positively would not let out." Observe here the force of οὐκ instead of μή with a participle, μή would imply a supposition or condition.

ἀτέγνωσε = "persuaded."

69. Croesus makes a treaty with the Spartans.

ἀνεν γε δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης = Livy's "sine dolo malo."

δι' ἀγγέλων ἐπεκηρυκτέετε = "held out proposals to them by means of messengers." Compare Thucyd. iv. 38.

χρυσὸν ἀνέλεστε—tentative = "tried to purchase gold for themselves."

70. Presents are given on both sides.

ζώδιον = "little animals." Dim. of ζῷον: so in Lat. "animal," with diminutive "animalcula."

71. Sandanis dissuades Croesus from attacking the Persians.

ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ χρησέμεν = "having missed (the sense) of the oracle," i. e. its meaning.

σκυρίδας ἀναγυρίδας. The drawers and other leathern dress were common in Persia before the conquest of Media; after that time they were probably confined to the lower classes. In Elizabeth's time such were very common in Ireland. Compare the Irish song of poor Brian, "who had no breeches to wear, and bought a skerp's skin to make him a pair."

πρὸς δέ. Supply τούτοις. This preposition and μετὰ are often put without cases by Herodotus as adverbial prepositions, as in Homer.

περιζώσανται = "they will cling around them;" properly, "they will hold themselves around."

72. The Cappadocians.

μῆκος ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In Bk. iv. 101, the day's journey is reckoned at about 200 stadia; therefore five days' journey would amount to 1000 stadia. Now the shortest distance from the Mediterranean to the Euxine sea considerably exceeds 2000 stadia. See Rawlinson's Herod.

73. The Scythians outrage Oyxares.

ἐκρέψαθε = "secretly withdrew from (the place)."

ἄργηρ ἄρτος = "hasty in temper." Compare the common expression "upish."

ἐδέσμεναι = "ate of," from τρώμεναι.

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μῆκος ὁδοῦ εἰς τὴν ἀνὰ, κ.τ.λ. In Bk. iv. 101, the day's journey is reckoned at about 200 stadia; therefore *six* days' journey would amount to 1000 stadia. Now the *shortest* distance from the Mediterranean to the Euxine sea considerably exceeds 2000 stadia. See Rawlinson's *Herod.*

73. The Scythians outrage Oyxares.

ὁπρὸς ἤθε = "secretly withdrew from (the place)."

ἀργὸν ἄρεος = "hasty in temper." Compare the common expression "uppink."

ἐνδύνεσθαι = "ate of," from *πάρειμαι*.

## 74. War between the Lydians and Medes.

συμβολή:="a conflict," *dashing together*; often in this sense in Herodotus.

τῆς μάχης συνεστρώσης="when the contest was fairly set on foot." So Homer's *Iliad*, XIV. 96, *πάλῃ μοι συνεσταβός καὶ ἀντὶς*.

Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος, κ.τ.λ. Clinton believes the right date of this eclipse to be that assigned by Hales, B.C. 603, May 17, in the fifteenth year of Alyattes, and eight years before the death of Cyaxares.

Συέννεσις. A title of the kings of Cilicia, as Pharaoh was of those of Egypt.

ἐγνώσαν="decided." Compare the double force of "*sententia*" in Latin and "*judgment*" in English.

ἀνε γὰρ ἀναγκαίης, κ.τ.λ.="for without the strong tie of family connection even strong conventions will not hold together." With ἀνάγκη here compare the Lat. "*necessitudo*" and "*necessarii*."

ὁμοχροῖτη="the surface of the skin." See IV. 70, and Tacitus, *Ann.* XII. 47, "*levi ictu cruorem eliciunt*."

## 75. Cræsus passes the Halys.

πρὸς ἑωυτοῦ...εἶναι="was in his own favour."

δωθεν="nearer the source of the stream."

εἰς τὰ ἀρχαία="into its former course."

## 76. Cræsus captures Pteria.

κατὰ Σινώπην πόλιν="on the same line with the city Sinope."

τοὺς κλήρου="the allotments." "*lots*" is the American and Canadian term for "*plots of ground*," i. e. "*farms*."

τὰς περιουσίας. Supply πόλεις.

## 77. Cræsus returns to Sardis.

μεμψείς κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος, κ.τ.λ.="being dissatisfied with his own army considering their numbers."

ἐπειρᾶτο ἐνὶ ὧν for ἐνίεναι. This is the frequent construction of *πειράσθαι*.

Δαβύνητος. The last king of Babylon, called Nabonadius and Nabonidus, supposed to be the Belshazzar of Daniel.

ἀρίστος. Used by Herodotus indifferently of good and evil.

## 78. Prodigy at Sardis.

ταῦτα ἐπιλεγόμενῃ Κροίσῳ="while Cræsus was considering these matters." ἐπιλεγ. literally="collecting his thoughts upon."

Τελμησσέων. Cicero, *de Div.* I. 41: "*Telmessus in Caria est, qua in urbe excellit haruspicium disciplina*."

## 79. Cyrus follows in the track of Cræsus.

πρῆγμα δὲ εἶναι="that it was his business."

ἀπαλόθεα. Here the pluperfect is evidently used for the aorist.

## 80. Battle of Sardis.

ψιλόν = "bare (of trees)."

Ἵλλος, also called *Phrygius*. It falls into the Hermus from the north-east.

τῷ δὲ τι καὶ, κ.τ.λ. = "by which the Lydian expected to gain some considerable advantage."

## 81. Croesus sends for his allies.

προερίπτετε = "to give notice beforehand." Observe the future notion in *ἐρῶ* and its compounds.

ἐνταῖς Ἰονίῃ = Attic *ἐνταῖς*.

## 82. A Lacedæmonian war with the Argives.

συμαχίας. The abstract for the concrete form *συμμάχουσι*.

περὶ χώρου καλεσμένου Θυρέης. Thucyd. II. 27, Ἡ δὲ Θυρεάτις γῆ, μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστίν. IV. 56, ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Θυρέαν, ἣ ἐστὶ μὲν τῆς Κυκουρίας γῆς καλουμένης, μεθορία δὲ τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς· νομιζόμενοι δὲ αὐτῶν ἔδωσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Διγυήταις ἐκπεσεῖσθαι ἐντοκαῶν.

πρὸς ἐσπέρην Ἀργείων. On account of its apparent position when approached from the sea.

ἡ Κυθηαία νῆσος. This is elsewhere (I. 105, VII. 235) called by Herodotus, as by others, τὰ Κέθηρα, now "Cerigo."

Ὀθρυάδης. This story is told by several authors; amongst others compare Ovid, *Fast.* II. 663:

"Si tu signasses olim Thyreatida terram:

Corpora non leto missa trecenta forent.

Nec foret Othryades congestis tectus in armis

O quantum patrie sanguinis ille dedit."

ἐνανδύκετε κομῶντες = "wearing long hair by fixed custom."

ἐκ τοῦτου κομᾶν. Supply *νόμον ἔθετε* from the preceding clauses.

συλλοχίτιον. Bähr observes that the loss of his comrades must have been the more painful to Othryades, as the *λόχος* was not only a military bond of union, but also connected individuals in private life. See Müller's *Derians*, Vol. II. p. 237.

καταχρήσασθαι = Lat. "confiscate," and used as Herodotus sometimes uses *διαχρήσασθαι*.

## 83. Siege of Sardis.

ἅμωι = "notwithstanding" (they were at war with the Argives). See Thucyd. V. 61, VI. 70.

## 84. The taking of Sardis.

οὐ γὰρ ἦν δέουδ'...μή = "for there was no dread that it should be (taken)."

Μήδης. The last king of Lydia but one of the Heraclida.

τὸν λέοντα. Creuzer explains this on astronomical principles, and considers the lion as a sacred emblem, with the old kings of Lydia, of their great ancestor Hercules, whom he identifies with the Sun. Hence he accounts for the golden lion (l. 50), presented by Croesus to the temple of Delphi.

δικασάντων = "having decided."

ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τοῦ Τιμόλου, κ.τ.λ. = "now it is the part of the city facing the mountain Tinolus."

οὕτω δὲ Σάρδις, κ.τ.λ. A different account of the capture of Sardis is given by Ctesias. According to Xenophon's *Cyropæd.* vii. 2, 3, it was taken by means of a Persian, who had formerly been slave to one of the garrison in the citadel, and who had learnt the means of descending to the river and of returning to the fortress. κατ' αὐτὸν = "after his example."

85. The son of Croesus, on seeing his father's danger, wonderfully recovers his power of speech.

κατ' αὐτὸν δὲ Κροῖσον = "with regard to Croesus himself."

ἐπιεικῆς = "of good capacity."

εὐεστοί = "prosperity." See IX. 81, and *Æsch. Sept. e. Thebas*, 171.

τὸ πᾶν ἐς αὐτὸν = "(had done) all in his power;" literally = "all that was in him." Compare Lat. "pro virili parte."

ἀμφί. Buttman in his *Lexilogus* (page 102, English Translation) observes on this passage, "The construction is best thus, τόδε σοι λείον (ἐστίν) ἀμφί εἶναι = 'it is better for thee to be without it,' i. e. ἀμφί scilicet αὐτοῦ; literally, 'far away from it,' like ἀμφί φυλάττω above at sect. 6." ἐρρηξε = "burst into utterance." So Virgil, "rumpere vocem."

86. Croesus captured.

θεῶν δρεψ δῆ = "Deorum nescio cui." δῆ makes the definite notion more definite, and an indefinite more indefinite.

ἀνευκόμενον = "with deep-drawn breath." See Büttmann's, *Lexil.* sub voce.

τίνα τοῦτον ἐπικαλέεσθαι = "who this was whom he called upon."

τὸν δὲ ἐγὼ...λόγους ἐλθεῖν. This seems to be the sense, viz. "one whose conversation I should consider of more value to all kings than large sums of money."

87. Apollo saves Croesus.

ἐκ...αἰθέρις = "after clear weather."

καταπαγῆσθαι = "burst down upon them" like a storm.

ἀνέγνωε = "persuaded;" literally = "influenced your mind up to that (point)."

ἐγὼ ταῦτα ἐπρήξα, κ.τ.λ. = "I have done these things, urged by your good fortune and by my own ill fortune."

## 88. Cyrus pities Croesus.

συννοίῃ ἐχόμενος = "cogitando implicitus" = "wrapped up in anxious thought."

φέρουσι τε καὶ ἀγούσι = a formula expressive of plundering maraudings or raids = Lat. "ferunt (res) et agunt" (*animalia*).

## 89. Cyrus places confidence in Croesus.

ὅ τι εἰ ἐνορώμην. Supply πλέων.

εἰ τι ἐνορώμην πλέων = "if I perceive in it anything of greater advantage." Compare Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 918, εἰ πλέων πεύω, and *Antig.* 268, εἶδέν ᾧ ἐρυνώσω πλέων.

ἐπιδοξα γενέσθαι. Lobeck remarks that ἐπιδοξος (the same in sense with προσδόκιμος) is often joined with the aorist in the sense of the future. See Herod. vi. 12.

ἐπαραστησόμενον = "will rise up in revolt against you."

## 90. Cyrus's wrath against Apollo.

ἀναρτημένου σεν = "since you are despised." Here the genitive absolute is used, instead of the nominative, in construction with αἶψά δέσιν, &c. See I. 3, τοῖς δὲ, προῖσχομένων, κ.τ.λ.

ὅ, τι εἰ τοῦτο ἐπηγορεύω, κ.τ.λ. = "what was this complaint against the God which led him to make the request?"

κατέβαινε αὐτῷ παρατερόμενος = "and he came down to this request again."

ἐπειναι εἰ τῷ θεῷ, κ.τ.λ. = "that it might be in his power to reproach the gods with these matters."

## 91. The oracle defends itself.

τῇ περὶ μύθῳ μοῖραν, κ.τ.λ. See *Æsch. Prom.* 518—20.

πέμπτον γένος. "Croesus was the fifth descendant from Gyges; comprising in the number five the first and the last. The kings of Lydia, of the house of the Mermnads, succeeded each other in the following order: Gyges, Ardys, Sadyattes, Alyattes, Croesus. The method of genealogic reckoning among the Greeks was this: in computing the number of ancestors and descendants, they included the two extremes; the first of the ancestors and the last of the descendants." Larcher.

ἔδωκε γυναικὴν ἐπισπόμενος = "following up a woman's treacherous device."

Ἀεζίων = "the declarer" of oracles, from λέγειν, as προφήτης Διὸς in the *Eumenides* of *Æschylus*.

οὐκ οἷός τε ἐγένετο, κ.τ.λ. = "but it was not possible to draw aside the Fates." Grote remarks, "here the sovereignty of the Muses, and the subordinate agency of the gods, are unequivocally set forth." *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. iv. 262.

δοῖν δὲ ἐνέδωκεν, κ.τ.λ. (supply τῶν) = "and all that these (Fates) granted (literally, "gave in") he won, and presented as a favour to him (i. e. Croesus)."

ἐπαρβόλετε = "he got put off to the last." Observe the force of the mid. voice.

συνελαβε = "comprehended;" i. e. "put (the sense well) together."

ἀπὸ ἡγελασ = Lat. "enuntiabant" = "announced in detail."

## 92. More offerings of Croesus to the shrine of Hellas.

τρίπους χροῦστος. There were two sorts of *tripods*; one in which wine was mixed with water; this was not to be placed on the fire, whence called ἀπυρός; and the other to be placed on the fire for heating water, like our "*kettle*" or "*caldron*."

τῷ Ἀπέλλωνι τῷ Ἰσμηνίῳ. See I. 52, V. 59, VIII. 134.

Προμήτης. See VIII. 37. Athena derived this name from the situation of her temple, forming as it were a vestibule to that of Apollo. She was also styled Πρόβουα, from her attribute of *prudence* or *forethought*.

ἐν Βραγχίδῃσι τῇσι Μιλήσιω. The Branchidae were a family of priests who had the charge of the temple and oracle of Apollo at Didymi, in the district of Miletus. Observe that αἱ Βραγχίδαι = "the priests," but αἱ Βραγχίδαι = *the place* so called.

ἐπὶ κνάφου ἑλκων = "pulling him to pieces on a rack." Literally, κνάφος is the "*fuller's comb*."

## 93. Topography of Lydia.

θεώματα δὲ γῇ Αὐδίῃ, κ.τ.λ. This shows that Herodotus did not know Xanthus' treatise on Lydia, as that author mentions *the wonders* of volcanic agency and other natural phenomena (see Dählgren).

Τμώλου, now "Bour Dag." From this chain of mountains the river Pactolus rises.

οἱ ἀγοραῖοι = "the hucksters." Compare the Lat. "*circumforansi*."

οἶροι = "cippi." Sepulchral pillars.

δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες = "the daughters of the common people," who, being poor, wish *thus* to acquire a dowry; or = "the daughters of the *old* (native) district," who thus worshipped Cybele.

ὡς δ' ἂν συναίτησιν = "until they shall have married;" literally = "taken to *house-keeping*."

## 94. The Lydians the first coiners of money.

παρὰ ἡλλήσοι...καὶ. After adjectives expressing similitude καὶ is frequently used in Greek, as "*atque*" in Latin.

πρῶτοι δὲ ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ. Some say Phido, king of Argos, coined the *first* silver money at Ægina, with the figure of a tortoise on, B. C. 750; and to him (VI.) Herodotus ascribes the invention of weights and

measures among the Lacedæmonians. Observe that Homer never mentions coin.

κεφάλαια ἐχρήσαντο. Compare the Latin expression "percuters nummos," and mark that the antecedent fact is expressed in the *participial* form, and its *consequence* in the purely *verbal* form: "they struck off the coin, and then used it."

καπηλῶν = "retailers;" ἐμπόρων = "wholesale dealers," and so "merchants." See Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. I. p. 90.

Τυρρητῶν ἀναιδέα. The Roman writers acknowledge this (Horace to Mæcenas, *Sat.* I. 6. 1):

"Non quia, Mæcenas, Lydorum quidquid Etruscos  
Incoluit fines."

Virgil has "Lydius Tybris" (*Æn.* II. 782), and see Tacitus (*Annal.* IV. 55). In favour of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans the following points have been urged: 1. Herodotus' statement is valuable, because he was well acquainted with Lydian history; 2. He was also well acquainted with that of Magna Græcia; 3. The Sardians in Tiberius' time asserted this common origin; 4. The Etrurian and Lydian languages of the same Phœnician stamp; 5. The similarity of their impure and orgiastic religions; 6. The same style of funeral monuments, with similarity of many customs. See however Mr Gray Hamilton's excellent treatise on the Etruscans, and also Müller.

κόβων = "dice" (with all six sides marked). ἀστρογάλων = "dice" (with four flat sides), properly, "ankle-bones."

πρῶτοι = "draughts." Mentioned by Homer in the *Odyssey*; supposed to have been invented by Palamedes.

δύο ἑξῆς ἐκῆσι. Eighteen years' duration of a famine is nowhere borne out by history. It has a mystic look.

ἐπὶ μᾶλλον = "to a greater degree." So IV. 181; Thucyd. I. 88, ἐπὶ μᾶλλον.

δύο μοίρας διελόντα, κ.τ.λ. instead of Ἀνδρῶν πᾶντας εἰς δύο μοίρας διελόντα.

ἐπίσταν = "moveable property of any kind."

## 95. History of Cyrus.

ἐπιθίψεται = "proceeds to inquire about."

τριπασίας ἄλλας, κ.τ.λ. Ctesias, Xenophon, and Æschylus (*Perseus*), all differ from Herodotus.

ἐξον ἐκῆσι καὶ πῶταξία. These 520 years almost agree with the 526 of Berossus; and widely differ from the 1360 years' duration assigned by Ctesias and others to the Assyrian empire. See the remarks on Sardanapalus in Dr Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.* and Clinton's *Chronol.* Vol. I. pp. 257—283 (*Pæsti Hellenici*).

96. Deiocees makes himself a monarch of the Medes.

Δηϊόκης—called Arphaxad in the Book of Judith.

ἐρασθεὶς τυραννίδος = "being enamoured of the tyranny."

δικαιοσύνην ἐπιθέμενος ἤσκει = "having set himself to it, he went on practising justice."

τοῦτ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ = "his turn," i. e. disposition.

περιπίπτωντες ἀδίκουσι γνώμῃσι = "stumbling over unjust decisions."

δικασόμενοι = "when going to law." See *Odys.* M. 439.

97. The rise of Deiocees by popularity.

πλείους δὲ αἰεὶ, κ.τ.λ. for πλείων γιγνομένων, κ.τ.λ. = "and those who were in the habit of going to him, becoming greater in number, from time to time." See *Thuc.* VII. 48.

προκατίζων = "sitting in front (of the city, at the gates)," or = "sitting openly in public," for the purpose of adjudication.

οὐτ' ἔφη δικᾶν εἶναι = "he said that he would act as a judge no longer." δικᾶν = δικάσειν (Attic future).

οὐ γὰρ εἰ λυσιτελείειν, κ.τ.λ. = "for it would not pay him, (thus) utterly neglecting his own affairs, to be deciding suits for his neighbours throughout the whole of the day."

περὶ τῶν κατηκόντων = "about those matters, which concern them." See VIII. 19.

98. Deiocees elected king of the Medes.

πολλὰς προβαλλόμενος = "was particularly put forward."

ἐν τῇ χώρῃ = "in that particular part of the country where." Compare the Latin *local* genitives, "ubi loci," "ubi gentium," &c.

ἔσεν Ionic = ἦσεν.

Ἀγβάτανα—founded about B.C. 700, called Ecbatane in the Book of Judith; now "*Hamadan*." It was the *spring* residence of the Persian kings, as "*Susa*" was their *summer*, and Babylon their *winter* residence.

ἕτερον—supply τεύχος.

Ἀθηναίῳ κύκλῳ. See *Thuc.* II. 13.

99. Customs of Deiocees.

δὲ ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρῆσθαι. Supply αὐτῷ = "that they should consult him in all matters through the instrumentality of messengers." διὰ with the accusative = "propter," "on account of."

γελᾶν τε καὶ πτεῖν, κ.τ.λ. = "and he considered it very disgraceful for any one to laugh or spit in his presence as (they are wont to do) even in the presence of all others without exception."

περὶ ἐαυτὸν ἐσέμνε, κ.τ.λ. = "and he threw this cloak of majesty around himself."

ἑτεροῖος = "of another nature."

## 100. The state of Deiocees.

ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ φυλάσσειν χαλεπὸς = "he was strict in maintaining the right."

ἐδικαίειν = "he used to punish." See Thuc. VIII. 66.

κατάσκοποι = "the king's eyes" (οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ (spies)).

κατήκοι = "the king's ears" (οἱ ὠτακούσαι), by means of this secret police the king obtained his information on all affairs. See I. 114, VIII. 130.

## 101. Government of Deiocees.

συνέστρεψε = Lat. "conglobavit" = "combined into one body."

Παρηγᾶκτοί. These were on the mountains dividing Persia and Media.

## 102. Phraortes succeeds his father Deiocees.

οὐκ ἀπεχρᾶτο = "was not content."

καὶ Ἀσσυρίῳ, κ.τ.λ. "Assyria, in the idea of Herodotus (and which is further explained by Strabo), comprehended not only *Assyria proper* (by which is to be understood the country beyond the Tigris, and of which Nineveh was the capital), but *Syria* and *Mesopotamia* likewise, as well as *Babylonia*; for our author says, "Babylon and the rest of the Assyrians." Compare 106, 178.

ἐωνὼν εὖ ἡκοντες = "getting on well in their resources."

## 103. Cyaxares succeeds in the government.

ἐλόχισε κατὰ τάξιν = "arranged by companies." Before his time, however, David had organized the Hebrew army, and Solomon had introduced chariots and horsemen.

οὐξ ἡ ἡμέρη ἐγένετο = "the day became night." The article points out the subject of the sentence, the predicate being *without it*. This circumstance is mentioned as a fact in Chap. 74.

Συνοὶον στρατὸς. The *Chaldeans*, according to Heaven.

## 104. Distance from Colchis to Media.

τρεῖς καὶ ἡμερῶν—ἑξήκοντα. Observe that Herodotus is here speaking not of that part of the Palus Maeotis nearest to Colchis, but of the mouth of the Maeotis, the seat of the ancient commerce.

Σάωσις. Occupied the north of Armenia, and west of Georgia, about the upper part of the river Cyrus or Kouza. See Chap. 110, and III. 94, IV. 37 and 40.

Καυκάσιον ὄρος. This route of the defile between the Caspian Sea and Caucasus is now called "Derbend," and was taken by the Huns and afterwards by Peter the Great of Russia.

## 105. The Scythians invade Egypt.

Ψαμμίτης. This king ascended the throne B.C. 670, according to Clinton.

Ἀσκαλῶνι πόλις = "Ascalon" on the coast, 30 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. The other Philistine cities were Gath, Gaza, Ekron, and Ashdod.

παρεξελθόντων κ.τ.λ. = "passed out and along the coast, without doing any harm." *δουλέω* being active.

Κύπριοι. So Horace of Venus: "Sic te Diva potens Cypri."

106. Cyaxares conquers the Scythians and takes Nineveh.

ἐπρησσον = "they continued to exact from each that which they laid upon them, as a contribution."

Νῦν εἶλον. See below, Chap. 178.

ἐν ἐτέροις λόγοις. So in Chap. 184 he has τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις λόγοις μὴ μὴν ποιήσομαι. As Herodotus does not give an account of the capture of Nineveh by the Medes or of the kings of Babylon in any of his works now extant, the general opinion is, that he wrote a separate history of Assyria; an opinion supported by Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.* VIII. 20).

107. Astyages succeeds: his dream.

ἐπικατακλῦσαι = "besides overflowing." Observe the force of the prepositions in compos.

τρόπον ἡσυχίου = "of a quiet turn."

108. Astyages determines to kill the son of his daughter Mandane.

ταῦτα δὴ ὦν, κ.τ.λ. = "quite on his guard against these things."

παρὰ χρῆσιν = "neglect."

σὺ ἐαυτῷ περιπέσῃς = "stumble over yourself," i.e. come to some disastrous downfall.

109. The device of Harpagus.

κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. Some would supply στελῆν or κόσμησιν, as of cognate signification with κεκοσμημένον. Bähr proposes ὁδὸν to supply the ellipse, as in Chap. 67. He renders the passage thus, "Quum ipse traderetur puerulus ornatus (eo consilio) ut ad mortem duceretur, scilicet ut (ornatus pro more, dein) viam ad mortem duceretur."

ἄπαις ἄρσενος γένου = "without male issue." Adjectives implying the absence or want of a thing govern the genitive.

110. The child given to Mitrdates, the royal herdsman.

ἐπιτηδεωτάτας = "most convenient for the purpose."

πρὸς Σασπείρων = "towards the Saspireas." As above, πρὸς βεπτερε ἀνέμου = "towards the northern wind."

ἄπεδος (ἄμα—πῶς) = "on a level with the plain," and so level. Compare ἰσάπεδος, ὁμόπεδος, ὁμαλός.

σε διαχρήσσεσθαι. Supply αὐτὸν = "that he (the king) will have you executed." Compare Lat. "conficere." See I. 24.

## 111. The conduct of Mitradates.

τῷ δ' ἀρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ γυνή = "Fittingly for that (emergency) his wife too was every day on the point of being confined, and then she happens by providence to bring forth when the herdsman (her husband) was off to the city." Observe that ἀρα is not very common in Herodotus, who uses it generally in its first derivative sense, from ἀρα, "to fit."

κατὰ δαίμονα = Lat. "divinitus." Compare the phrases κατὰ τύχην, θεῶν τύχην.

ἐν φροντίδι = "in anxious thought."

μήτε...κοτε γένεσθαι. Supply ὅφελε. The full construction would be καὶ ὁ οὐκ ὅφελε γένεσθαι.

κεκοσμημένον, κ.τ.λ. = "richly apparelled in gold and embroidered robes." See III. 1.

ταῦτα ἐπιθέντων μοι = "had laid these things upon me."

οὖν τε ἔτε ἐστὶ = "and see here he is," producing the child at the word. See opening of next chapter.

## 112. The device of Cyno, his wife.

μέγε τε καὶ εὐεδὲς εἶναι = "being really large and fair to look upon." *Stature* was an inseparable element in the Greek notion of *beauty*. Tennyson, on this principle, says:

"A daughter of the gods, divinely tall,  
And most divinely fair."

See Homer, *passim*.

λαβομένη τῶν γονάτων = "having caught his knees." This is the *partitive genitive*, as a *part only* is acted on by the transitive verb.

ἐχρηστῆ = "she continued to beseech (her husband) by no means to expose it (the child)." Observe the change from the aorist to the imperfect, to mark the continuance of the action. ἐχρηστῆ, literally = "she wanted."

εἰς τε εἶναι = "that he was not capable," and so able.

ἀλώσεαι ἀδίκῳ = "will be convicted of acting unjustly." See on I. 5.

## 113. The son of Mandane preserved, and the dead child of Cyno exposed.

καὶ αὐτίκα ἐποίησε ταῦτα = "and forthwith he proceeded to do these things."

προβάσκων = "under-herdsmen," or, "those who drive the herd forwards to the pasture." It is a very unusual word.

ἀντὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ.

δορυφόρον. Rather a Greek term than an Asiatic. See the case of *Pisistratus* above, and observe that on Chap. 117. Herodotus uses the Asiatic term εὐνοχῆς.

οἷα τε διὰ ταύτων = "and he saw by means of these." These were the king's eyes (ὀφθαλμοί). See next chapter and Chap. 117.

ὄνομα ἄλλο καὶ τι, κ.τ.λ. = "having some other name given to it, and not the name of Cyrus." His name according to some was *Agradates*.

#### 114. The youth of Cyrus.

ἐξέφηρέ μιν = "fully disclosed him." With this whole account compare the myth of Romulus and Remus taken up by Faustulus, the king's herdsman, as told in the opening of Livy's First Book.

ἔπαιζε = "he used to play." Compare the early career of Napoleon I. as a captain of the boys at his military academy.

τὸν δὲ καὶ τινὰ = "and some one of them, I should fancy."

οἱ δὲ τοῦτων τῶν παίδων = "now, observe, one of these children." The *nominative absolute*.

διαλαβεῖν = "to take him by the middle," or = "to take him in both hands," or = "take him from their midst," and so putting him by himself, and so like "putting into Coventry." Rawlinson translates, = "to take into custody."

κατελθὼν = "having returned."

ἀποκρίτετο = "went on to complain loudly" of what he met with at the hands of Cyrus.

ἀνδρῶς = "unfitting, unsuitable." α = "not" and ἀρῶ = "to fit." See Blomfield's *Gloss. in Agam.* 494.

#### 115. Cyrus brought before Astyages, and recognised.

δεικνύς τοιγὰρ περισπῶν = "handled him with such unseemliness as this."

ὃς δὲ ἔλαβε τὴν δίκην = "until he received his due," i. e. punishment meted for him.

#### 116. The confession of Harpagus.

ἔσθαι ἀνδρῶς αὐτοῦ. Compare Livy's language on the parallel case of Romulus and Remus (I. 5): "*comparando et statem eorum, et ipsum minime servilem indolem, tetigerat animum memoria nepotum.*"

καὶ οἱ δὲ τὴν χαρακτὴν τοῦ προσώπου, κ.τ.λ. = "and it seemed to him that the expression of his (Cyrus') face bore a resemblance to himself" (i. e. to Astyages).

ἡ ὑπόκρισις ἐλευθερωτέρῃ = "and his bearing (or address) was most like a freeman's." Not "*delivery*," as some take it.

ὃς τὴν χρόνον τῇ ἐκθείῃ, κ.τ.λ. = "and the time of the exposure seemed to go along with (i. e. agree with) the boy's age." Compare the words of Livy on Romulus and Remus (I. 5): "*nam et expositos jussa regis infantis sciebat, et tempus, quo ipse eos sustulisset, ad id ipsum congruere.*"

μόγις δὲ δὴ κατὰ ἀπερχοίς = "but some time at length having recovered himself."

ἀνδρῶς = "bonds." διεξῆκε = "he went right through it."

## 117. Confession of Harpagus.

τίς δὲ μὲν τὸν παῖδα, κ.τ.λ. = "what was the exact fate by which you dispatched the boy."

ὅπως—ποῖς—καὶ—εἴη = "how I should act, and how I might be."  
αὐθέντης = "an actual murderer."

## 118. Astyages disguises his anger against Harpagus.

ὃ εὐείχετο χόλον = "the anger which he cherished against him;" literally like the common vulgar expression, "to have it in for one;" thus nursing vengeance in one's breast. Compare St Mark vi. 19, ὃ δὲ Ἡρωδῆς εὐείχετο αὐτῷ.

κατέβηκε λέγων = "finished by saying." See I. 90, κατέβηκε παρατεύμενος.

ἐπαλλόγητο. This is one of the few exceptions in classic Greek in which the reduplication is omitted; in this case a reduplication form would have been peculiarly harsh.

διαβεβλημένοι = "having been accused." From the notion of accusing falsely comes διαβολή = "slander," or "false accusation;" and our great accuser the Devil is thus called ὁ διάβολος.

οὐκ ἐν διαφρῷ ἐποιέμην = "I was not wont to make light of it." See III. 154, and compare the similar expressions, ἐν κέρδει ποιέσθαι, II. 124, VI. 13, and ἐν ὁμολῇ ποιέσθαι, VII. 138.

τῆς τύχης ἐδ μετεστεύσης = "fortune having changed her position for the better."

εὐωστρα = "thank-offerings for deliverance or preservation."

## 119. Astyages slays the son of Harpagus.

ἐς δέον = "as it ought."

ἐπὶ τύχῃσι χρηστῶσι = "with good omens."

τὰ δὲ ἐψήσε, κ.τ.λ. = "and some portions of his flesh he boiled, and having had it well-dressed."

τράπεζαι. See Nitzsch. *Od.* I. p. 28, who shows that in early times each guest had before him a separate table.

ἐν τῷ τε αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι = "and becomes his own master," "returns to himself." Compare our own expressions, "in his mind," "out of his mind."

## 120. The Magians consider there is no risk.

τῷ. Supply ὅθῳ = "quâ ratione" = "in what way or manner."

ἐκ προνοίας = "consulto;" properly = "from fore-thought."

παρὰ σμικρὰ γὰρ... κεχώρακε = "had come to little."

καὶ τὰ γε τῶν ἐνυπνίων ἐχέμενα = "and those things connected with dreams."

ταῦτ' ἐπὶ πλείστοις γνώμην εἶμι = "I am most inclined to think."

## 121. Cyrus sent to Persia.

ὄψω...ὃ τέλεον = "a vision which imported nothing."

ὃ κατὰ Μιτραδάτην = "not after the manner of Mitradales."

## 122. Origin of the fable that Cyrus had been suckled by a bitch.

αὐτίκα τότε = "immediately upon (his birth)."

ἦν τε ταύτην αἰεῖν, κ.τ.λ. = "and he went on praising this (woman) all along, and Cyno (her name) was everything to him in his discourse;" i.e. he talked of *nothing but her*.

κατέβαλον φάτω = "they laid the foundation of the report." Compare the story of *Lupa* and the suckling of Romulus and Remus in Livy, Bk. 1. cap. 4.

## 123. The revenge of Harpagus.

ἐπιτροφέμενον. Supply τιμωρὸν from τιμωρίη.

κατέργαστο. Used passively, as in VII. 53; Soph. *Ed. Tyr.* 1360.

οὕτω δὴ = "observe, in this case."

λαγὼν μηχανησάμενος = "having had a hare prepared."

οὐδὲν ἀποτίνας = "without having plucked off any of the fur."

ἔτε = Lat. "utpote" assigns the most probable reason.

ἀπὸ γλώσσης = "e verbo" = "by word of mouth."

## 124. Harpagus urges Cyrus to revolt.

ἐπελέγετο = "he read it over," or, "collected his thoughts upon it," and so "considered it over."

κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν, κ.τ.λ. = "as far as regards the earnest desire of this man, you are a *dead man*; on the other hand, as far as regards the gods and myself, you *survive*."

πρὸς σέο = "on your side."

## 125. Cyrus enters into his plans.

ἐφρόντιζε = "he went on thinking anxiously."

ἄλην, Doric = ἐκκλησίαν = "an assembly." The thing and word were essentially peculiar to the Doric race.

ἔφη λέγων = "he went on to say."

Πασαργάδαι, in the south of Persia, probably dwellers in the capital of the same name, built by Cyrus to commemorate his great victory over Astyages and the neighbouring country. The name is now corrupted into the modern "*Pasa*" or "*Feza*."

Γερμανιοί. These are supposed to be the Carmanii, the inhabitants of Carmania, or the modern Kerman, in the east of Persia.

Ζαγάρτιοι. Supposed to have held the north-west of Media, at the foot of the Zagros Mons, a little south of the Sparta or Martianes Lacus. By Rennell they are supposed to be Tartar tribes.

## 126. Cyrus' device.

πάντῃ="in every direction or way" (supply ἑδρ).

ὅν τε καὶ σιτίσῃσι. Supply δεξιόμενος.

ἐπεὶ τε...ἀπὸ δείπνου ᾗσαν="after they had done supper." See II. 78, VI. 129. So the preposition ἐκ is used by Eurip. *Hec.* 915, ἡμῶς ἐκ δείπνου ὄππαι.

πολλὸν...τὸ μέσον. Eurip. *Alceste*, 917, πολλὸ γὰρ τὸ μέσον. Where the Scholiast interprets it as that which lies between the old and recent *hap* (τύχῃ). See Herod. IX. 82.

ἐμὸ πείθεσθαι. The genitive for the dative; this is not uncommon with πείθεσθαι in Herodotus.

ὥς ὃν ἔχοντων ἑδρ—"since these things have themselves in this way"—Lat. "quæ quum ita sint;" or closer still—"quæ quum ita se habent."

## 127. The revolt begins.

δεὼν ποιούμενοι="considering it a dreadful thing." See I. 119, II. 133, II. 161, VII. 1.

πρήσσοντα ταῦτα="engaged in these intrigues." Thucydides uses πρᾶσσειν in the same sense. I. 128, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὰ πρὸς βασιλῆα πρᾶγμα πρᾶσσειν.

θεοβλαβῆς="damaged in intellect by God," and so "demented." See VIII. 127.

## 128. Capture of Astyages.

ἀνεσκολόπισσε=(ἀνεσπαύρωσε, I. 9, III. 159)="impaled."

## 129. His reply to the insulting Harpagus.

κατέχαιρε. So VII. 239 (= "was exceedingly glad"). A very rare word.

σκοπεῖν="looking to" the supper prepared for him by the cruel Astyages.

ἐθούλησε. Supply δείπνον.

δ τι εἴη ἢ ἐκείνου δουλοσύνη. See in VI. 67, a similar question addressed by Lestychides to Demantius, ἀκούω τι εἴη τὸ ἀρχεῖν μετὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν;

περιβῆναι="to put a diadem around or on one's brows." But περιβαλεῖν="to invest with the royal robe."

## 130. The Median supremacy had lasted 128 years.

ἐπ' ἑξῆς τρεῖςκαὶ οὐκ, κ.τ.λ. Clinton, in his *Fasti Hellenici*, I. p. 260, well observes, "These 128 years terminated at the defeat of Astyages, B.C. 559. They commenced then 559+128=687 B.C. in the 23rd year of the independence of the Medes. He therefore considered the period to begin after the regal government had been settled, perhaps after the

anni δασιλευντος had expired; and to include the last 31 years of the government of Deioceas. The Median empire lasted 128 years, B.C. 687—560, *excluding* from the account a period of 28 years, B.C. 634—607, within the interval, during which years the Scythians occupied Asia. The 53 years then of Deioceas are divided into two portions: 22 years of his government before he was appointed king, and 31 years of his reign after the kingdom was established."

ὑπὲκυναν = "beneath under the yoke."

καὶ ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ Δαρείου. This event happened in the year B.C. 409, in the reign of Darius Nothus.

131. The religion of the early Persians.

ἀνθρωποφύεας = "of a human nature."

Lat. Called "Ormuzd" by the Persians.

τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέωτες = "calling all the vault of heaven Zeus." So Horace, "sub Jove frigido"—"under the cold air."

ἐπιμαθήκασιν = "they had learned in addition." Malcolm (*History of Persia*, Vol. I. p. 191) observes, "It is evident that Herodotus published his work from information that referred to a period prior to the establishment of the religion of Zoroaster, as they certainly had temples after that event. This religion was introduced in the reign of Gushtasp or Darius Hystaspes; and his son, Isfandear, the father of Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks) was the greatest propagator of its tenets, and consequently a great builder of temples of fire. But it is still probable, that even in the lifetime of Herodotus, who was born in 484 B.C., the religion of Zoroaster was not completely introduced into Persia; and his information was probably from those who professed the faith which that of Zoroaster ultimately supplanted."

132. Persian customs.

τῶν δὲ ὡς ἐκάστῳ θύειν θεοῖσι = "accordingly as he (the sacrificer) would sacrifice to any one of the gods."

διαμιστόλας = "having cut up into small pieces." A word of very frequent occurrence in Homer.

ὑποδάσας ποίην ὡς ἀπαλωτάτην = "having strewed beneath the tenderest grass (possible to get)."

ἐπισχὼν δὲ ὀλίγον χρόνον = "holding on for a brief time." The accusative here is not governed by the verb, which is intransitive, but is the accusative of *duration* of time.

133. Celebration of birth-days among the Persians.

ἀπασιών = "of all days, without exception." Lat. "cunctarum," as opp. to "omnium" = "all generally."

τὰ λεπτὰ τῶν προβάτων = "the smaller cattle." The partitive genitive.

μεθυσκόμενοι, κ.τ.λ. Compare Tacitus, *Germania* 22: "De pace denique et bello plerumque in convivis consultant, tanquam nullo

magis tempore ad magnas cogitationes incalescat animus...Deliberant, dum fingere nesciunt: constituunt, dum errare non possunt."

ἐπιφερήμασι="those things customarily brought in after (dinner)," and so "dessert." Observe that the word comes from φέρω="to be accustomed to carry." The frequentative of φέρω.

### 134. The etiquette of different ranks.

φιλοῦσι τοῖς στόμασι="they kiss each other on their lips." The local dative.

προσκυνεῖ τὸν ἕτερον="he does obeisance to the other;" (from προσ—κύνω, "to fawn on one like a dog").

κατὰ λόγον προβαλόντες="advancing forwards in proportion."

τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντίχεσθαι="to cling closely to valour." The notion is evidently connected with "holding oneself against a thing," to insure a better hold of it.

### 135. The polygamy of the Persians.

προσίσταται="take to themselves," i.e. adopt (mid. voice).

τοῖς Ἀγυπτιοῖσι θώρηκας. These were made of linen, quilted into a thick hard fabric, and scaled with metal (see VII. 61, and IX. 22).

κουρδίας γυναῖκας="wedded wives." See V. 18 and VI. 138. See Buttmann on κουρδίας.

### 136. The children of the Persians.

τὸ πολλὸν δ' ἡγέται ἰσχυρὸν εἶναι="and they believe numbers to constitute strength." Compare the language of the Psalms, "Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them."

μηδεμιᾶν δαψνῇ πατρὶ προσβᾶλῃ="that he may deal no sorrow against his father's heart."

### 137. First offenders indulged.

ἀλλὰ λογισμέμενοι. Compare the letter of Themistocles to King Artaxerxes in Thuc. I. 137.

οὕτω τῷ θυμῷ χρᾶται="thus indulges his passion."

### 138. Lying and debt disgraceful among the Persians.

τὸ ὀφείλειν χρεός="to owe a debt." χρεός="that which one ought or must (χρῆ) do or pay."

λεῶκω=this was the mild form of leprosy. With the banishment of the leper compare the Jewish usage, as in Lev. xiii. 46, 2 Kings vii. 3, xv. 5. Luke xvii. 12.

εἰ πόλιν οὗτος εὖ κατέρχεται="this man (i.e. the leper) does not enter a city as a place of refuge:" this is sometimes the force of κατέ.

εἰ τεταμένον δέ, κ.τ.λ. Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxx. 6: "Magus ad eum Tiridates venerat, Armeniacum de se triumphum afferens, et ideo provincis gravis. Navigare noluerat, quoniam exspuere in maria aliusque mortalium necessitatibus violare naturam eam fas non putant."

*εἰβονται ποταμοῖς*—as the Indians now do the Ganges. Compare the epigram of Dioscorides, *Antholog. Pal.* VII. 162:

ἀλλὰ περιστέλλας με δίβου χθονί, μὴδ' ἐπὶ νεκρῷ  
λουτρὰ χέρι σέβομαι, δέσποτα, καὶ ποταμοῖς.

### 139. Peculiarity of the Persian proper names.

οὐ τὰ μὲν, τὰ δὲ οὐ, κ.τ.λ. = "not that some do, and that some don't, but you will find that all equally (end in sigma)". "Here Herodotus is mistaken. The Persian names of men which terminate with a consonant end, indeed, invariably with the letter *s*, or rather *sk*, as Kúrdash (Cyrus), Dáryavush (Darius), &c. .... but a large number of Persian names of men were pronounced with a *vowel termination* not expressed in writing, and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter: we find on the monuments Vashdásp (Hystaspes), Arsham (Arsames), &c."—Rawlinson.

### 140. Peculiar customs of the Magians.

*κατακηρώσαντες* = "having completely covered it with wax." So Strabo, Bk. XV. p. 735: *θάπτουσι δὲ κηρῷ περιπλασάντες τὰ σώματα τοὺς δὲ μύθους οὐ θάπτουσιν, ἀλλ' ἐλασφωρῶντες ἔωσι*. Laroche states that the body of Edward I. was found in the year 1774 in a perfect state of preservation, completely covered with wax.

*ἀγρεύουσι* = "make a point of conscience to." Lat. "reverentur."

*ἀγώνισμα μέγα τοῦτο*, κ.τ.λ. = "and they consider this a great object to strive for."

### 141. Cyrus answers the Greeks by a fable.

*ἐπὶ τοῖσι ἀνθρώποις*, κ.τ.λ. = "wishing to become his subjects on the same conditions as they were the subjects of Croesus."

*λόγον* = "fable or apologue:" hence Herod. II. 134, calls *Æsop* *λογοποιός*—where he says *ἐνδεύεται δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τοῦ Λογοποιού*.

*ἐμὲ αὐλῶντος* = "when I was piping." See the words of our Redeemer, Matt. xi. 17.

### 142. The twelve Ionian towns.

*τὸνδὲ ποιεῖν τῇ Ἰωνίᾳ* = "has the same effect as Ionia."

*νενομικασί* = "are and have been accustomed to use." See II. 42; IV. 183.

*Μίλῳρες*. This was situated in Caria, on the sea shore, on the mouth of the Mæander: on the change of the face of the country, owing to alluvial deposits, see Cramer's *Asia Minor*, Vol. I. p. 383.

Myus lay to the N.E. of Miletus, on the left bank of the Mæander: near its mouth.

Priene, a little to the N.W. of Myus. Its remains, on the southern slope of Mycale, are still extant.

Æpheus was on the southern bank of the Cayster, near its mouth.

Colophon was a few miles to the N.W. of Ephesus, about two miles from the coast. Long walls connected it with its port, Notium.

Lebedus, now *Xingi*, on the coast, a little to the N.W. of Colophon.

Teos was on the southern side of the isthmus of Chalcidæis, to the North of which is the gulf of Smyrna: its site is now occupied by *Boudroua*.

Claudemus lay on the North of the isthmus of Chalcidæis, nearly opposite to Teos.

Phocæa, the northernmost of the Ionian cities, lay on the coast of Lydia, on the South of the Cumean gulf.

Erythræ, on the continent, lay opposite Chios, now called Ritæ.

Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἑωυτῶν μόντοι, supply *διαλέγονται* = "now the Samians are the only people who use a language of their own," compare "*solus*" in Latin, "*Cassandra sola cantat*" = "*Cassandra is the only one to sing.*"

#### 143. Safety of the Milesians.

ἐν σκέτρῃ τοῦ φόβου = "in shelter from fear," the objective genitive.

λόγου εὐχαρίστου = "of least account."

Παριώνιον. The place of assembly of the Ionian confederate cities was at Mycale.

ὅτι μὴ = εἰ μὴ = "nisi" = "except."

#### 144. The Dorian Pentapolis.

φυλάσσονται = "are on their guard against," (force of mid.) but *φυλάσσω* = "to guard," or "protect."

τὸ Τριοπικὸν ἱερόν. This temple was built on the promontory of Caria, now Cape Crio. It derived its name from Triopium, founded by Triopos, afterwards called Cnidus. See I. 174.

Διδοίς, κ.τ.λ. See Homer's *Iliad*, II. 655.

#### 145. Cause of the insulation of the Ionian towns.

καθάπερ οὖν Ἀχαιῶν, κ.τ.λ. According to Clinton the Achæans and Ionians were kindred people, both originally *Pelaegians*. Strabo's list entirely coincides with that of Herodotus: see on this point Müller's *Dorians*, Vol. II. pp. 248, 249.

πρὸς Συκὺνας = "towards Sicyon."

Πατρίαι. "By Herodotus using this expression, it seems as if the city *Patrai* did not exist in his time: *Ægium* and *Dyme*, on the other hand, seem to have done so." Blakesley.

#### 146. The Ionians formerly a mixed people.

μᾶλλον... *Taves*. So *Plautus* in *Epid.* III. 3. 46:

"Ego ei allegassem aliquem ad hoc negotium

*Minus hominem doctum minusque ad hanc rem callidum."*

*Cicero in Verrem.* V. 12: "*Omnes Siciliae semper praetores.*"

**Ἀβαντες.** The Euboeans are generally called by Homer *Abantes*: and *Abantis* was the ancient name of the island.

**Δρύονες.** This was a *Pelasgic* people, who inhabited mount Ceta for three generations before Hercules, by whom they were expelled and transplanted into Peloponnesus, according to Fynes Clinton. See Herod. I. 56.

**Φωκῆες ἀποδάσμοι** = "Phocæans, separate from the rest." See v. 57.

**διὰ τοῦτων δὲ τὸν φόνον, κ.τ.λ.** Buttmann (*Lexilogus*, p. 438) observes here, "it is true that the passage I. 146, might contribute to lead us into such an error if pointed in the following manner: διὰ τοῦτων δὲ τὸν φόνον (i. e. on account of the murder of their fathers and former husbands) αἱ γυναῖκες αὐταὶ νόμον θέμεναι, σφίσι αὐτῇσι ὅρκους ἐπέλασαν..... μήποτε ὁμοσιῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι. Misled by this punctuation Schweighäuser in his *Lex. Herod.* directs us in the other passage (VI. 62), after the words, ἐπὶ τοῦτοις (upon this) δὲ ὅρκους ἐπέλασαν, to supply ἀλλήλοισι. We ought rather to collect from this latter passage, that in the former the ἐπὶ ἐπέλασαν refers to the thing, and νόμον θέμεναι must be joined to σφίσι αὐτῇσι. Ὅρκον ἐπελάσαι must therefore in both passages mean, 'to lay a solemn oath on a thing, bind oneself to it by an oath.' See VI. 74."

147. The Ionians governed by kings of all races in former times.

ἀπὸ Γλαύκου, see his descent in Homer's *Iliad*, VI. 150, 212.

**Καυκῶνας Πυλίου.**—The Caucones Pylii were an ancient people of Triphylia, in the southern part of Elis.

**οἱ καθαρῶς γεγονότες Ἴωνες** = "of pure Ionic blood."

**εἰσι δὲ πάντες, κ.τ.λ.** = "all the others however are Ionians also, as many as derive their origin from Athens, and celebrate the festival of Apaturia." In this festival the clansmen all met together, for the citizens were collected together according to *Phratrias*, which were composed of separate families. See Hermann's *Political Antiquities*.

148. Hellenic Festivals.

**Ἑλικωνίῳ.** At Helicé in Achaia was a celebrated temple of Neptune, whence he was called *Heliconius*.

149. The Æolian towns.

**Κύμη**—Cyme, called Phriconis also, lay towards the South of the gulf to which it gave the name of Cumean, a little to the N.E. of Phocæa. See Cramer, Vol. I. p. 147.

Lerissa was near the river Hermus, between it and Cyme.

**Neontichus** (= "the new fortified place") lay between Larissa and the Hermus.

**Κόλλε**—on the coast of the Troad, at the end of the gulf of Adramyttium. It was famous for the worship of Apollo, and is styled very divine in *Iliad*, I. 37.

Περάνη, at the mouth of Evenus, on the North of the Cumesan gulf  
 ἤκουσαν οὐκ ἔμेलωσι = "not coming up to it" in seasons.

150. The loss of Smyrna.

οὕτε ἀπέβαλον = "thus *flung away*" and so lost. See I. 16.

ἐπιδέξαντε = "secretly or treacherously received amongst themselves."

τὰ ἱκίπλα = "moveable." See I. 94.

151. The Æolian towns in Ida and in the islands.

πέντε μὲν πόλεις. The five Lesbian cities were, Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Eresus, and Pyrrha.

τὴν Λέσβον νέμονται = "distribute Lesbos amongst themselves."

ἐόντας ἑαίματος, namely τοὺς Ἀρισβαλοὺς implied in Ἀρισβαν.

ἐν τῇσι Ἑκατὸν Νῆσοισι = about 40, not 100; it is better with Strabo to write it as one word Ἑκατοῖς = the island of the far-darter Apollo, (called *Hecatus* and Hecatus, as his sister was called *Hecate*).

ἄλλη μία = "one besides." This is often the force of ἄλλος, when collocated with other attributes.

152. The Ionian and Æolian embassy to Laodæmon.

δικέστε, the Ionic form of the Aor. 2. ἀπύκαστε: while δικέστε = *pluperfect* = ἀπύκασμαι ἦσαν.

πορφύρεον εἶμα περιβαλόμενος = "having wrapped himself up in a purple robe," the accusative of the cognate notion.

ὥς δὲ = "that probably."

ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε.....μὴ τιμωρεῖν. The μὴ is here added to the infinitive, on account of the negative implied in ἀπέδοξε = "non-placuit." Verbs of negative import, such as κωλύειν, ἀποστρεφῶν, ἀπέχεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. take μὴ, which is not superfluous or contradictory, because it strengthens the result of the negative portion of the verb, for example, διελργεῖται τὸ μὴ εἶναι σῶμαρος = "he is prevented, and the result is that he is not useful," i.e. he is prevented from being useful: and in the case before us, when analysed on this principle, ἀλλ' ἀπέδοξε, κ.τ.λ. "but it did not seem good to them, and the result was that they would not aid the Ionians."

153. The Spartans badly treated by Cyrus.

ἑλέσχα = "matters of gossip," from λέσχη: compare πρόλεσχος, a word of like origin, in Æschyl. Supp. 208, and Herod. II. 135, περιλεσχέμενοι.

ἀπέμψε.....τὰ ἔρεα: so in VIII. 92.

ἐπείχετε, supply τὸν πόδιν, and see I. 80.

154. The revolt of the Lydians.

ἀπέστρεψε—(transitive in Aor. 1.) = "made the Lydians to revolt."

155. Croesus gives Cyrus advice.

ἐξαιρῶν πωδίσσασθαι = "to sell them out for slaves forthwith," force of the Aorist. ὥς εἰκασί = the more usual ὥς εἰκοί. See III. 143.

εἰ τις πατέρα ἀποκτεῖνας, κ.τ.λ. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* quotes the proverb thus: Νήπιος δὲ πατέρα κτεῖνας, παῖδας καταλείπει.

ἐμῇ κεφαλῇ ἀναμύξας=Lat. "capite meo luens"="wiping off the guilt by the sacrifice of my own head." The Greek idiom evidently refers to the custom of wiping the knife upon the head of the sacrificial victim, after killing it: part of the *μασχαλίζειν*. See Soph. *El.* 445, and see *Odys.* I. 91.

συγγνώμην ἔχων="having a fellow-feeling with."

κέλευε δὲ σφέας κιθῶνας. Xerxes imposed a like punishment on the Babylonians that had revolted from him, according to Plutarch: see Blomfield's Glossary in *Æsch. Persæ*, 41, ἀβροδίαστων δ' ἔπειτα Αὐδῶν ὄχλοι.

καπηλεύειν. See I. 94.

οὐδὲν δευοί.....μὴ ἀποστέωσι—put for οὐ δευὼν ἔσται μὴ ἐκείνοι ἀποστέωσι.

156. Cyrus follows the advice of Crœsus.

οἱ ὑπερίθετο="suggested to him."

μεταβουλευσάσθαι="to change his plans without delay" (aorist).

ὕπαις τῆς ὀργῆς="yielding somewhat in his anger" (the *partitive genitive*). The ὑπὸ here has a softening tendency.

καὶ πρὸς="and besides." πρὸς is often used adverbially. See II. 142, *Æsch. Prom.* 73, 937.

157. Pactyas takes refuge in Cyme.

εἰς ἥθεα τὰ Περσέων. Observe that ἥθεα is not used in Attic writers to express the *habitations* of men. It occurs first in this sense in Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 168, and very often in *Herodotus*. The transition in English from "*habit*" to "*habitation*" is not great.

στρατοῦ μοῖραν ὁσπρόδηκότε ἔχων="with a division of the army, however great or small it may be." See I. 160.

ἐν Βραγχιδῆσι. See I. 46, 92.

158. The Cymæans consult the oracle at Branchidæ.

ἔσχε μὴ ποιῆσαι ταῦτα Κυμαίους="maintained that the Cymæans should not now do this."

ἐπευρησόμενοι="about to ask again," or "in addition."

159. Aristodicus procures a different answer from the oracle.

δειμαίνοντες="although we dread." The Greek participle has often a concessive force, as here. ἀναξ="supreme sovereign," as opposed to βασιλεὺς. The term in Homer is generally applied to gods, and to Agamemnon amongst men, as the supreme leader of the expedition.

εἰς τόδε="thus far." τὸ ἀπὸ σεῦ="your opinion,"—the opinion that emanates from yourself.

νεοσσευμένα="hatched in a nest." Often in the Septuagint.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐδύτου="ex adyto," Lat.="from the inner (unapproached shrine)."

τοῖσι ἐκέρχοι βοηθεῖς, κ.τ.λ. Observe that in both cases here the article is *personal*, as elsewhere. Translate: "O supreme monarch! on the one hand, you yourself thus come to the help of *your* suppliants; and, on the other hand, you bid the Cymeans give up *their* suppliant."

### 160. The Cymeans send Pactyas to Mitylene.

ἐπὶ τῷ Ἀταρνεί μισθῷ = "on the condition of receiving the Atarnean territory as a reward." Of this place he speaks in VIII. 106. ἐς γὰρ τὴν Μυσίην, τὴν Χίοι μὲν νέμονται, Ἀταρνέϊ δὲ καλεῖται.

οἰλᾶς κριθῶν = "whole (grains) of barley." The Greeks sprinkled cakes of this upon the victim's head in sacrifice; the Romans reduced it to powder, and having mixed it with salt (*salsa mica*, *salsa mola*) cast it on the victim.

οἰλᾶς κριθῶν πρόχυνεν ἐνδοιτέρῳ = "were in the habit of using whole grains of barley for sprinkling (on the head of the victim)."

### 161. Mazares enslaves the Prienians, and dies.

ἐπὶ τοῖς συμπολιορκήσαντας Τάβαλον = "against those who had joined in blockading Tabalus."

ἐπέβραμε = (our idiom exactly) "over-ran."

### 162. Harpagus succeeds Mazares.

στρατηγὸς ἀποδεχθείς = "having been appointed general." From ἀποδεχόμενος, not ἀποδέχομαι. See II. 124.

ὅκως γὰρ τευχέρας πέψσει = "for when it happened that he drove the inhabitants within *their* walls." The optative of *indefinite* frequency.

χώματα χῶν = "heaping up heaps," i.e. mounds. The accusative of the cognate word. So II. 137, Thuc. II. 75, and 2 Kings xix. 31.

### 163. The heroism of the Phocæans.

Ἀδρίην = "the Adriatic." Τυρρητίην = "the west of Italy." Ἰβητίην = "the Spanish peninsula." Ταρτησσόν, in the south of Spain, near *Guadalquivir*, near the site of the modern *Cádiz*. It is called *Turkish* in Old Testament history.

οὗτοι εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες = "these are they who explored."

πᾶντα εἰκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν = "a hundred and twenty in all."

### 164. The Phocæans desert their city rather than yield to Harpagus.

ἐξενετῆθαι = "was completed." II. 125.

πρὸς τοχόμενος = "continually holding forth" (intensive and iterative of *τοχέω*).

ὅτι οἱ καταχρᾶς = "that it was enough, and quite enough." An intensive form of *ἀπεχρᾶν*. See IV. 118, VIII. 70.

κατηιδῶσαι = "to consecrate," to dedicate to the king (to whom whatever belonged was sacred).

περισημακτίοντες. See I. 44.

165. The Chians refuse to sell them the islands *Cenuses*.

τὰς πῆρουι τὰς Οἰκούσας. These islands, now called *Spalmadores* or *Egonisi*, lie between Chios and the continent.

ἀνεμύναισι = "wishing to buy for themselves."

Κύρρον. Now "*Corsica*."

ἀνστήσαντε = "raised up for themselves."

Ἀλαλίη. Afterwards called *Alesia*.

Φυκαίη. Now called "*Pochia*."

ἐπέσαντε ἰσχυρὰς κατάρας = "they bound themselves by strong curses."

κατεπύκνωσαν = "they sunk into the depths of the sea." Compare the words of Horace, *Epod.* XVI. 17 sqq.:

"Nulla sit hæc potior sententia: Phocæorum  
Velut profugit execrata civitas.

*Sed juremus in hæc: simul imis saxa tendunt  
Vallis levata, ne redire sit nefas.*"

ἀναψῆναι. Intransitive for ἀναψαύειν.

ἀερόμετες (passive with active signification) = "having weighed anchor." Literally, "having lifted (the anchor)."

166. The rest of the Phocæans sail for *Corsica*.

ἀγον γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔφερον, κ.τ.λ. = "and they drove (away the cattle), and, observe, even carried (off the corn, &c.) of all their neighbours, without exception." Compare the "*ferre* (of things) *et agere*" (slaves and cattle) of the Roman writers.

Καθμεινὴ τις νίκη = "a dear-bought victory:" a proverbial expression from the disastrous story of Eteocles and Polynices, whose victory was death. The victory mentioned by Herodotus is not the same victory as that mentioned by Thucyd. I. 13, obtained 60 years before, when the Phocæans were founding *Marseilles*.

167. Some Phocæans found *Velia*.

κατέλευσαν = "stoned to death" (a Jewish punishment).

Ἀγυλλαῖοι = "the inhabitants of *Agyla* or *Cære*."

ἐπαγίθυσι = "sacrifice to the dead," as opp. to θύειν = "to sacrifice to the living."

Τέλη = "*Velia*." Derived from τέλη, ("the marshes") near *Pæstum*.

168. The Teians leave their own town, and found *Abdera*.

Τήϊα. Teos is now called "*Bodrun*:" it is famous for being *Anacreon's birth-place*.

πρότερος τεύτων, κ.τ.λ. *Abdera* was founded by *Timesius* from *Clazomenæ*, about 108 years before its subsequent settlement by the *Teians*.

## 169. The rest of the Ionians submit.

τῇ δουλοσύνῃ οὐκ ἀνταρῶμεναι = "as a fact not putting up with slavery." Observe the strong force of οὐκ with a participle.

## 170. Bias' advice to the Ionians.

τῆσιν τε ἀπασίν μεγίστην νεμομένους = "portioning out among themselves the largest of all islands, without exception." Observe the mistake of Herodotus in making Sardinia the *largest* island, and see v. 106, VI. 2. It is rather odd that he did not know that even *Sicily* was larger.

## 171. Harpagus attacks the Carians.

Κάρει μὲν. According to Strabo this people once possessed the eastern coast of Peloponnesus.

ὅσον καὶ ἐγὼ δύνατός εἰμι, κ.τ.λ. = "as far as I can learn by report, going as far back as possible (in my inquiries)."

ὄχανον = "shield-handle" of this shape, X; while the τελαμών, also a *shield-handle*, was of this shape, II.

ἐφόρειν τὰς δαυίδας = "they used to wear their shields." φορεῖν is the frequentative form of φέρω, as "gesto" in Lat. is of "gero."

μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Κάρει χρόνῳ ὕστερον. Thucyd. I. 4, says that Minos ejected the Carians from the Cyclades, and established his own sons as rulers. Bähr reconciles this by supposing that those only were expelled who resisted his authority, and that the more submissive inhabitants were allowed to remain.

## 172. The Caunians, their language and customs.

πρὸς τὸ Καρικὸν ἔθνος. Homer speaks of the Carians as βαρβαροφώνων. *Iliad*, II. 687.

διδόντες τὰ θελά. From this we may conjecture that the Caunian national god was a war-god.

ἡβηδὸν = "all from their youth upwards."

## 173. The Lycians—origin of people and their name.

οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμύλαιοι. In VII. 92, Herodotus observes, Λύκιοι δὲ Τερμύλαιοι ἐκαλέσθητε ἐκ Κρήτης γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ Λύκει τοῦ Πανδίωνος ἀδελφοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἔσχω τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

ἀπὸ χρόνου = "in the course of time." See VII. 10, VIII. 123.

συμφέρονται = "agree," II. 80, v. 13, as we say, "to bear one out in a statement."

ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων. Müller, in his work on the Etruscans, remarks this of the Etruscans, and states that the *mother's* name occurs in Tuscan sepulchral inscriptions more often than the *father's* name.

καταλίξαι = "will lay down." ἀναμετρεῖται = "will count up."

## 174. Harpagus readily conquers Caria.

ἀργυμένης δὲ ἐκ τῆς χερσονήσου τῆς Βυβασσίδος = "since Bybassia began from the mainland." ἀργυμένης = "adjoins," acc. to Rawlinson.

Σόμην. Mentioned by Homer, *Iliad*, II. 671.

## 175. The Pedasceans resist Harpagus.

Πηδασαίης. This term would imply that though such a people existed, yet such a town as Πηδασα no longer existed, at least in the time of Herodotus.

τρίς σφι τοῦτο ἐγένετο. See VIII. 104, where this is varied by δὲ τὸ ἐγένετο.

Ἀλδη. This mountain is not mentioned by any other extant author.

## 176. Obstinate defence of Xanthus.

Ξάνθιον πεδῖον. This lay to the south of the city, being in fact the alluvial deposit of the river Xanthus. It is about seven miles across from Uzman to Patara, and from four to five miles deep from the coast to the foot of the mountains: the city stands near its upper extremity, on the left bank of the river. The Xanthians distinguished themselves by resisting Harpagus, Alexander, and Brutus.

## 177. Cyrus in person subdues Upper Asia.

καὶ οὐδὲν παρῆλθε = "passing by none." Supply ἔθνη.

## 178. An account of Babylon.

Ἀσσυρίοις ἐπετίθετο = "set himself upon the Assyrians;" i. e. attacked. Observe that Babylonia is included in Assyria by Herodotus.

καὶ ἐνθα σφι, κ.τ.λ. = "and where, on the destruction of Nineveh, the royal (halls) were fixed by them;" i. e. by the Assyrians implied in τῆς Ἀσσυρίας.

μετὰ δέ. Supply τῇ τάφρῳ = "and next to (the trench)."

## 179. The method of building its walls.

ἐκτόσαντες δὲ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν = "having moulded a sufficient quantity of bricks." Compare the Lat. term "ducere lateres."

τελματι χρῶμενοι = "using as cement."

διὰ τριήκοντα δόμων πλῆθους, κ.τ.λ. = "inserting between every thirty rows of bricks layers of reed-mats." πλῆθος is a collective noun here.

μονόκωλα = "having one chamber;" literally, "single-jointed."

χάλκεα πᾶσαι. Isaiah xlv. 2, "I will break in pieces the gates of brass" (of Babylon). See III. 159 of Herodotus.

## 180. The Euphrates divides the city.

τὸ δὲ πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ ἐκείνῳ, κ.τ.λ. = "the wall on each side has its angles carried down to the river;" i. e. is squared off where it runs

into the river. Homer also uses *ἀγκῶν* in the same way to the angular projection of a wall. See *Iliad*, II. 702.

τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦτον. Supply τοῦ ἀγκῶνος = "from this rectangular direction."

### 181. The temple of Belus in Babylon.

θώραξ = "breast-work." θωράκιον = "lorica mœnium."

περιβόλῳ = "circular wall;" that is, thrown (βάλλω) around (περὶ) the city.

τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The ἱερόν embraced the entire extent of the consecrated ground, containing the sacred grove (τέμενος), the court, and houses of the priests; the temple, properly so called, was ναὸς = the holy shrine, where the Deity dwells (νοεῖ ὁ θεός).

μεσούντι δὲ κον τῆς, κ.τ.λ. = ἐν μέσῳ ὄντι τῆς, κ.τ.λ. = "to one being about the middle of the ascent."

### 182. Similar customs at Ægyptian Thebes and Patara.

ἱερὸν γέννηται. Supply ὁ θεός; i. e. Apollo, who during the winter months is at Patara in Lycia, and in summer is in Delos. Compare Horace, *Ode* III. 4. 64, "*Delius et Patareus Apollo*."

### 183. Another temple in Babylon.

ἄλλος κάτω νηός. A sort of *crypt* temple.

ἐνι = ἐνερει. (Observe the accent.)

οἱ τράπεζα μεγάλη παρατίθεται = "a large table is spread before him." Compare the ceremonies of the Roman Lectisternum.

τὸ βᾶθρον = "the step" (by which the throne is ascended), or "the pedestal" on which the image (ἄγαλμα) rests.

τὰ τέλεια τῶν προβάτων = "the full-grown sheep," or "full number" (τέλει = tale—count), or "perfect," without spot or blemish. The genitive here is partitive. γαλαθῆνά = "sucklings."

ἀπαγορεύοντα μή. See note on I. 152.

### 184. The Babylonish monarchs.

ἀπεδείξατο = "exhibited," left as visible memorials of herself. Compare the expression in the next chap. *μνημόσυνα ἔλιπετο*.

πρότερον δὲ ἔώθεε ὁ ποταμός, κ.τ.λ. = "and formerly the river was wont to drown every thing like a sea, up and down the plain." So Isaiah, speaking of Babylon, "the burden of the desert of the sea;" and in Jeremiah, "I will dry up her sea."

### 185. Semiramis and Nitocris.

ῥαψήμιστα. Ionic for ῥήματα = "taken."

οἱ δὲ κομίζονται = "those who convey themselves," mid., and so travel; so *κοπέω* and *κοπέσμαι*.

θλυτρον λίμνη = "a reservoir for a lake." (The dative of advantage.)

βάθεις μὲν ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ αἰεὶ ὀρύσσουσα = "as to depth, digging on (until they came) to the water."

ἐκ τε τῶν πλώων. Supply σκολιῶν = "and after these winding navigations."

τὰ σύντομα ὁδοῦ = "the short-cut (passage)."

186. The Quny along the river-bank.

ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, κ.τ.λ. = "Now, observe, she threw around her city (as a defence) this (soil) from the excavation, and afterwards she had the following addition made."

τῆς πόλιος εὐρύτης δύο φαρσέων = "the city consisting of two parts."

δίουσα τοὺς λίθους...μολύβδῳ. See Thucyd. I. 93.

187. Darius opened the sepulchre of Nitocris.

οὐ γὰρ ἀμεινον = "for it is better not;" euphemism for it will be worse for him.

περιῆλθε ἡ βασιληΐη = "the kingdom came round to."

καὶ δευὼν ἐδόκει = "it seemed even a hard (matter)."

ἐπικαλομένων = "calling him on to it;" i. e. provoking attention.

μὴ οὐ λαβεῖν αὐτά. Observe μὴ οὐ = Lat. "quin" = "but that he should seize it without delay."

188. Cyrus invades Labynetus.

τοῦ μόνου πίνει βασιλεὺς = "the only water of which the king drinks;" the *partitive genitive*. Compare Milton, *Paradise Regained*:

"There Susa by *Chaoxepes'* amber stream,  
The drink of none but kings."

189. Cyrus' anger at the river Gyndes.

ἐπὶ Γύνδῃ ποταμῷ. See V. 32. As this river is mentioned by no other author, there is considerable difficulty in identifying it. Probably it is the same with the Mendeli, which flows from the mountains of Louristan, and joins the Tigris between Kort and Karna.

ἵππων τῶν λευκῶν. See Herod. VII. 55.

συμψήσας = "having swept away."

ὑποβρύχιον ὀχράκει φέρων = "engulphed and carried off."

κατέτεινε σχοινιστείας, κ.τ.λ. = "he marked out in a straight line and extended one hundred and eighty channels on each side of the river, diverging in every direction."

190. Cyrus advances on Babylon in the second spring.

ἐπιδεμπε = "just gleamed forth." Observe the force of ἐπὶ.

ἀπερίγησι ἐνείχετε = "was being pressed upon by difficulties."

ἀνωτέρω τε εὐδὲν τῶν πραγμάτων προκοπόμενον = "and in no respect his plans advancing onwards." Observe that προκόπτειν = "to cut down impediments;" i. e. cut one's way before one, and hence to advance. So the Lat. "procedo" (pro-cædo!) in Livy, "cum parum procederet inceptum." See III. 56, and Thucyd. IV. 60 and VII. 56.

### 191. Cyrus takes Babylon by stratagem.

οὐδ' ἐν τῷ ἀχρηστῷ τοῦ στρατοῦ = "with the ineffective part of his army." See Xen. An. V. 2. 21, and Cæsar, Bell. Gall. VII. 77, "inutiles ad bellum."

τὰ ἀρχαίων πλεθρὰν διαβατὸν εἶναι ἐποίησε. Isaiah xlv. 27, "That saith to the deep, Be dry, and I will dry up the rivers." Jeremiah I. 38, "A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up; for it is the land of graven images, and they are mad upon their idols."

ὑπεροστήσαντες = "having gone gently back." So Thucyd. III. 89.

ἐτετάχατο Ionic = τεταγμένοι ᾔσαν Attic.

οὐδ' ἂν, περιῶδοντες, κ.τ.λ. = "they could not possibly have overlooked the Persians entering their city, but would have destroyed them most miserably."

πυλῆας ἐχούσας = "little gates leading" (like φερούσας in I. 180).

ὡπρὸς δὲ μεγάρους, κ.τ.λ. See Jeremiah li. 31, "One post shall run to meet another, and one messenger to meet another, to shew the king of Babylon that his city is taken at one end." According to Aristotle's Pol. III. 2, Babylon was taken three days before it was known to all its inhabitants. Xenophon, Cyropædia, VII. 5. 15, agrees with Herodotus that it was taken at a festival. See Rollin's remarks in his *Ancient History*.

### 192. The resources of Babylonia boundless.

γῆ πᾶσα δοτὴς ἀρχαί. See I. 21.

ἡ δὲ ἀράβη. The Attic corn-medimnus contained forty-eight choenices; consequently, the Persian artabe contained fifty-one choenices. The medimnus was equal to two Roman Amphoræ, or about an English bushel and a half. See Boeck's *Public Economy of Athens*.

### 193. The soil of Babylonia good for grain.

ἔσται μὲν ἀλίγη: supply ἔστω or ἔσται.

κρηνηήται. A sort of crane for raising water from a well.

ἐπὶ διπλόσια = "two hundred-fold." See II. 165.

καρπῶν ἐχόμενα = "relating to fruits." See I. 120.

### 194. The merchant craft described.

τὰ πλοῖα: see Lucan, IV. 131:

"Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam  
Texitur in puppim," &c.

Porter describes similar boats on the modern Babylonish rivers.

## 195. Babylonish dress.

κινῶν...λίαν. According to Heeren, *λίαν* in Herodotus signifies either *linen* or *cotton*.

ἐπεδύνει = "the Babylonian puts upon him and over him." Supply ὁ Βαβυλώνιος.

## 196. The sale of the beautiful women to endow the plain.

κήρυξ πωλείσκει = "the herald (or auctioneer) used to sell."

εὐρύσσει πολλὰν χρυσίαν = "having brought much gold." We say, "to fetch" or "bring" a good price.

ἀνέκηρυξε = "he proceeded to cry up" or "put up to auction."

εὐδαίμονες = "rich," as "beatus," often in Latin, "blessed with this world's wealth."

## 197. The sick of Babylon.

παρελθεῖν τὸν κέκοντα = "to pass away on the other side from one who is labouring under a disease." Remember the *priest* and *Levite* in our blessed Lord's Parable of the Good Samaritan.

## 198. Custom of burial.

ταφαὶ δὲ σφι ἐν μέλιτι = "and they bury in honey."

## 199. The impurity of the Mylitta worship.

ἀραξ = "once for all" (in her life).

εἶδες τε ἐπαμμέναι εἰσι καὶ μεγάβεις, κ.τ.λ. = "and as many women as are striking for their beauty and stature." ἐπαμμέναι from ἐφάρτεσθαι τινος = "to lay hold of one"—impress, captivate.

## 200. Three Babylonish tribes live on fish.

ἐν ὀλῳ = "into a mortar."

σῶσι διὰ σινδόνος = "strain through fine linen." σῶσι an abbreviated form of σήθουσι, as νῶσι for νήθουσι.

## 201. Cyrus attacks the Massagetae.

The Massagetae were nomad Scythians beyond the Iaxartes, sometimes Iacæ, sometimes Tartars, of Mongolian race. Herodotus gives the best proof himself from the similarity of clothes and food, of living in waggons, and of fighting on horseback.

πρὸς ᾧ τε καὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς = "towards the east and rising of the Sun:" a pleonasm. See II. 31, πρὶν ἀπὸ ἐσπέρας τε καὶ ἡλίου δυσμῶν.

## 202. The islands of the Araxes.

τῇ χειμερινῇ: supply ὥρῳ.

καὶ πῦρ ἀνακαύσονται, κ.τ.λ. See IV. 75, where similar efforts are said to be produced among the Scythians by the vapour of hemp heated on stones.

ῥέει διὰ καθαροῦ = "flows without obstruction." Supply τόρῳ.

## 203. The Caspian Sea.

ἐπ' ἑωυτῆς = "by itself." ἀπ' ὧν: ἀγρίης = "on the produce of the wild woods."

τὰ πολλὰ πᾶντα = "quite the majority."

ἔφα: ἐγγράφειν = "print figures of animals on their dress."

## 204. The Massagetae.

ἰδίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι = "he directed his expedition."

## 205. Cyrus proposes marriage to Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetae.

ἐμύσῃ τῷ λόγῳ = "pretended to court her," as opp. to τῷ ἔργῳ.

ἀπέκλεισε τὴν πρόσθετον = "she rejected his advances." The verb literally means, "said 'off' to."

## 206. Tomyris challenges Cyrus to battle.

ἀνέχεν ὁρίων = "put up with seeing."

προετίθεσ = "he laid before them."

## 207. Croesus advises Cyrus to invade the enemy.

οὕτι ἐπεὶ με, κ.τ.λ. Observe that οὕτι often, as here, introduces the very words used by the speaker, and answers very much to our quotation marks.

## 208. Cyrus passes the Araxes to fight Tomyris.

ἐνέστησαν = "were at variance." So in VII. 142, VIII. 79; and compare the somewhat uncommon expressions, ἐνεστήσανε λιμῷ, πόνῳ, καμῇ, VII. 170, IX. 89.

κατὰ ὑπέσχετο πρῶτα = "according as she undertook at first." κατὰ = καθ' & in Attic Greek.

τὴν βασιλῆην ἰδίδου. This harmonises well with the law mentioned in VII. 2.

## 209. Cyrus sends home Hystaspes, the father of Darius, on account of a dream.

ἰδίδου λόγον ἑωυτῷ = "proceeded to reason with himself." See I. 97.

οὐκ ὡς ἐστὶ μηχανῇ...τὸ μὴ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιβουλεύειν = "there is no possibility that he is not plotting;" i. e. he cannot but be plotting.

## 210. Cyrus is afraid of Darius.

ἀντὶ μὲν δοῦλων = "instead of slaves." Herodotus alone of the Greek authors uses ἀντὶ with the infinitive mood without the article: probably for the sake of antithesis, as here.

παράδιδωμι = "give him up" (into your hand). Compare the Latin "trado."

φωλάξω Κόρυ = "about to watch for the good of Cyrus." Dative of advantage.

## 211. Cyrus carries out the plan of Cræsus.

τοῦ καθαροῦ στρατοῦ = "the sound part of the army," as *καθαρός* = "free" (1) from *impurity*, (2) from *incompleteness* or *inefficiency*. See Thucyd. v. 8, τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὅπερ ἀστράτευσεν, καθαρὸν ἐξῆλθε: and see Göller's note.

δαίνομεν. See Livy, XII. 2, and Strabo, XI. who says that Cyrus employed this stratagem against the *Sacæ*, and that a festival called *Sacma* was established to commemorate it.

## 212. Cyrus captures the son of Tomyris.

μηδὲν ἐπαρθῆς = "lift not thyself up at all." The passive with a middle signification.

ἐπανάπλωσεν = "to float upwards to the top." The word is the Ionic form of ἐπανάπλεον.

ἥλιον ἐπὶ μυνυμί τοι = "I swear to you by the Sun." So in Latin we have "juro" with the accusative case, as in Virgil, *Æn.* XII. 197:

"Hæc eadem, *Ænea*, terram, mare, sidera juro."

ἦ μὲν = ἦ μήν. The usual and solemn formula of the oath sworn = "in truth," or "in God's name."

## 213. The son of Tomyris commits suicide.

ἴσα ἦν κακοῦ = "in what special calamity he was in."

διεργάζεται = "he dispatches." Lat. "conficit."

## 214. Tomyris kills Cyrus.

ἐσέχεσθαι. Supply ἀλλήλοισι = "came to close combat."

περιεγέλατο = Attic περιέγευετο, as ἀπικέλατο for ἀπίκετο.

ἐπαήπητε = ἐπαφήητε.

τῇ Κύρου τελευτῇ = "the ending of the (life) of Cyrus." Compare the similar fate of Cræsus with the same people. Xenophon, Strabo, and others say that Cyrus died at home and in a peaceful manner.

## 215. Garb and manners of the Massagetae.

ἀμφοτέρων γὰρ μετέχουσι. Supply τῶν, "for of both parties are there some who occupy portions" (of the plains).

ὁ δὲ χρυσός. This was probably found in grains in the streams from the Altai mountains.

## 216. Sun-worship is their religion.

ἀποκρεμνύσας = "having hung forth," or "from" (a point).

καὶ ἄλλα πρόβατα; not = "and other sheep," but = "and sheep beside."

τῷ θένουσι ἱππεύ. Compare Xenop. *Cyrop.* VIII. 3. 12, μετὰ δὲ τοῖς βοῦσι ἱππεὶ ἔγχεον, θύμα τῷ Ἡλίῳ, and Ovid. *Past.* I. 385:

"Placat equo Persis radiis Hyperiona cinctum,  
Ne detur celeris victimæ tarda Deo."

## BOOK II. EUTERPE.

### 1. CAMBYSES succeeds his father Cyrus.

ἐνὶ δὲ Αἰγύπτῳ, κ.τ.λ. According to Clinton, Cambyses conquered Egypt, B.C. 425, in the fifth year of his reign.

### 2. Psammetichus' method of discovering the oldest nation.

ἀπὸ τούτου = "from that time." Supply χρόνον.

ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων = "people that you happen upon (every day)," i.e. ordinary people.

τὴν ὥραν = "at the (regular) time" (of feeding).

ἤντινα φωνὴν ῥήξουσι πρῶτον = "what was the first expression to which they would give utterance."

βελός. Rawlinson observes, this word has been connected with the German "*backen*" and our "*bake*." Lessen, however, throws doubt on this connexion, and suggests a formation from the Sanscrit root "*pac*," which becomes (he says) in Greek, πέω; Lat. coq-uō; German, cocht-en; our "*cook*;" Servian, "*pec-en*."

### 3. The priests of Egypt supply him with information.

Ἡφαίστου = the Egyptian *Phthas*.

Ἡλιοπόλιν. Heliopolis, or the "City of the Sun," called also "On," was near the beginning of the Delta, a little to the north of the modern Cairo.

### 4. Discoveries of the Egyptians.

διὰ τρίτου έτους ἐμβόλιμον ἐπεμβάλλουσι = "insert an intercalary month at the commencement of every third year," i.e. at the end of every second year, I. 32.

πᾶσαν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶναι ἑαυτ. According to Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*), the lapse of more than 3000 years has made no sensible difference in the level of Lower Egypt, and that vestiges are still to be found on the sea-shore of places similarly located more than 2000 years since.

### 5. Original state of Egypt.

μέχρι τριῶν ἡμερῶν πλοῦ. See Bk. iv. 86. Herodotus estimates a long day's sail at 70,000 fathoms, and a night's at 60,000.

### 6. Dimensions of Egypt.

σχοῖνι. This Egyptian measure varied from 30 and 32 to 40 stadia. The Greek word *σχοῖνι* = "*rope*," and "*ruak*," of which ropes are still made in Egypt and in other countries, and lingers in the modern "*akia*."

## 7. Dimensions of Egypt.

τῶν δωδέκα θεῶν. See VI. 108. An altar was erected to them in the agora of Athens by Pisistratus, son of Hippias, according to Thucydides, VI. 54.

## 8. The plain of Egypt.

ὥς εἶναι Αἰγύπτου = "for Egypt:" ὥς is *limitative*. The meaning of the whole passage, according to Bähr, is, "As for the country, as you go up the river from Heliopolis, it is no longer spacious, for Egypt."

## 9. The journey from Heliopolis to Thebes.

Ἐλεφαντίνην. Blakesley remarks, that it is singular that whenever Elephantine is mentioned by Herodotus there is nothing to indicate any suspicion that it is an *island*, but, on the contrary, it appears in one passage to be considered on the mainland, in Chap. 28, and yet Herodotus professes to have visited Elephantine himself.

## 10. The vale of the Nile compared to the plain of Ilium.

ἐφαίνεται μοι, κ.τ.λ. This is confirmed by Nearcho.

ἴστος πενταστόμου. Observe that here and in Chap. 15 Herodotus omits the two artificial mouths, the Bolbitine and the Bucolic.

κατὰ τὸν Νεῖλον = "in comparison with the Nile."

τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων. Thucyd. II. 102: εἰς τῶν νήσων αἱ φερέσονται· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πᾶσαι οὐκ ἐν πολλῇ τιμῇ ἀνὰ χρόνον τοῦτο παθεῖν.

## 11. Description of the Arabian Gulf.

ἦμιν ἡμέρης πλοῦν. This is only true of the Sinus Heroöpoliticus.

ἐκ τῆς βορρῆς θαλάσσης = "from the northern sea," i.e. the *Mediterranean Sea*. ἐκ τῆς νοτίης, the Erythrean Sea, or Indian Ocean.

σχεδὸν μὲν ἀλλήλοισι συντετραπέντας, κ.τ.λ. Blomfield, in his Glossary on the *Choephora* of Æschylus, thus translates the passage: "Ad intimos recessus penetrant idem fere terre spatium dissecantes, ut initium hujus cum fine illius concordat, quod ad parallelismum attinet: parvo autem spatio interposito inter se distant."

## 12. Formation of Egypt.

κογχύλια, κ.τ.λ. Blakesley remarks that this observation is not of a piece with his former argument. These mountains are there supposed to be *the shore* of a former sea, not to have lain at the bottom of it. The argument here is Strabo's, where his object is to prove the numerous instances of the change of sea and land.

τῆς γὰρ Ἀραβίης νήσοισι. That portion of the coast between Egypt and Palestine.

## 13. The priests try to show the rise of the land.

ὅκως εἰθροὶ ὁ ποταμός. Pococke supposes that eight cubits, mentioned by the priests, must be understood of the elevation of the waters above

*their ordinary level*, and not of their depth from the bed of the river; whereas the sixteen cubits, which he mentions further on, must be understood of the entire depth of the waters from their highest elevation to the bottom. Wilkinson agrees with him.

ἀντιστοφὴ ὕδατος = "a remedy (for the want) of water." The objective genitive.

ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς. Jove is especially regarded as god of the elements, so of air, the maker of *thunder, rain, &c.* Compare Horace, "sub Jove frigida."

#### 14. The lower part of Egypt readily cultivated.

μήτε γὰρ ὕδατος ἐπὶ ἡ χώρα. According to Wilkinson, showers fall annually at Thebes; perhaps, on an average, *four or five* in a year; and every *eight or ten years* heavy rains fill the torrent beds of the mountains which run to the banks of the Nile.

οὐτε ἀρότρου. The plough is found in ancient sculptures, and was only dispensed with, most likely, after a high flood of the Nile.

#### 15. The boundaries of Egypt according to the Ionians.

Ἰώνων = "the Greeks." As the Ionians were the first Greeks known to the *Egyptians and Asiatics*, the term was applied loosely to *all* Greeks.

Μεγύστου. The modern name of Egypt, *Musr* or *Misir*, is the *Misraim* of the Bible = the two Misra corresponding to the "two regions" of the Scriptures. Misr does not exist on the monuments. Rawlinson observes, "Egypt is κατ' ἐξοχὴν, 'the land of Ham' (Psalms lxxviii. 51, cv. 23, 27, cvi. 22), therefore perhaps called *Chemi*, its *only* title on the monuments. Ham probably took up his abode there, and his name passed on both to the country and to its original chief god Khem, the special deity of the Thebais, which was the first seat of civilisation in Egypt. Egypt too furnishes the natural centre from which the different Hamitic races can diverge to Ethiopia, Arabia, Babylonia, Palestine, and the Syrian coast." Observe also that the words "*chemistry*," "*alchemy*," are derived from *Chemi* = *Egypt*.

ἀπὸ Περσέος καλεομένης σκοτεινῆς. The rocky promontory of *Aboutir*, on which Canopus stood, was probably the site of this *watch-tower*. Κένουβος has been derived from *kali nou* = "golden land," = χρυσεὸν ὄafen.

Πηλεόσιον = "*Philistine*" (town), according to Lepsius, as it was the last town retained by the shepherd Princes (*Hypsoe*), who were *Philistines*, when driven from Egypt.

κατέρρευσε = "alluvial," i.e. *borne down* (the stream).

τί περιεργάζετο = "why did they proceed to a work of *supererogation*?"

τοὶ ἐνδιαβαίνοντες = "those who *gradually* came down (into the new country)," as opposed to τοὶ ἐντοκαμέντοι = "those who were left behind (in the old country)."

## 16. Want of symmetry in this definition of the limits of Egypt.

Λιβύην. Sallust (*Jug.* c. 17), "plerique in parte tertiâ Africam posuere; pauci tantummodo Asiam et Europam esse, sed Africam in Europâ."

προσλογίζεσθαι = "in addition, to take into their calculation."

κατὰ τὸ ἄκρον = "at the apex." Mela calls it, "*acumen Delta*."

περιρρήγνυται = "breaks off all round in different directions."

## 17. Egypt partly in Asia and in Libya.

ἑπτα διφάσια στόματα. Arrowsmith gives the following as the seven mouths of the Nile: (1) Ancient Canopic mouth, now about 300 yards wide, from Lake Aboukir, or Maudie, into the bay of Aboukir; (2) Bolbitine (Rosetta mouth); (3) ancient Sebennytic mouth (now seven feet water), from Lake Bourlas into the sea; (4) ancient Bucolic mouth, or Phatnitic; (5) ancient *Mendesian* mouth (now mouth of *Dibe*), from Lake Menzaleh into the sea; (6) ancient Tanitic mouth (now Om-Faredje mouth), with six feet water during sixty days of the Nile's increase, from Lake Menzaleh into the sea; (7) *Pelusian* mouth (now Bubastic, choked with mud, to the east of Lake Menzaleh). The Arabians call these mouths *Osiohm*, from the Lat. "*ostium*" or Greek στόμα, by metathesis.

ἰθαγενέα (1) = "*legitimate*," as opp. to νόθος, bastard; (2) = "*regular*," "*natural*," as opp. to ἀρκετά = "*artificial*."

## 18. Response of the God Ammon.

τῆς ἐμεινωτοῦ γνώμης ὑστερον = "after the (formation) of my own opinion."

Μαρῆς τε πόλιος. In II. 30, Herodotus speaks of it as a frontier fortress towards Lybia; it was placed on the southern side of that lake, called after it *Marcotis*. It was celebrated for its wine. Virgil in *Georg.* II. 91:

"Sunt Thasie vites, sunt et Marcotides albae."

And in Horace we have "*lymphatam Marcotico*." And probably alluded to in the monumental inscriptions as "the wine of the northern country."

οὐκ ὁμολογέτω ἀπὸ αἰσῶν = "do not speak the same language with them."

## 19. The Nile, its rise and overflow.

ὃ τι κατέρχεται = δι' ὃ, τι κατέρχεται.

πελάσας δ' ἐς τὸν ἀριθμὸν, κ.τ.λ. "And having drawn near to the number of these days."

ἀπέρχεται = "overflows." See ἐπιὼν ἀρδεῖ in II. 18.

ἀπολείπων τὸ βέθερον = "leaving behind its own (regular) course." The article is possessive.

μέχρι οὗ αὖτις τροπῆων τῶν θερινῶν = "until the time of the return of the summer solstice." With the οὗ here compare the Latin expression, "tempore quo."

τὰ ἐμπαλιν πεφικέναι = "to be naturally the reverse."

20, 21, 22, 23. The three Greek theories of the inundations of the Nile examined.

ἐπίσημοι = "men of mark" (*damped* men).

σημῆναι = "to indicate them *once for all*" (the force here of the *aorist*). Herod. does not think their opinions worth dwelling upon.

τοὺς ἄλλους ποταμοὺς, ὅσοι = "all the other rivers, as many as." εἰ ὅλοι = Lat. "*ceteri*," "*reliqui*;" and see note on I. 21.

πολλοὶ μὲν ἐν τῇ Συρίῃ ποταμοί, κ.τ.λ. As the Etesian winds blow from the west as well as from the north, there is no real difficulty here, from the easterly course of these rivers.

ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ μέντα. This was the opinion of Dicaearchus and of Homer.

λέγει γὰρ δὴ εὐδ' αὐτὴ εὐδέν = "for, observe, not even does this (opinion) express anything (true)." So Lucan, X. 219:

"Vana fides veterum Nilo quo crescat in arva  
Æthiopum prodesse nives."

Euripides adopted the same theory from his teacher Anaxagoras, when speaking of the Nile in *Helen*. he says:

λευκῆς τακίσης χιόνος, ὑγραίνει γῶας.

ἐν ἀναβροσι. Strabo knew, however, that the inundation of the Nile was owing to the rains which fall during the summer in Æthiopia.

δι' ἔτους = "throughout the year." Compare the common expression in Ireland, "the year *through*."

ὁ δὲ περὶ τοῦ Ὀκεανοῦ. See Chap. 21. This is supposed to be Hecataeus. οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχῶν = "contains nothing to refute it."

ποταμὸν Ὀκεανόν. *Iliad*, XIV. 245, ποταμοῖο μέθρα Ὀκεανοῦ.

24, 25. Herodotus' theory of the Nile inundation.

διεξόδον = "the sun's course in the heavens."

διεξὼν τῆς Λιβύης τὰ ἄνω. Herodotus seems to regard the inundation of the Nile as its *natural* state; and that the river subsided during the winter only because it was being drained by the *evaporation* of the sun, which was immediately over the higher parts of Libya.

The notion that the sun's food was *water*, though ridiculed by Aristotle, was Stoical, and is mentioned by Lucretius:

"Flammiger an Titan ut alentes hauriat undas  
Erigit Oceanum."

And see Anacreon's *Ode*, XIX.:

πίνει...ὁ δ' ἦλιος θάλασσαν.

κεχαρδρωμένης = "torn up by torrents."

ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼν ἀρομβρος = "the Nile, as a fact, not having rain-water."

πίπτει = "pressed" or "exhausted" (by the sun).

26, 27. The Ister (Danube) compared to the Nile.

διακαίει τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ = "burning up his passage," i.e. all the air that he passes through on his course.

ἡ στέσις τῶν ὥρων = "the settled position of the seasons." φάλεσι = Lat. "amat," in the sense of *solet* = "is wont."

28. Egyptian account of the Nile's source.

τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς. We have not yet discovered the fountains of the true Nile, as it seems admitted on all hands that the *Baré el Ahiad*, or the *White River*, as the more important river, was the real Nile of the ancients.

ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων = "the scribe that had charge of the priestly properties."

Συήτης = the modern Assovan; it was a place of importance as a frontier garrison-town on the borders of Ethiopia.

Κρῶφι, Μῶφι. The scribe was evidently joking Herodotus. Rawlinson compares the words to those absurd rhyming repetitions in our language: "hurly-burly," "halter-akelter," "hum-drum," "hugger-mugger," &c.

ἐξικέσθαι = Lat. "*pervenire*" = "make its way to" (through difficulties).

29. Herodotus did not go beyond Elephantine.

ιστορίων = "learning by inquiry."

ἀναγες = "up-hill," as opp. to κἀναγες = "down-hill."

κατὰ τὴν βοῆν, "after the manner of an ox" (when dragged by ropes to the altar).

ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσερας = "extends over four days." The accusative of extension in time and place, with *ἐπὶ*, is quite in analogy with the accusatives of *διὰ*. Compare above, *ἐπὶ μακρότατον* = "extending (my inquiries) as far as I could."

ὁ Μαλανδρος. Chandler observes, in his *Travels*, "The river runs from the mouth of the lake with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, toward Miletus, proceeding by the right wing of the theatre in mazes to the sea, which is in view and distant, as we computed, about eight miles." Our English word "*meander*" is derived from this river.

ἀνοβὰς = "e navi descendens" in Latin, "disembarking."

ἐκπέλοι (Latin, "*scoopuli*"). ἀνέχουσι (intransitive) = "high rocks (from which one can see afar) hold themselves up."

χοιμάδες = "hogs' backs." Virgil's "*dorsum immane maris*," of low, rough sunken rocks, whose back alone is visible.

*Δία... Διόνυσος*—called by the Egyptians "Amun" and "Osiris" respectively.

### 30. An Egyptian colony above Syene.

*ἴση χρόνῳ* = "in a period equal" to the journey from Elephantine to Meroë.

*πρὸς Αἰθίοπας* = "against," or "in the direction of." Compare *πρὸς Ἀραβίαν*, *πρὸς Λιβύην*.

*οὐδὲν εὐδαίς* = "no one relieved them."

*οὐκ ἐπεί* = "and he tried to dissuade them." Thucyd. VI. 72.

### 31. How far the Nile is known.

*πέραν* = "beyond and except."

*πενήντες γὰρ συμβαλλομένων μηνῶν*. Wesseling states that Aristides differs from Herodotus in the number of months consumed in the journey from Elephantine to Automoli.

### 32, 33. The expedition of the Nasamones into Central Africa.

*Νασαμόνας*. These dwelt about the Syrtes, and by them the trade with Inner Africa was carried on. See Heeren.

*ὑβριστὰς* = "insolent," "reckless."

*τῆς γὰρ Λιβύης*. See IV. 181. According to Heeren this division of Northern Africa is based upon the natural features of the country, and corresponds to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara.

*τὴν βορρῆν θάλασσαν* = "the Mediterranean Sea," towards the north.

*ἐπτεσθαι τοῦ καρποῦ* = "to lay hold of," and so "to eat." So Thucyd. II. 50, and Cicero's uses of "attigissent" in the same sense. The fruit is supposed to have been the *butter tree*.

*ἄνδρας μικροῦς*. That men of very small stature exist in Africa has been always believed, and on good authority.

*ἐπικεῖσθαι ἐς πῶλον*. This city is supposed to be "Timbuctoo," and the river to have been the "Niger."

*ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων* = "from an equally remote point," i. e. from a point corresponding to the Ister, their sources being in corresponding quarters. See Arnold's *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 491.

*Ἰστροίη*, now called "Histria." Ovid in *Trist.* III. 9:

"Hoc quoque *Milco missi* venero coloni,  
Inde Getæ Grains constituere domos."

### 34. Nile and Danube compared.

*ἐκ' ἴσων μακρότατον ἰστροίητα*. See Thucyd. I. 1, *ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκεπόμεντα*. See II. 29, and I. 171.

† δὲ Ζωόντι τῇ Ἰστρίᾳ, κ.τ.λ. Blakeney observes that probably a merchant-vessel going from the Ister to Phasis would lay her course for Sinope, or on the opposite course run for the Ister from Sinope.

### 35. Description of Egypt, continued.

λέγου μέγιστον = "too great for description," surpassing description.

ἐστήσαντο ἑθνη, κ.τ.λ. = "have established for themselves customs and manners, for the greater part entirely different from those of the rest of mankind."

ἐνίοτοι ἐπαύουντο. Compare Soph. *Œd. Col.* 333:

ἐκὼ γὰρ εἰ μὴ ἄρσενος κατὰ στήγας  
θαλαύσω ἰσχυρογύνους· αἱ δὲ σάντορες  
τῷ βίῳ τροφαία παύονται· ἀέ.

ἰσῆται γυνή. Wilkinson thinks that women were excluded only from the higher office of the priesthood.

μὴ βουλομένους = "supposing they do not wish it;" force of μὴ with the participle.

### 36. Customs of the Egyptians.

ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς θανάτου = "at the time of death."

δοῦδος μέγιστον ἔστι. This is equally extravagant (as his other extreme assertions) according to Rawlinson, who says that though they also cultivated the *holcus sorghum* or (*deere*), and poor people may have used it, as at the present day, when they could not afford *wheaten* bread, it does not follow that the custom was obligatory, or ever adopted by an Egyptian of rank, and the assertion of Herodotus is on a par with Dr Johnson's definition of "oats."

ῥῆμα = "spelt." ὄσπριον = "rye." σπῆλαι = "wheaten dough" in a state of consistency (*ἰσχυρῶς*).

διφασίαι δὲ γράμμασι χρίονται. Wilkinson tells us the Egyptians used three kinds of characters: the hieroglyphic, the hieratic, and the enchorial. Herodotus mentions only two, the sacred and demotic; but as he speaks of their writing from left to right, it is possible that here he only alludes to the two cursory characters, the hieratic and enchorial, without comprehending the hieroglyphics under the head of writing.

### 37. Religious customs.

ἕκαστοι τοιοῦτοι χρίονται = "use customs such as the following."

ἐσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι εἰ ἱερεῖς, κ.τ.λ. = "and the priests wear no other dress but a linen one, and no other shoes but those made of the papyrus plant."

οἶνος ἀμπέλωτος = "grape wine," as distinguished from οἶνος ἐκ κριθῶν = "barley wine," i. e. "beer," in II. 77.

τρώγουσι = "eat raw," hence τρωκτὰ and τρώξιμα.

ἀρχιέρως, a form peculiar to Herodotus for ἀρχιερεῖς.

ἐντοκαὶ στήται = "is established in his place."

## 38. Religious customs.

τοῦ Ἐπάφου. See Herod. II. 153, ὃ δὲ Ἄπης κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν ἔστιν Ἐπάφος. Herodotus simply substitutes the Hellenic equivalent for the Egyptian Deity Apis. There can be no doubt, says Blakeley, that the Egyptian Deity is the *original one*: but the Greeks, after their usual wont, to account for all the legends they found by a reference to their own mythology and language, derived Epaphus from ἐπαφῆς, as Æschylus, *Prom.* 848:

ἐνταῦθα δὲ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἐμφρονα  
ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θύγον μύρον.  
ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γονυμάτων  
τίξεις κελαινὸν Ἐπάφον.

## 39. Mode of sacrifice.

ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Supply βωμοῦ.

κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέως = "down upon the victim."

ἀπ' ὧν ἔδωκε = "they were wont then to give it away for *their own advantage*," i. e. to *sell* it. Observe, this is a case of *imesis*.

καταρῶνται δὲ...τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. Compare Leviticus xvi. 21, 22, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting *them upon the head of the goat*, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited."

## 40. The sacrifices to Isis.

ἡ ἐξάλυσις = "the disembowelling" = Lat. "exenteratio."

ἤγεται εἶναι = "believe to be," not merely *think*, = *νομίζω*.

κειρῆ = *κεῖρ*. τῇ ὀσφύν = "the hip."

ἄρτων καθαρῶν = "pieces of *fine* bread;" made of *fine* unmixed flour.

ἀποτύφονται = "when *they* have ceased striking themselves." Valckenaer renders by "ubi plangere desiderint."

## 41. Cows never killed, as sacred to Isis.

καθαροῦ βουτῆ = "oxen without mark or blemish."

οἷδι κρέας...γεύσεται. Genesis xliii. 32, "Because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

Ἀτάρβηξις = "Aphroditopolis." Athar = Venus, and Night (which contained the seeds and elements of all things); while Becis = Bech, or city, as Baalbech = the city of Baal.

ἔρεται = *ἔρυνται*, or *ἐρυνμένων ἔχουσι*.

## 42. Isis and Osiris, the only deities common to all Egypt.

τοῦ τοῦ Θεβαίου = "of the Theban district" or "*province*."

Τεῖός τε καὶ Ὀσίριος. These Deities in their *attributes* comprehended all *natural* Deities. (α) Osiris, *the Sun*, symbolised by a *bull*, represented the generating principle of nature, and elsewhere he was Anubis, Bacchus, Apollo, Dionysus, Jupiter, and Pan. (β) Isis, the Moon, symbolised by a cow, represented the productive powers of nature, and was the Venus of Cyprus, Minerva of Athens, Cybele of Phrygia, Bellona of the Romans, Ceres of Eleusis, Diana of Crete, and the Proserpine of Sicily.

τοῦ Μένδης. Mendes, now *Mansoura*, gave its name to the Mandesian mouth of the Nile, twenty-one miles eastward of the Phatnitic or Damietta mouth.

### 43. Heracles, one of their twelve Deities.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. "This expression is a striking evidence of the colour which Hellenic channels gave to the facts received by the author. There is no Egyptian name in the least degree corresponding to Heracles: those of the Deities which are identified with him being Sem or Som and Chon. The only way in which a sense can be attached to the author's remark, is to consider that he looks upon the form in which the Egyptian mythology was cast by the naturalized Greeks of his time as genuine Egyptian, losing sight (except in a few instances) of the fact as this being a mere adopted translation." Blakesley.

ἐν δὲ καὶ τούτοις = "and amongst them (the proofs) also the following one."

### 44. Visit of Herodotus to Tyre to inquire about Heracles.

θελὼν εἰδέναι = "being *determined* to know," as opp. to mere *will* or *preference*, implied in βούλομαι.

Τύρον. The Tyrian Hercules was *Mcicarh*.

σμαράγδου λίθου = "emerald-like glass." A very old invention was the *staining* of glass in Egypt.

λάμποντες τὰς νύκτας μέγας = "shining a *deal* during the nights." Acc. to Jelf = μεγάλην λαμπάδα.

Θάσον, now "Tasso." Its rich mines would of course be an attraction to the Phœnicians.

### 45. Legends about Hercules.

ὑπὸ πομπῆς = "in procession."

τίως μὲν ἡσύχην ἔχων = "for a while indeed *kept* quiet" (as we say).

ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατέρχοντο = "but when they proceeded to begin the sacrifices upon him at the altar" (by cutting off his hair).

εἰς ἀλκὴν τραπέμενος = "betaking himself to his *strength*." See Thucyd. II. 84.

ὥς ἂν θύοιεν = "how could they possibly *sacrifice*."

φύσω ἔχει = "how could he have the *physical* power," = ὥς τέφουε.

## 46. The Mendesians consider the goat sacred.

Διγεντίων εἰ ἀρκαμένοι, i. e. the Mendesians.

ἀγιοπρόσωπον καὶ τραγασκελῆς = "with the *face* of the *she-goat* and the *legs* of the *he-goat*." Observe that *διξ* is from *διξω*, and is properly "the *springer*," the female goat being supposed to be more *agile*, while *τράγος* is either from *τραχὺς*, "the *rougher*," or from *θρίξ*, "the more *shaggy*" animal than the *she-goat*. It has been said that the *he-goats* have their lower limbs more covered with *hair*, and look *rougher* than the *she-goats*. We have no faith in the derivation of *τράγος* from *τρώγω* = "to nibble."

## 47. Detestation of the swine and the swine-herds.

† τις ψάβῃ αὐτῶν παρὼν, κ.τ.λ. = "should any one of them in passing by touch a pig *merely with his outer garments*." The *χίτων* was the *inner garment*. So in the Greek Testament the woman is represented as touching the *ἕωρτον κροστέδον* = "the *edge of the outer garment*."

ἐκδίδωσθαι = "to give (*out from one's home*) in marriage."

ἔγχεσθαι = "to bring to (*one's home*) in marriage," like the Lat. "ducere in matrimonium." See IV. 145, *Odys.* O. 337.

ἀρεστηγάσσι = "they have and have had a settled *hatred* for."

ἐρεῶν θύγα. Supply ὁ θυγά.

τῇ οὐρῇ ἀκρῇ = "the *tip of the tail*." In Latin and Greek these are adjectives, which are only *partial* attributes, describing not the *whole* of the object, but only a *part* of it, as in the case of *ἀκρῇ* here. Compare the Latin "extremus," "summus," "imus," "medius," &c. denoting respectively "the *end*," "the *top*," "the *bottom*," "the *middle*" of those objects which they respectively qualify.

οὐκ ἂν ἐτι γεύσασθαι = "they could not any longer possibly taste it." ἂν always strengthens the *negative*.

στασίβας = "of *dough*." See *Thucyd.* I. 126.

## 48. A pig offered in sacrifice to Dionysus.

τῇ ἀφῆς τῇ δεσπῆς = "on the *eve of the feast*."

## 49. Melampus conversant with the Egyptian rites of Dionysus.

ἀρκεῖν μὲν εἰς πάντα, κ.τ.λ. = "he did not clearly and *comprehensively put together* (or *grasp*) the whole account (of the matter), and (so) *explain it*."

οἱ ἐπρυθόμενοι τεύτρῳ = "those who came *after him*."

τὸν τῷ Διονύῳ περσόμενον = "carried in *procession in honour of Dionysus*."

καταγγεσόμενος = "having given a *detailed account of*," as opp. to *καταγγέσθαι* (*infra*) = "to have conveyed (among the Greeks) *information about*."

συμπεσέω = "fall in with," "coincide with."

ἐς τὴν νῦν Βουσίφη. See Thucyd. I. 12.

50. The Greek names of the Deities, partly Pelasgian and partly Egyptian.

εὕρισκε δὲν = "I find to be a reality."

ὅτι δὴ μὴ = "mark the exception, that."

λέγω δὲ = "I say, observe."

νομίζουσι... ἥρωσι οὐδὲν = "are wont to pay no religious observance heroes."

51. The Pelasgians originated the Priapic Hermæ.

νομίμασι = "have been and are accustomed to use."

πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων, κ.τ.λ. = "and the Athenians are the first of all the Greeks, without exception, who received this (custom) from (the Pelasgians)."

ἤδη τηρικαῦτα ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσι = "even at this time being reckoned among the Hellenes."

Καβείρων. These were the "Magni Dei," adored in the mysteries of Lemnæ. They were especially Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and the Egyptian Mercury, with Pan.

οἶδε τὸ λέγω = "knows what I mean."

τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρίῃ = κατὰ τὰ, δ, κ.τ.λ.

52. The Pelasgian Gods nameless.

ἐπωνυμίην δὲ οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῖντο, κ.τ.λ. = "but had no distinct names or appellations for them." Rawlinson, on the other hand (Murexol. I. p. 73, of *Greek Literature*), observes, "Herodotus says that 'formerly the Pelasgians had no separate names for the Gods, until they learned them from the Egyptians.' The historian must be presumed to use the phrase *ὄνομα* in this passage, not in the *literal* sense, but in that of *denomination, personality, character*: for it were difficult, certainly, to imagine two sets of names differing more entirely from each other than those of Zeus and Ammon, Apollo and Hor, Artemis and Bubastis, Hermes and Thôt. The contrast might be extended through the whole Pantheon."

προσωνύμασαν, κ.τ.λ. = "they applied to them the name of Gods (τοὶ = 'disposers') from some such circumstance as this, because they disposed in beautiful order all the things in the universe, and maintained all such dispositions." This account would derive *θεοί* from *θημι*, in the sense of "disposing;" others derived it from the sense of "laying" (the foundations of the world), as "Creators." Plato derived it from *θεῖω* = "to run," because the Gods first worshipped were the sun, moon, and stars. Modern philologists derive it from the same root as *Deus*, *Diva*, *Διός*.

## 53. Homer and Hesiod formed the Hellenic Theogony.

οἱ ποιήσαντες θεογονίην Ἕλλησι. Grote makes it out from the passage that Homer and Hesiod *invented* the Greek Theogony. Wessling, Creuser, Wyttenbach and others explain it as stating merely the introduction of the deities *into popular poetry* (ποιήσαντες), and invest them with the shapes, passions, and characters of men.

οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι. Bähr thinks that Herodotus does not here mean to deny the existence of Orpheus, Musæus, Linus, Eumolpus, and other poets before Homer, but to maintain that their professed poems were spurious, and of subsequent origin.

## 54, 55. The Egyptian account of the oracles of Ammon and Dodona.

ἐς Λιβύην προβαίωσαν = "sold and carried into Libya." The verb is here pregnant.

ἐφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα = "they said in reply to those things."

ἀνυρεῖν = "to find *by inquiry*" (by tracing upwards).

προμάντις. The πρόμαντις was the special title of the Pythian or Delphic priestess, who gave out the oracles. Compare προφήτης.

ἐπὶ φηγῶν = "upon the *esculent oak*" (from φάγω), not the δασύς, as some would render it, erroneously connecting it with the Lat. "*fagus*."

οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖαι, i.e. the Selli. See Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. II p. 638.

## 56, 57. Herodotus comments on this strange story.

τὴν δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπέβατε = "and took into Greece and sold the other (woman) there."

πρόφυκτον = "of nature's growth."

κατηγγέσατο = "declared in *detail* or in *express terms*."

ἐπὶ τοῦδε. So in I. 14, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέτοις ἐπωνυμίων.

καὶ τῶν ἱδῶν ἢ μαντικῇ = "the art of divination from victims to."

## 58, 59. Egyptian pilgrimages.

προσεγγυάς = "bringing of offerings in procession;" or *supplications* some say, "introduction," to the shrine.

ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα = "in the centre of the Egyptian Delta." See on the partial attribute, II. 47.

Σαῖν πόλις. Sais, now Sa-el-Hagar, lay a few miles west of Busiris.

## 60, 61. Processions and festivals of Egyptian deities.

κρόταλα....κροταλίττους = "they *rattle* their rattles;" acc. of the cognate word.

ἐν τῷ ἅπαντι ἐναντὶ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ = "than in all the rest of the year that remains, without any exception."

τὸν δὲ τέπτανται = "but in honour of whom they beat themselves."

## 62, 63. Other festivals at Sais and Heliopolis.

ἐμβάφια = "vessels"—compare our "dips"—probably made of glass, acc. to Wilkinson.

ἐπιπελάης = "on the surface."

ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον = "up and down, from the bottom to the top of Egypt." κατὰ = would be "from the top to the bottom."

θυσίας καὶ ἱερᾶ = "sacrifices and ceremonies."

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα = "on the other side" (properly, looking "towards the other things").

οἱ δὲ εὐχολιμαῖοι = "now those who are bound by a vow."

κεφαλὰς τε συναρδύσσονται = "and they smash each other's heads" (force of the compound verb).

## 64. Popular legends.

ἀπότροφον = "reared far away from (his parents)."

τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες = "reckoning up such things," i.e. give such reasons for their conduct.

## 65. The Egyptian animal worship.

σύντροφα = "domesticated" = "reared along with" (man).

δνῆται = "set free," allowed to range at large. Literally it means "given up" (to their own inclination or power).

τῇ τιμῇ = "the honourable charge."

ἰσθῆαι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας = "they weigh the hair in a scale against a bit of silver:" literally, they make the hair to stand in the standing scale against the bit of silver, i.e. the scale on which the hair is, is made to stand even with the scale on which the money is: hence the σταθμός of the Greeks, and the "stare," "to cost," of the Latins, and our common idiom, "it stands me so much."

ὅ' ἂν ἄλκυον = "but whatever money the hair may have drawn down," i.e. weighed in the scale.

ἱέραξ = "the falcon." Compare Scott's *Marmion*, Canto 1:

"E'en such a falcon, on his shield,  
Soared sable in an azure field;  
The golden legend bore aright,  
Who checks at me, to death is right."

The falcon was an emblem of the soul, and is found at the entrances of the Egyptian tombs.

## 66. Peculiar habits of the cat.

διασπάρτες = "having stationed themselves at intervals."

διαδύοντες καὶ υπερδύσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους = "slipping through and bounding over the men."

καταλαμβάνει = "comes down upon and seizes;" pregnant sense. Herodotus is peculiarly fond of this word in describing heavy calamities.

ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου = "by a natural death."

### 67. Cat mummies at Bulastis.

τὰς μυγᾶλαις = "shrew-mice." Blakesley observes, "that the story ran in later times that Latona, when nursing Horus, changed herself into one of these animals to escape the pursuit of Typhon by burrowing in the earth." Plutarch says, the animal being regarded as blind was considered an emblem of primeval darkness. The mummies of the shrew-mouse are said to be found at Thebes, Buto, and *Athribis*, probably the *Atarbeckis* of Herodotus.

### 68, 69, 70. The crocodile of Egypt.

ἐκλέπει = "shells" or "hatches."

θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. According to Laroher, the water which had become heated during the day-time retains the heat during the night, and then is warmer than the air and the dew.

κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὧσθ γίνεται = "is born (in size) in proportion to the egg."

γλῶσσαν δὲ μόνον, κ.τ.λ. = "now this is the only animal that has not a tongue naturally."

οὕτῃ τῇ κίτῃ κινεῖ τὸ ἄνω, κ.τ.λ. Rawlinson here observes, "the story of its moving its upper jaw is owing to its throwing up its whole head when it seizes its prey, at the same time that it really moves its lower jaw downwards."

δοτήματα λίθων χυτὰ: "pendants of molten stone," i.e. of glass, which was most probably invented in Egypt, and carried to an extraordinary perfection in its manufacture.

κροκοδείλου δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν. Rawlinson observes, that *κροκόδειλος* was the term given by the Ionians to the lizards, as the Portuguese *al legato*, "the lizard," is the origin of our *alligator*. The Ionians here mentioned are the descendants of the Ionian soldiers of Psammethichus. The crocodile is not the Leviathan of Job xli., as some have supposed. Isaiah xxvii. 1, calls Leviathan "the piercing serpent," and "that crooked serpent," corresponding to the Aphophis, or "great serpent" of Egypt, the emblem of sin.

ἐλεφας. Supply ὁ θηρευτὴς, "the hunter."

### 71, 72, 73. The river-horse and other animals described.

ξυστὰ δάκρυα = "the shafts of javelins," Lat. "*hastilia jaculorum*." The hippopotamus was probably the *Behemoth* of Job, that "eateth grass like an ox."

ὀπίριαι = "otters."

τοὶς χειρῶν περὶ = "few-goes."

κεχαρδαμένους = "torn up by torrents."

ὁ δὲ Νεῖλος ἐὼς ἀναμύσσει = "the Nile, as a fact, not having rain-water."

πίεσται = "pressed" or "exhausted" (by the sun).

26, 27. The Ister (Danube) compared to the Nile.

διακαίω τὴν διέξοδον αὐτοῦ = "burning up his passage," i.e. all the air that he passes through on his course.

ἡ σταθεὶς τῶν ὥρων = "the settled position of the seasons." φάλαξ = Lat. "amas," in the sense of *solet* = "is wont."

28. Egyptian account of the Nile's source.

τοῦ δὲ Νεῖλου τὰς πηγὰς. We have not yet discovered the fountains of the true Nile, as it seems admitted on all hands that the *Beir el Abiad*, or the *White River*, as the more important river, was the true Nile of the ancients.

ὁ γραμματιστὴς τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων = "the scribe that had charge of the priestly properties."

Συήνη = the modern Assuan; it was a place of importance as a frontier garrison-town on the borders of Ethiopia.

Κράφι, Μῶφι. The scribe was evidently joking Herodotus. Rawlinson compares the words to those absurd rhyming repetitions in our language: "hurly-burly," "helter-skelter," "hum-drum," "hugger-mugger," &c.

ἐξικέσθαι = Lat. "*pervenire*" = "make its way to" (through difficulties).

29. Herodotus did not go beyond Elephantine.

ιστορίω = "learning by inquiry."

ἀναγρες = "up-hill," as opp. to κἀναγρες = "down-hill."

κατὰ τὸν βόον, "after the manner of an ox" (when dragged by ropes to the altar).

ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τέσσαρας = "extends over four days." The accusative of extension in time and place, with *ἐπὶ*, is quite in analogy with the accusatives of *διδ.* Compare above, *ἐπὶ μακρότερον* = "extending (my inquiries) as far as I could."

ὁ Μαλανδρος. Chandler observes, in his *Travels*, "The river runs from the mouth of the lake with many windings, through groves of tamarisk, toward Miletus, proceeding by the right wing of the theatre in mazes to the sea, which is in view and distant, as we computed, about eight miles." Our English word "*meander*" is derived from this river.

ἀναβάς = "e navi descendens" in Latin, "disembarking."

ἐκπέλοι (Latin, "*scopuli*"). ἀρέχουσι (intransitive) = "high rocks (from which one can see afar) hold themselves up."

χοιράδες = "hogs' backs." Virgil's "*dorsum immane maris*," of low, rough sunken rocks, whose back alone is visible.

Δία...Διόνυσον—called by the Egyptians “Amun” and “Osiris” respectively.

### 30. An Egyptian colony above Syene.

ἴση χρόνῳ = “in a period equal” to the journey from Elephantine to Meroë.

πρὸς Αἰθιοπῶν = “against,” or “in the direction of.” Compare πρὸς Ἀραβίων, πρὸς Αἰθίοχας.

ἀπὸ αὐτῶν οὐδείς = “no one relieved them.”

εὖτε δὲ = “and he tried to dissuade them.” Thucyd. vi. 72.

### 31. How far the Nile is known.

πέρατος = “beyond and except.”

τεσσέτραι γὰρ συμβαλλομένης μηνες. Wesseling states that Aristides differs from Herodotus in the number of months consumed in the journey from Elephantine to Automoli.

### 32, 33. The expedition of the Nasamones into Central Africa.

Νασαμώνες. These dwelt about the Syrtes, and by them the trade with Inner Africa was carried on. See Heeren.

ἔβριστὰς = “insolent,” “reckless.”

τῆς γὰρ Αἰθιοπίας. See IV. 181. According to Heeren this division of Northern Africa is based upon the natural features of the country, and corresponds to the modern names of Barbary, Biledulgerid, and Sahara.

τὴν βορρῆν θάλασσαν = “the Mediterranean Sea,” towards the north.

ἐπιτεσθαι τοῦ καρποῦ = “to lay hold of,” and so “to eat.” So Thucyd. II. 50, and Cicero's uses of “attigissent” in the same sense. The fruit is supposed to have been the *butter tree*.

ἀνδρες μικροὶ. That men of very small stature exist in Africa has been always believed, and on good authority.

ἐπικέσθαι ἐς πόντον. This city is supposed to be “Timbuctoo,” and the river to have been the “Niger.”

ἐκ τῶν ἴσων μέτρων = “from an equally remote point,” i. e. from a point corresponding to the Ister, their sources being in corresponding quarters. See Arnold's *Rom. Hist.* Vol. I. p. 491.

Ἰσθρία, now called “Histria.” Ovid in *Trist.* III. 9:

“Hoc quoque Mileto missi venerunt coloni,  
Inde Getæ Graias constituere domos.”

### 34. Nile and Danube compared.

ἐν ἴσῳ μακρότερον ἱσσομένην. See Thucyd. I. 1, ἐν μακρότερον σκευεύοντι. See II. 29, and I. 171.

ἡ δὲ Σιώνη τῇ Ἰστρίῳ, κ.τ.λ. Blakeley observes that probably a merchant-vessel going from the Ister to Phasis would lay her course for Sinope, or on the opposite course run for the Ister from Sinope.

### 35. Description of Egypt, continued.

λόγον μέγαν = "too great for description," surpassing description.

ἐστήσαντο ἑβέα, κ.τ.λ. = "have established for themselves customs and manners, for the greater part entirely different from those of the rest of mankind."

ἄνδρες ὑφαίνουσι. Compare Soph. *Ed. Col.* 333:

ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἄνδρες κατὰ στέγας  
θακοῦσιν ἰστουβόλῳτες· αἱ δὲ σίνουμαι  
τῶν βίων τροφεία παροῦντος' εἰ.

ἰσῆται γυνή. Wilkinson thinks that women were excluded only from the higher office of the priesthood.

μὴ βουλομένουςι = "supposing they do not wish it;" force of μὴ with the participle.

### 36. Customs of the Egyptians.

ὑπὸ τοῖς θανάτοις = "at the time of death."

δυναῖος μέγιστον ἐστίν. This is equally extravagant (as his other extreme assertions) according to Rawlinson, who says that though they also cultivated the *holcus soryhūm* or (*doora*), and poor people may have used it, as at the present day, when they could not afford *wheaten* bread, it does not follow that the custom was obligatory, or ever adopted by an Egyptian of rank, and the assertion of Herodotus is on a par with Dr Johnson's definition of "*eats*."

ζυῖς = "spelt." ἄλυρα = "rye." σπᾶις = "wheaten dough" in a state of consistency (*ἰσσημ*).

διφασίοισι δὲ γράμμασι χρέωνται. Wilkinson tells us the Egyptians used three kinds of characters: the *hieroglyphic*, the *hieratic*, and the *enchorial*. Herodotus mentions only two, the *sacred* and *demotic*; but as he speaks of their writing from left to right, it is possible that here he only alludes to the two cursory characters, the *hieratic* and *enchorial*, without comprehending the *hieroglyphics* under the head of *writing*.

### 37. Religious customs.

νόμοισι τοιοῖσιδε χρέωνται = "use customs such as the following."

ἑσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱερεῖς, κ.τ.λ. = "and the priests wear no other dress but a linen one, and no other shoes but those made of the papyrus plant."

οἶνος ἀμπελίνος = "grape wine," as distinguished from οἶνος ἐκ κριθῶν = "barley wine," i. e. "beer," in II. 77.

τρώγουσι = "eat raw;" hence τρωκτὰ and τρώξιμα.

ἀρχιέρως, a form peculiar to Herodotus for ἀρχιερεῖς.

ἀντικατ' ἵσταται = "is established in his place."

## 38. Religious customs.

τοῦ Ἐπάφου. See Herod. II. 153, ὃ δὲ Ἄπρις κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσάν ἐστιν Ἐπάφος. Herodotus simply substitutes the Hellenic equivalent for the Egyptian Deity Apis. There can be no doubt, says Blakeley, that the Egyptian Deity is the *original one*; but the Greeks, after their usual wont, to account for all the legends they found by a reference to their own mythology and language, derived Epaphus from ἐπαφῆς, as Æschylus, *Prom.* 848:

ἐνταῦθα δὲ σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἐμφρονα  
ἐπαφῶν ἀπαρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θίγων μέσσην.  
ἐπώνυμον δὲ τῶν Διὸς γονυμάτων  
τίξεις κελαῶν Ἐπάφον.

## 39. Mode of sacrifice.

ἐπ' αὐτοῦ. Supply βωμοῦ.

κατὰ τοῦ ἱερέου = "down upon the victim."

ἐπ' ὧν ἔδωκε = "they were wont then to give it away for *their own advantage*," i. e. to *sell* it. Observe, this is a case of *imesis*.

καταράσονται δὲ...τῇσι κεφαλῇσι. Compare Leviticus xvi. 21, 22, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting *them* upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a fit man into the wilderness: and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities unto a land not inhabited."

## 40. The sacrifices to Isis.

ἡ ἐξάλυσις = "the disembowelling" = Lat. "exenteratio."

ἤγηται εἶναι = "believe to be," not merely *think*, = νομίζω.

κενῆρ = κενήρ. τὴν ὀσφίν = "the hip."

ἄρτων καθαρῶν = "pieces of *fine* bread;" made of *fine* unmixed flour.

ἠπορεύονται = "when they have ceased striking themselves." Valckenæer renders by "ubi plangere desierint."

## 41. Cows never killed, as sacred to Isis.

καθαροὶ βοῦς = "oxen without mark or blemish."

οὐδὲ κρέως...γεύεται. Genesis xliii. 32, "Because the Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto the Egyptians."

Ἀφροδίτης = "Aphroditopolis." Athar = Venus, and Night (which contained the seeds and elements of all things); while Becis = Bech, or city, as Baalbech = the city of Baal.

ἔρπονται = ἔρπονται, or ἔρπονται ἔχουσι.

## 42. Isis and Osiris, the only deities common to all Egypt.

τοῦ τοῦ Θεβαίου = "of the Theban district" or "provinces."

*Τοῖς τε καὶ Ὀσίριος.* These Deities in their *attributes* comprehended all *natural* Deities. (α) Osiris, *the Sun*, symbolised by a *bull*, represented the generating principle of nature, and elsewhere he was Anubis, Bacchus, Apollo, Dionysus, Jupiter, and Pan. (β) Isis, the Moon, symbolised by a cow, represented the productive powers of nature, and was the Venus of Cyprus, Minerva of Athens, Cybele of Phrygia, Bellona of the Romans, Ceres of Eleusis, Diana of Crete, and the Proserpine of Sicily.

τοῦ Μένδης. Mendes, now *Mansoura*, gave its name to the Mandesian mouth of the Nile, twenty-one miles eastward of the Phatnitic or Damietta mouth.

#### 43. Heracles, one of their twelve Deities.

τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἡρακλῆος. "This expression is a striking evidence of the colour which Hellenic channels gave to the facts received by the author. There is no Egyptian name in the least degree corresponding to Heracles: those of the Deities which are identified with him being Sem or Som and Chon. The only way in which a sense can be attached to the author's remark, is to consider that he looks upon the form in which the Egyptian mythology was cast by the naturalized Greeks of his time as genuine Egyptian, losing sight (except in a few instances) of the fact of this being a mere adopted translation." Blakesley.

ἐν δὲ καὶ τῷδε = "and amongst them (the proofs) also the following one."

#### 44. Visit of Herodotus to Tyre to inquire about Heracles.

θέλων εἰδέναι = "being *determined* to know," as opp. to mere *will* or *preference*, implied in βούλομαι.

Τύρον. The Tyrian Hercules was *Melcarth*.

σμαράγδου λίθου = "emerald-like glass." A very old invention was the *staining* of glass in Egypt.

λάμπωντος τὰς νύκτας μέγας = "shining a *deal* during the nights." Acc. to Jelf = μέγαν λαμπάδα.

Θάσος, now "Tasso." Its rich mines would of course be an attraction to the Phœnicians.

#### 45. Legends about Hercules.

ὑπὸ πομπῇ = "in procession."

τίως μὲν ἡσυχίῃ ἔχει = "for a while indeed *kept* quiet" (as we say).

ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ καταρχοῦντο = "but when they proceeded to begin the sacrifices upon him at the altar" (by cutting off his hair).

ἐς ἀλκῇ τραπέμεν = "betaking himself to his *strength*." See Thucyd. II. 84.

κῶς ἂν θύοιεν = "how could they *possibly* sacrifice."

πόσω ἔχει = "how could he have the *physical* power," = πῶς τέφουε.

## 46. The Mendesiens consider the goat sacred.

Μενδεῖων εἰ ἀγρομένοι, i. e. the Menderians.

ἀγρομέωντες καὶ τραγέσκελα = "with the *face* of the *she-goat* and the *legs* of the *he-goat*." Observe that ἀγρ is from ἀγρῶ, and is properly "the *springer*," the female goat being supposed to be more *agile*, while τραγός is either from τραχὺς, "the *rougher*," or from θρίξ, "the more *shaggy*" animal than the *she-goat*. It has been said that the he-goats have their lower limbs more covered with *hair*, and look *rougher* than the *she-goats*. We have no faith in the derivation of τραγός from τραγῶ = "to nibble."

## 47. Detestation of the swine and the swine-herds.

ὅς τις ψάβῃ ἀνδρὶ παρὶν, κ.τ.λ. = "should any one of them in passing by touch a pig *merely with his outer garments*." The χιτῶν was the *inner garment*. So in the Greek Testament the woman is represented as touching the ἕωρον κρᾶσιν = "the *edge of the outer garment*."

ἐκδίδωθαι = "to give (*out from one's home*) in marriage."

ἄγειν = "to bring to (*one's home*) in marriage," like the Lat. "ducere in matrimonium." See IV. 145, *Odys.* O. 237.

ἔστυγχαν = "they have and have had a settled *hatred* for."

ἐρεβν θύγ. Supply ὁ θυρήρ.

τὴν οὐρὴν ἄκρην = "the *tip of the tail*." In Latin and Greek these are adjectives, which are only *partial* attributes, describing not the *whole* of the object, but only a *part* of it, as in the case of ἄκρην here. Compare the Latin "extremus," "summus," "imus," "medius," &c. denoting respectively "the *end*," "the *top*," "the *bottom*," "the *middle*" of those objects which they respectively qualify.

οὐκ ἂν ἐτι γεύεσθαι = "they could not any longer possibly *taste it*," ἂν always strengthens the *negative*.

στεινός = "of *dough*." See *Thucyd.* I. 126.

## 48. A pig offered in sacrifice to Dionysus.

τῇ ἑσπέρῃ τῇ ἑσπέρῃ = "on the *eve of the feast*."

## 49. Melampus conversant with the Egyptian rites of Dionysus.

ἀρκεῖν μὲν εἰ πάντα, κ.τ.λ. = "he did not clearly and *comprehensively put together (or grasp)* the whole account (of the matter), and (so) *explain it*."

οἱ ἐπρυθόμενοι ῥέτρῳ = "those who came *after him*."

τὸν τῷ Διονύῳ περὶέμενον = "carried in *procession in honour of Dionysus*."

κατηγγράμμενος = "having given a *detailed account of*," as opp. to ἐγγράμμενος (*infra*) = "to have conveyed (among the Greeks) *information about*."

συμπεσεῖν = "fall in with," "coincide with."

ἐν τῇ τῶν Βουωρίῃ. See Thucyd. 1. 12.

50. The Greek names of the Deities, partly Pelasgian and partly Egyptian.

εὕρισκω ὅτι = "I find to be a reality."

ὅτι δὴ μὴ = "mark the exception, that."

λέγω δέ = "I say, observe."

νομίζουσι... ἤρωσι οὐδέν = "are wont to pay no religious observance, heroes."

51. The Pelasgians originated the Priapic Herms.

νομίσασιν = "have been and are accustomed to use."

πρῶτοι μὲν Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. = "and the Athenians are the first of all the Greeks, without exception, who received this (custom) from (the Pelasgians)."

ἤδη τῶν καὶ αὐτὰ ἐς Ἑλλήνας τελέουσιν = "even at this time being reckoned among the Hellenes."

Καβείρων. These were the "Magni Dii," adored in the mysteries of another race. They were especially Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and the Egyptian Mercury, with Pan.

οἶδε τὸ λέγω = "knows what I mean."

τὰ ἐν τοῖσι ἐν Σαμοθρίῃ = κατὰ τὰ, ἃ, κ.τ.λ.

52. The Pelasgian Gods nameless.

ἐπωνυμίῃ δὲ οὐδ' ὄνομα ἐποιεῖντο, κ.τ.λ. = "but had no distinct names or appellations for them." Rawlinson, on the other hand (Murel. 1. p. 73, of *Greek Literature*), observes, "Herodotus says that 'formerly the Pelasgians had no separate names for the Gods, until they learned them from the Egyptians.' The historian must be presumed to use the phrase ὄνομα in this passage, not in the literal sense, but in that of *denomination, personality, character*: for it were difficult, certainly, to imagine two sets of names differing more entirely from each other than those of Zeus and Ammon, Apollo and Hor, Artemis and Ubastis, Hermes and Thôt. The contrast might be extended through the whole Pantheon."

προσωνύμασαν, κ.τ.λ. = "they applied to them the name of Gods (εἰς = 'disposers') from some such circumstance as this, because they disposed in beautiful order all the things in the universe, and maintained all such dispositions." This account would derive θεός from θημι, in the sense of "disposing;" others derived it from the sense of laying (the foundations of the world), as "Creators." Plato derived from θέω = "to run," because the Gods first worshipped were the sun, moon, and stars. Modern philologists derive it from the same root as Deus, Diva, Διός.

## 53. Homer and Hesiod formed the Hellenic Theogony.

οἱ ποιηταὶ θεογονίην ἔλλαττον. Grote makes it out from this passage that Homer and Hesiod *invented* the Greek Theogony. Wesseling, Creuzer, Wytttenbach and others explain it as stating merely the introduction of the deities *into popular poetry* (ποιηταί), and investing them with the shapes, passions, and characters of men.

οἱ δὲ πρότερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι. Bähr thinks that Herodotus does not here mean to deny the existence of Orpheus, Musaeus, Linus, Eumolpus, and other poets before Homer, but to maintain that their professed poems were spurious, and of subsequent origin.

## 54, 55. The Egyptian account of the oracles of Ammon and Dodona.

ἐν Λιβύῃ προήχσαν = "sold and carried into Libya." The verb is here pregnant.

ἔφασαν πρὸς ταῦτα = "they said in reply to those things."

ἀνερπὼν = "to find *by inquiry*" (by tracing upwards).

προμάντις. The προμάντις was the special title of the Pythian or Delphic priestess, who gave out the oracles. Compare προφήτης.

ἐπὶ φηγῷ = "upon the *esculent oak*" (from φάγω), not the *beech*, as some would render it, erroneously connecting it with the Lat. "*fagus*."

οἱ ἄλλοι Δωδωναῖαι, i.e. the Solli. See Arnold's *Rome*, Vol. II. p. 638.

## 56, 57. Herodotus comments on this strange story.

τῇ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἀνέβητε = "and took into Greece and sold the other (woman) there."

πρόφυτον = "of nature's growth."

κατηγγέσατο = "declared in *detail* or in *express terms*."

ἐπὶ τοῦδε. So in I. 14, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναβέντος ἐπινυμῆν.

καὶ τῶν ἱδν ἡ μαντικὴ = "the art of divination from victims to."

## 58, 59. Egyptian pilgrimages.

προσεγγύς = "bringing of offerings in procession;" or *supplications*, some say, "introduction," to the shrine.

ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Δέλτα = "in the centre of the Egyptian Delta." See on the partial attribute, II. 47.

Σαῖν πόλιν. Saïs, now Sa-el-Hagar, lay a few miles west of Busiris.

## 60, 61. Processions and festivals of Egyptian deities.

κρόταλα....κροταλίφουσι = "they rattle their rattles;" acc. of the cognate word.

ἐν τῷ ἅπασιν ἐναντὶ τῷ ἐπιλοίπῳ = "than in all the rest of the year that remains, without any exception."

τὸν δὲ τέπτεσθαι = "but in honour of whom they beat themselves."

## 62, 63. Other festivals at Sais and Heliopolis.

ἐμβάφια = "vessels"—compare our "dips"—probably made of *glass*,  
cc. to Wilkinson.

ἐπιτελής = "on the surface."

ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον = "up and down, from the bottom to the top of  
Egypt." κατὰ = would be "from the top to the bottom."

θυσίας καὶ ἱερᾶ = "sacrifices and ceremonies."

ἐπὶ τὰ ἑτέρα = "on the other side" (properly, looking "towards the  
other things").

οἱ δὲ εὐχολιμαῖοι = "now those who are bound by a vow."

κεφαλὰς τε συναρδύσσοντας = "and they smash each other's heads"  
force of the compound verb).

## 64. Popular legends.

ἀπὸτροφον = "reared far away from (his parents)."

τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντες = "reckoning up such things," i. e. give such  
reasons for their conduct.

## 65. The Egyptian animal worship.

σύντροφα = "domesticated" = "reared along with" (man).

δύνεται = "set free," allowed to range at large. Literally it means  
"given up" (to their own inclination or power).

τὴν τιμὴν = "the honourable charge."

ἵστασι σταθμῷ πρὸς ἀργύριον τὰς τρίχας = "they weigh the hair in a  
scale against a bit of silver:" literally, they make the hair to stand in  
the standing scale against the bit of silver, i. e. the scale on which the  
hair is, is made to stand even with the scale on which the money is:  
compare the σταθμοὶ of the Greeks, and the "stare," "to cost," of the  
ans, and our common idiom, "it stands me so much."

δ' ἂν ἄλκυον = "but whatever money the hair may have drawn  
down," i. e. weighed in the scale.

ἱέρα = "the falcon." Compare Scott's *Marmion*, Canto 1:

"E'en such a falcon, on his shield,  
Soared sable in an azure field;  
The golden legend bore aright,  
Who checks at me, to death is dight."

The falcon was an emblem of the soul, and is found at the entrances of  
the Egyptian tombs.

## 66. Peculiar habits of the cat.

διαστᾶντες = "having stationed themselves at intervals."

διαδύοντες καὶ υπερθρώσκοντες τοὺς ἀνθρώπους = "slipping through  
and bounding over the men."

καταλαμβάνει = "comes down upon and seizes;" pregnant sense. Herodotus is peculiarly fond of this word in describing heavy calamities.

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποκτείνου = "by a natural death."

### 67. Cat mummies at Bubastis.

τὰς μυγᾶλᾶς = "shrew-mice." Blakesley observes, "that the story ran in *later times* that Latona, when nursing Horus, changed herself into one of these animals to escape the pursuit of Typhon by burrowing in the earth." Plutarch says, the animal being regarded as blind was considered an emblem of primeval darkness. The mummies of the shrew-mouse are said to be found at Thebes, Buto, and *Athribis*, probably the *Atarbeckis* of Herodotus.

### 68, 69, 70. The crocodile of Egypt.

ἐκλείπει = "shells" or "hatches."

θερμότερον γὰρ δὴ, κ.τ.λ. According to Larcher, the water which had become heated during the day-time retains the heat during the night, and *then is warmer than the air and the dew.*

κατὰ λόγον τοῦ ὠοῦ γίνεται = "is born (in size) in proportion to the egg."

γλῶσσαν δὲ μόνον, κ.τ.λ. = "now this is the only animal that has not a tongue naturally."

οὕτῳ τὴν κέφαλὴν κινεῖ γράδων, κ.τ.λ. Rawlinson here observes, "the story of its moving its upper jaw is owing to its throwing up its whole head when it seizes its prey, at the same time that it really moves its *lower jaw downwards.*"

ἀσκήματα λίθου χυτοῦ: "pendants of molten stone," i.e. of glass, which was most probably invented in Egypt, and carried to an extraordinary perfection in its manufacture.

κροκοδείλου δὲ Ἴωνες ὠνόμασαν. Rawlinson observes, that *κροκόδειλος* was the term given by the Ionians to the *lizards*, as the Portuguese *al legato*, "the lizard," is the origin of our *alligator*. The Ionians here mentioned are the descendants of the Ionian soldiers of Psammethichus. The crocodile is not the Leviathan of Job xli., as some have supposed. Isaiah xxvii. 1, calls Leviathan "the piercing serpent," and "that crooked serpent," corresponding to the Aphophis, or "great serpent" of Egypt, the emblem of sin.

θολοῖσθαι. Supply ὁ θηρευτῆς, "the hunter."

### 71, 72, 73. The river-horse and other animals described.

ξυστὰ ἀκόντια = "the shafts of javelins," Lat. "*hastilia jaculorum.*" The hippopotamus was probably the *Behemoth* of Job, that "eateth grass like an ox."

ὀπίσθιος = "otter."

τοῦ χυγαλόπτερος = "*fan-goose.*"

διὰ ἐτέων...πεντακοσίων. Creuzer refers the story of the Phoenix to astronomical computations; and supposes the arrival of this imaginary bird at Heliopolis to have been the symbol of the completion of the *magnum annuus* amongst the Egyptians.

τῇ γραφῇ παρόμοιος = "closely corresponding to the picture."

περιήγησιν = περιγράφειν = "in outline," or "the contour."

## 74, 75. The snakes of Egypt.

οἱ μεγάλαι ἰσotes μικροί = "who being small in size." Among the Egyptians the serpent was the symbol of *immortality*, and among the Christians of the *resurrection*.

κατὰ Βουτοῦν πόλιν = "lying in a line with the city Buto."

τῶν πτερωτῶν ὄφιν = "the winged serpents." Compare Isaiah: "The burden of the beasts of the South, from whence come the viper and the flying fiery serpent." Wilkinson observes that "the winged serpents of Herodotus have puzzled many persons from the time of Pausanias to the present day. The Egyptian sculptures represent some emblematic snakes with bird's wings and human legs. The *Draco melans* of Linnæus has wings, which might answer to the description given by Herodotus, but it does not frequent Egypt."

## 76. Description of the Ibis.

μελαυνε δυνῶς πάντα = "marvellously black all over."

τῶν δ' ἐν πρὸς πολλοὺς εἰσδυμένων τοῖσι ἀνθρώποισι. Buttmann, speaking of εἰλεῖν, observes in p. 268 (*Lexilogus*): "The passive form of this verb occurs again in another sense, which has been compared with the Latin '*versari*,' and that as early as Herodotus, who (II. 76) distinguishes one species of the Ibis from the common sort with this expression (the passage being quoted); where ἐν πρὸς means nothing more than *near at hand*, as at III. 79, ἔκτεινον πάντα τὰ ἐν τῶν Μάγων τὸ ἐν πρὸς γινόμενον = 'every one who chanced to come near them, to come in their way.'...In this expression εἰλεῖσθαι answers to our phrase '*to be busy about anything*.' And as nothing has occurred to show that the idea of to move and turn about and around is a radical one in this word, we must suppose that it found its way into use from the *frequentative* meaning of the present. That is to say, the meaning '*to be pushed*,' or '*to thrust and push oneself*,' readily takes in the present, particularly in Greek, the collateral idea of *commingling*, *commixtly*, which, when we are speaking of the space in which this is done, naturally and of itself calls up the idea of *backwards and forwards*, or the corresponding one of *around and about*. To this appears to belong the meaning which the word has occasionally in the later Greek, *to wind round* = *to press itself round, or cling*."

## 77. Peculiar habits of some Egyptians.

μήμνη ἀνθρώπων πίστων ἐπασκόντες μάλιστα = "cultivating in an especial manner and as far as possible the memory of all their (dis-

tinguished) men." Compare the Latin expression "*rerum gestarum memoriam præcipue excolentes*." It is in the *country* rather than in the *town*, as a general rule, that the *legends* and the *language* of the people linger longest, and are most *beloved*: towns, and especially *commercial* towns, are influenced by so many new changes, that the *old* has but little chance of surviving the innovations brought about.

### 78. Custom at entertainments.

μέτρα. Blakeley observes, "this word, when applied to measurement, always means 'in every dimension.' Here, therefore, it would imply that the mummy was of a critical figure, which there seems no reason to suppose. I suspect the word has slipped out of its place, and that originally it occupied the site of the words *καὶ γράφῃ καὶ ἔργῳ* which crept in from the margin as an interpretation of it."

### 79. Egyptian Maneros same as the Greek Linus.

ἄλλοι οὐδένα ἐκτρέφονται = "they take to themselves in addition to other" (custom).

ἀποθωυμίζω = "to be lost in wonder at."

ὁ Λίνος = "the Linus," just as ῥόμος τὸν ὁρβιον (I. 24), "*the martian strain*." The article marks the thing as well known and understood. According to Wilkinson, Linus and Maneros were probably the genius or impersonation of song. The Egyptians now use "*ya laylee! y layl!*" as a chorus for lively songs, meaning, "*O my joy, O night!*" alluding to the wedding-night: "*ya laylee, doos, ya laylee!*" "*O my joy; stop, O my joy!*" alluding to the dance. Compare Hebrew Hallel "*singing, praising*," whence "*hallelu-iah*."

### 80. Reverence for the aged.

ἀκούει τῆς ὁδοῦ. Valckenauer compares Aristophanes' *Clouds*, 989: καὶ τὸν θάκων τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι προσιοῦσι.

προσκυνέουσι = "do homage" or "obedience to;" properly, "*fanonin on one, like a dog*," from πρὸς—κύνω ("dog"). Compare the old English verb "*to spaniel*."

### 81, 82. Wearing of linen, and astrology.

ἐπαραβλήδην = "throwing them in addition over these."

ἀμολογέουσι δὲ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. The Egyptian priests, according to Diodorus Siculus, I. 96, affirmed that Orpheus had derived most of his mysteries from Egypt. See II. 49.

θεῶν ὅταν ἐστί. Supply ἑστί.

ἐρέουσι ἐγκυρήσει = "what he will fall in with."

οἱ δὲ ποιῆσαι γινώμενοι = "who have been engaged in poetry, or composition."

### 83, 84. Oracles and medical professors.

ὅδε διακρίεται = "is thus disposed" or *situated*, is in the following state or condition.

αἱ γὰρ μαντήϊαι = "the methods of giving oracles."

ἱατροὶ κατεστάσι = "physicians were established" (by Government), who received fees from the rich, and gave "advice to the poor gratis." Wilkinson observes, "Not only was the study of medicine of very early date in Egypt, but medical men there were in such repute that they were sent for at various times from other countries. Their knowledge of medicine is celebrated by Homer (*Od.* iv. 229), who describes Polydamna, the wife of Thonis, as giving medicinal plants 'to Helen, in Egypt, a country producing an infinite number of drugs.'"

### 85. Funeral lamentations.

στρωφόμεναι = "turning themselves in all directions." The frequentative and intensive form of *στρέφω*, as "versor" in Latin is of "verto."

ἐπεζωσμένοι = "having their clothes girt up." Compare the Latin "suocincti."

φαίνουσαι τοὺς μαστοὺς = "exposing to view their breasts."

μαστός. Blakesley observes, "the girdle prevented the tunic from falling lower than the waist, which, when loosened for the purpose of beating the breast, it would otherwise have done."

### 86. Embalming: three different methods.

παραδείγματα νεκρῶν ξύλα = "wooden patterns of corpses."

τῇ μὲν σπουδαιοτάτῃ...κατὰ ἥστινα. Supply in both of these cases the word *ταρίχευσιν*.

εὐτελεστέραν = "more easy to pay for." (*τέλος* = "toll," i. e. payment.)

τὸν ἐγκέφαλον (supply *μυελόν*) = "the head (marrow)," i. e. the brain.

ἐγχέοντες φάρμακα = "pouring in drugs" (to decompose the brain, which could not be extracted).

μετὰ δέ = "now, afterwards." As in Homer, so in Herodotus, we often find the prepositions used in an *adverbial* sense.

### 87. Embalming.

τοὺς δὲ τὰ μέσα βουλομένους = "with respect to those wishing for the intermediate mode of interment."

σκευάζουσι. Supply *σφι τὸν νεκρὸν* = "their own dead relative."

ἐπιλαβόντες = "stopping up" (to prevent it from getting back).

πρηγματευθέντες. Supply *περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν*.

### 88. Embalming.

ἀπ' ᾧ ἔδωκαν ἀποφέρεισθαι = "then they returned it for the purpose of being carried away."

89. *ἑπὶ τρεῖς ἢ τετράρεις γίνονται* = "when they are done for three or four days." Observe the duration of time expressed by the ending *-αιος*, derived from ordinal numbers.

*καταίεται* = "immediately denounced it" (force of aorist).

90. Bodies drowned or taken by crocodiles.

*περιστελλαντας* = "componentes," Lat.

*τῶν προσκείμετων* = "those belonging to them," i. e. relations.

91. Chemmis, an account of.

*τὸ δὲ σύνπαν εἰπεῖν* = "now to take all, we have to say, together" i. e. "in short."

*νομαίεσι* = *νομμοῖς* = "ordinances" or "customs."

*Χέμμις πόλις*. Chemmis, or Panopolis, was in the Thebais, on the eastern bank of the Nile. The modern Akhmya retains traces of the ancient name.

*Περσεὺς τοῦ Δαδύης*. Creuser makes the Egyptian Perseus identical with the Sun, and so with Osiris and the Nile.

*πρότυλα* = *προπύλαια*.

*σαυδάμιον*. According to Wilkinson, one of the Colleges of Devises at Cairo shows the *skos* of their founder, which is of immense size: so too in Bk. iv. 82, we find a footstep of Hercules, of similar dimensions, shown in Scythia.

*ὅτι σφί μοῖνοις* = *διότι σφί μοῖνοις*.

*ἀναγνῶναι* = "recognised," not "read."

92. Habits of the marshmen.

*κρίνα πολλά, κ.τ.λ.* Herodotus mentions two kinds of lilies & lotuses. The first, called *Nymphaea lotus*, is found in the neighbourhood of Damietta, and eaten by the people there; the second, called *Nymphaea nelumbo*, no longer exists in Egypt, though its figure is sculptured on their tombs. It is very common in India.

*πνίξαντες* = "having crushed." Compare the Latin "*pinso*," "*pisso*."

*ἐν ἄλλῃ κέλευκι παραφρονέειν* = "on another stem growing alongside of it."

*τροκτὰ ὥσπερ τε πυρὴν ἐλαιῆς* = "eatable grains or berries as big as the stone of an olive."

*τὴν ἐπέτειον γυνεμένην* = "that comes into being every year."

*διαφανὲς* = "of transparent heat," i. e. of a white heat.

93. The fish of Egypt.

*ἀγλαίαι* = "gregarious."

*τοῦ θοροῦ*. Partitive genitive.

ἀνακείνουσι = "devour." See Aristoph. *Birds*, 579:

καὶ σπερμαλόγων, ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τὸ σπέρμ' αὐτῶν ἀνακείψαι.  
τῶν γὰρ ὥων, κ.τ.λ. = "they keep spawning their roe by a few eggs  
at a time."

διηθέοντες = "straining or oozing through."

94. The Egyptian common oil.

κικί = "castor-berry," or = "κροτών," whence our "Croton oil." It  
is the word in the Septuagint translated "gourd" in Jonah iv. 6.

ἐπιπρῦσι = "press out" (the juice).

95. Protection from mosquitoes.

ἀμφίβλητρον. See Horace, *Ep.* IX. 15:

"Interque signa turpe militaria  
Sol aspiciit conopium."

From this "conopium," the protection against the mosquitoes (πρὸς τοὺς  
κύνωπας), comes the English word "canopy," for any covering.

96. The boats on the river.

τὰς ἀρμονίας ἐν ᾧ ἐπώκυσαν τῇ βύβλῳ = "they stopped up and  
covered over the joinings with the papyrus (plant)."

διὰ τῆς τρύπης διαβύναται = "makes its way through the keel."

λαμπρὸς ἀνεμος = "a clear wind," or "a fair wind."

97. The time of inundation.

διὰ μέσου τοῦ πεδίου. See Virg. *Georg.* IV. 287:

"Nam quæ Pellæi gens fortunata Canopi  
Adcolit effuso stagnantem flumine Nilum  
Et circum pictis velatur sua rura phaselis."

Ναυκράτις. Naucratis, somewhat to the north of Sais, was the  
great mart of the Greeks in Egypt. See Herod. II. 178.

ἔστι δὲ οὐκ εὖτος = "but this is not the usual course."

98, 99. Navigation of Egypt.

Ἀρθύλλα = Gynæcopolis, according to Larcher.

τοῦ αἰεὶ βασιλεύοντος = "of him who happens to be king from time  
to time." See Thuc. I. 2.

τοῦτο μὲν = "this then is the first care." Here μὲν is in its proper  
and earliest sense, from μ(εις, ια, εν) = "the one" thing that comes first;  
as opp. to δε(ν) for δέω. The corresponding τοῦτο δὲ is at the close of  
this chapter.

τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ὀχρεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ. = "formed a new channel for the  
river, so that it flowed in the midst between the mountains."

## 100. The Egyptian kings after their first king Mén.

*μία δὲ γυνὴ ἐντεχνοίη.* Blakesley well observes here, "that patriotism of the Egyptians would not allow them to consider Nit a foreigner is not to be wondered at. They laid claim to Cambyse the face (according to Herodotus) of facts of which they could possibly be ignorant. See III. 2. The name *Nitocris* is only the lenized form of *Neit-okr*, a name which, according to Champollion others, appears on the monuments, and is equivalent to 'Αθήνη *Nike* interpretation which was actually given to the word by Eratosthenes. The identity of the Egyptian *Nēth* with the Hellenic *Athenē* had been remarked by Plato (*Timon*, I. p. 21), and the etymological connection *Neitā* with *Anaitis* is the same as that of *Dercato* with *Atergates*, *phas* with *Acyphas*, *στάχυς* with *δοταχὺς*, *λαρδῖς* with *δλαρδῖς*, *ἰ* with *ἀρέτης*; or of *ῥήσσα* with the Latin *anas*, *τοῖ* with *αἰὺ*, *τρ* and *τραχ* with *αἰραχ*, *ράχος* and *ἀράχνη* with *aranea*, *λάχνη* and *λάχ* with *alga*, and probably *κελαινός* with *aquila* and *aquilo*. The interchange of the elementary structure *an-th*, and *ath-n* may be illustrated by the pairs *δαίδνος* and *κινέδος*, *ὀθνεῖος* and *νοθεῖος*, *ξηρός* and *σκι*, and the English *ask* and its archaic but now vulgar *axe*. It may be observed, that the Egyptian name remained at Thebes of Boeotia on *Νῆφται πόλιν* (*Æschylus, Theb.* 460)."

## 101. King Mœris.

*τῶν δὲ ἄλλων βασιλέων οὐ γὰρ φηγοῦν, κ.τ.λ.* = "(I believe) that to no distinction belonged to all the other kings, for (people) did not mention any manifestation of their deeds, with the exception of their last king, called Mœris." *Βασιλέων* here seems the genitive possession; *λαμπρότητος*, the *partitive genitive*.

## 102. Sesostris—his deeds.

*Σίσυμπος.* According to Rawlinson this was the first king of twelfth dynasty, Osirtasen, or Sesortasen I., who was the first great Egyptian conqueror; but when Osirei or Sethi (Sethos) and his Remeses II. surpassed the exploits of their predecessor, the name Sesostris became confounded with Sethos, and the conquests of the king and his still greater son were ascribed to the still greater Sesostri.

*πρώτου ὁρμηθέντα* = "was the first who set out." Observe that *πρώτος* here is *personal*, and not *adverbial*.

*βραχέων.* Compare the Latin expression "*brevia et syrtes*."

*διὰ τῆς ἡπείρου* = "from place to place, throughout the continent." Observe here the force of the genitive case with a *local* noun.

*τὸ ἐμπεδῶν* = "that came in his way," or "that stood in his way." Compare the Latin "*impedimentum*" and the English "*impediment*" derived therefrom.

*γλιχομένους περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας* = "struggling for their freedom, for the love of it."

*παρῆλαθε* = "he won over to his side."

## 103. Sesostris subdues the Scythians.

διεξήκει = "he proceeded to go *completely* through (the continent)."

καὶ πρὸς ὅσατα = "even at the *farthest*."

φαίνονται σταθεῖσαι = "were *evidently* erected;" but φαίνονται ὀρθῶσαι = "seem to be erected." In the former case we have the expression of a fact in the *participial* form, and its impression on the mind in the *purely verbal* form (see note on 1. 5); in the latter case we have merely the expression of an *opinion*.

μῦρον ὅσον δὴ = "a *small* portion of whatever size it might be." δὴ makes the definite word preceding it still more definite, and the *indefinite* word still more *indefinite*.

## 104. The Colchians of Egyptian extraction.

φαίνονται μὲν γὰρ ὅντες οἱ Κόλχοι, κ.τ.λ. = "for assuredly the Colchians are *evidently* and really Egyptians." See note on previous chapter for the force of φαίνονται with a participle.

μελάγχρους καὶ οὐλότριχες = "of a *dark brown* complexion and *curly* hair," acc. to Heeren.

ἀπ' ἀρχῆς = "from the beginning;" i. e. from *very early* life.

Σύροι οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ. Here Herodotus only means those who occupied the sea-coast among the Phœnicians and Philistines; for his silence on Jewish history is the best proof we can have that he did not visit, nor yet inquire about the *interior* of the country.

ἐπιμνημόνεοι Αἰγύπτῳ = "by their *extended* intercourse with Egypt." (Such here is the force of the *preposition*.)

## 105. Colchian and Egyptian mode of manufacturing linen similar.

φέρε νῦν καὶ ἄλλο εἶπω περὶ τῶν Κόλχων = "bear (with me) now, and I may tell (you) another thing about these Colchians."

Σαρδωνικὸν for Σαρδιανικόν. Compare Aristoph. βᾶμμα Σαρδιανικόν.

## 106. Remains of Sesostris' columns.

οὐκέτι φαίνονται περιεῖσθαι = "*evidently* no longer survive."

δύο τόποι. The latter of these two reliefs was discovered in the year 1817. See an interesting account of it in the *Classical Museum*, Vol. 1. p. 232.

μέγας τεσσάρων πωγωνίων = "of the size of four cubits and a half." See I. 51.

## 107. Danger and escape of Sesostris.

περικυβήσαι...τὴν εἰκὴν ὄψ. Diodorus tells us that he surrounded the tent, in which Sesostris and his family were staying, with reeds, and set fire to them during the night.

ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὴν ἐκτείναντα. This is but a confirmation of the common Moloch-worship amongst the ancient heathen, by which parents were obliged to make "their children pass through the fire" to that god.

108. Punishes his brother: employment of captives.

παστέλει τρέποντι ἔχουσαι = "having turns in every direction."

πλευντέροιαι = "more brackish." The sea-water is described as πλεῖον ὕδαρ, and Hesychius explains πλεῖον by ἄλμυρον; a sense which Aristotle gives it. Compare its application to the Hellespont by Homer.

φρέατων = "reservoirs." See Arnold's *Thuc.* II. 48.

109. Allotment of the land of Egypt.

Διγενήτοιαι ἀπασι = "to all the Egyptians without exception." See Genesis xlviii. for the way in which the king got possession of the land. The word ἀπας (Lat. "cunctus") in Herodotus implies = "all without exception."

τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι = "created for himself those revenues." (προσόδους = "incomes," properly speaking.)

ἐπιτάξασα ἀποφορῇ, κ.τ.λ. = "having enjoined upon them a produce-tax to pay him every year." The φόρος was the tax paid by foreign and dependent states, while the ἀποφορὰ is a rent paid from the fruits, or other advantages arising from the holding.

πóλος = a concave sun-dial shaped like the vault of heaven (compare "coeli polus"). Rawlinson here observes: "The gnomon was of course part of every dial. Herodotus, however, is right in making a difference between the γνώμων and the πóλος. The former, called also στοιχείων, was a perpendicular rod, whose shadow indicated noon, and also by its length a particular part of the day, being longest at sunrise and sunset. The πóλος was an improvement and a real dial, on which the division of the day was set off by lines, and indicated by the shadow of its gnomon." See also Grote's *Greek Hist.*, and *Dict. of Antiquities* (sub voce).

110. The power of Sesostris over Ethiopia.

μνημόσυνα δὲ ἔλιπετο = "now he left as memorials of himself."

Δαρείων δὲ εἶδ' ἐκτυσθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. Arist. (*Rhet.* II. 20) seems to assert that Darius conquered Egypt prior to the expedition against Greece.

111. King Pheros and his blindness

ἀναθάλγῃ χρησάμενος = "was guilty of using sinful presumption." See *Thuc.* VI. 59, and Homer, *passim*.

ἔξῃκει = "has come to its end." Φεραῖον = "Pharaoh." A title, not a name.

ἀναβλέψαι = "thou shalt look up;" i.e. recover thy sight. So in the New Testament

ἐκρυψάμενος = "secretly set fire to," or "to fire from the bottom;" Lat. "succendens."

ἀποφυγών = "having completely escaped from."

ἀβελῶς δὲ λιβρένι. Consecrated to the Sun, whose rays they symbolised.

## 112. King Proteus, the Memphite.

τοῦ Ἡφαίστιου πρὸς νότον ἀνεμος, κ.τ.λ. = "from the temple of Vulcan towards the south (wind)," the temple being the point from which it commenced.

στρατόπεδον. This "camp" was really an establishment for trade under the protection of a sanctuary.

συμβάλλομαι = "I conjecture;" literally, "I (infer) by throwing my thoughts together." Compare the Latin "colligere" and the English "I collect" = (to infer).

## 113, 114, 115. The Egyptian account of Helen.

ἀλεί = "relax," (intransitive) for ἀλίσσι.

ἐς τὸ ἢ καταφυγών, κ.τ.λ. = "into which, if any man's alive, to whomsoever he may belong, take refuge, and should allow sacred characters to be branded upon him, thus surrendering himself to the God (of the sanctuary)." These marks showed them to be dedicated to the service of the Deity, and were a symbol of protection. See Genesis iv. 15, and Galatians vi. 17.

διατελεί = "continues to be in force." Compare the Latin "per" in composition.

Θώνις. In Homer's *Odyssey*, iv. 228, Polydamna is mentioned as the wife of Τῶν, Θώνις παρδάκκις.

συλλάβοι = "having seized as a prisoner." Lat. "comprehendere."

κατέλεξε = "laid down;" i. e. told in detail.

παρὰ τοῦ σκυντοῦ ξείνου, κ.τ.λ. = "and you got over (i. e. overcame the scruples of) the wife of your own host."

δραπτερώσας αὐτὴν = "set her on the wing" in ambitious thoughts.

κεραίᾱς = "having laid waste;" as in *Iliad*, E. 357, σταθμοὶ ἀνθρώπων κεραίητον. The word is derived from κείρω = "to clear" (away), and is chiefly used by Homer and Herodotus.

οὐ τοι πρόψω ἀνᾶγέσθαι = "I will not give them up to you to carry off."

τρίων ἡμερῶν = "within three days."

μετορμίζεσθαι = "to remove your anchorage."

εἰ δὲ μή = "on the contrary supposition." This formula of translation has the advantage of meeting the case of a negative antecedent, as well as a positive antecedent.

## 116, 117. Criticism of the legend of Helen.

εἰς ὃ μετῆκε = "for which cause he gave it up."

κατὰ γὰρ ἐνείηκε, κ.τ.λ. = "according to what he composed in the *Iliad*." κατὰ = καθ' ὅ.

καὶ οὐδαμῇ ἄλλῃ ἀνενόησε ἐμνερὲν = "and in no other portion (of the work) has he retraced his steps;" i. e. withdrawn his statement.

Ζιδῶνα, now Sayda; the word properly signifies "a fishing-place." In VIII. 67, Herodotus places Sidon before Tyre. In Genesis (x. 19) we have Sidon but not Tyre.

θεοειδής = "beautiful as a god." See *Iliad*, VI. 289. Weale's Edition.

τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον = "this passage." Compare "locus" in Latin, see Coleridge, *Greek Classic Poets*, p. 50.

## 118, 119. The Egyptian legend of Helen.

μή μὲν εἶχεν, κ.τ.λ. (μὲν = μήν) = "that assuredly they did not possess Helen, nor yet the wealth laid to their charge." μήν is the usual formula with an optative.

δίδας ἐπέχων = "to give an account" (a law formula).

Ἐλὲν δαδία κακῶν ἀνέλαβε. Compare the case of Abram and his wife with Pharaoh.

ἐνταῦθ' ὅτε τοῦτο ἐπὶ πολλὸν τοιοῦτο = "now since some such thing this endured for a long time." Supply χρόνον.

ἐνταῦθ' ὅφρα ἐνείηκε = "made them victims (to the infernal gods)." See VIII. 191, and compare Virgil's *Æn.* II. 116:

"Sanguine placatis ventos et virgine oves  
Quum primum Illacas Danaï venistis ad oras,  
Sanguine quarendi reditus."

And Lucretius, I. 83:

"quod contrā sapius illa  
Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta."

With ἐνταῦθ' supply σφαγία.

## 120. Herodotus confirms the Egyptian legend of Helen.

φρενεβλαβής = "infatuated." Suidas explains by ὁ τὰς φρένας λαμβάνων.

ἐστε...ἰβούλοντε = "so that they actually wished."

ἐγίνωσκον (supply κενεσθῆναι) = "resolved."

οὐκ ἔστι ὅτε οὐ = "there never was the time when not," i. e. ever continually.

ἐκ' ἐκείνου = "in dependence upon that one." So VII. 10. 3.

## 121. The reign of Rhampeinitus.

ἀργάρεον = "money." The current metal for money among the Greeks was silver. Compare the French "l'argent."

ἐπιτραφέων = (ἐπιγεγεμένον) "who succeeded him," from ἐπιτρέφω.

τοῦ τῶν τοίχων ἑνα, κ.τ.λ. = "and of that (bulking) one of the walls on the outside formed a portion of his palace."

ἐξαιρετὸν = "capable of being taken out," but ἐξαιρετός = "select," that which has been taken out for distinction's sake.

οὐκ ἐν μακρῇ ἔργον ἔχασθαι = "at no long interval (supply εἰς) set vigorously to the work."

τὸν λίθον ἀνευρόντας = "having found by search that stone." The article, as in Homer, and elsewhere in Herodotus, is demonstrative.

οὐκ ἀνίστασι κερατίζοντας = "did not give up plundering."

πράγας = "traps" which hold fast (πρήνυμι).

κατὰ τοῦ τοίχους, κ.τ.λ. = "suspended it from the wall, so that it hung downwards."

χαλεπῶς θαμβάδοντες = "urged him with sternness." Θαμβ. properly = "continued her hold upon him."

ἐν κέρδει ποιεῖσθαι = "putting it to the account of gain." Lat. "lucro apponentes."

ὀργὴν προσποιέσθαι = "getting up for himself a passion," i.e. pretending anger.

παρалаμβάνειν = "took him over to their side."

παρὰ τὴν πόσιν = "along with the drinking." Latin, "inter potandum."

τοῦ βασιλέως περιγυρῆσθαι = "to come round the king," i.e. to over-reach him.

## 122. Rhampainitus' descent into Hades.

χαρὸμακτρον = "a napkin." See IV. 64.

ὅτι δύο λύκων ἔγχεσθαι. Wolves were supposed by the Egyptians to be the servants of the infernal powers, and the conductors of the dead. This arose most likely from the habits of the animal, which roams about at night, and as dawn draws on retreats to hide itself. Wilkinson says that mummies of wolves are found at Lycopolis (Esioot).

## 123. Egyptian conception of Dionysus and Demeter (Isis and Osiris).

ὁτιόκεται ἐμοί = "it is taken for granted by me."

Δήμητρα, κ.τ.λ. Compare Virgil in *Georgics*, at the opening:

"Vos clarissima lumina mundi

Liber et alma Ceres."

## 124. The impious Cheops.

εὐνομίην = "good laws, well obeyed." This is the strict political sense of the word, according to Aristotle.

λίθον τε ξέστον. In the same way we have the genitive so towards the end of this Chapter, and in III. 47, *ζῶον ἐνυψαμένον*.

### 125. Method of building pyramids.

*πυραμῖς* = "pyramid." Kenrick thinks the word pyramid to Greek on the authority of *Etym. Mag.*, *Πυραμῖς, ἡ ἐκ πυρῶν καὶ μέλιτος* *ᾧ στερρον σερραμῖς, ἡ ἐκ σερραμῶν καὶ μέλιτος.* The *πυραμῖς*, which is pointed, and used in the Bacchio rites, may be seen on the table at reception of Bacchus by Icarus. That the name of the mathematical solid was derived from an object of common life, and not vice versa may be argued from analogy: *σφαῖρα* was a "hand-ball," *κύβος* = die for gaming; *κόρος* = "a boy's top," *κόλωρος*, from "the gamester's roller."

### 126. Cheops' disgraceful means of raising money.

*ἐν' ἐκλήματι* = "at the corner of the house." indeed our word *pro-tate* is properly derived from "pro-stare," the standing forth at corner of the street. Compare the description of the strange woman in the Book of Proverbs.

*ἐκέρω δὲ τι* = "some money, however much it might be."

*τὸ κἄλον ἕκαστος* = "each side" (properly, limb).

### 127. King Cheops succeeded by Chephren.

*οὐκ ἀνήκουσαν* = "which did not actually come up to the extent (of brother's)."

*διὰ ἐκδοκεμήενον, κ.τ.λ.* = "for, a channel having been constructed (the Nile) washes round an island within, in that they say that Cheops." *lies.*"

*τεσσαράκοντα πόδας, κ.τ.λ.* = "going forty feet below the like size the other pyramids)."

### 128. The Shepherd-King Philition.

*παῖδες Φιλίτιων.* Observe that this information came from Egyptians, not from the priests, who could not, from pride, have claimed the sovereignty of the Shepherd-kings, the Hyakos, which was "an abomination" to the real Egyptians.

### 129. Mycerinus succeeds.

*ἀραδόν* = "displeased." See Homer's *Odys.* XVI. 387:

*αἰ δ' ὅμῳ ἔδε μῖθος ἀφαιδέναι.*

*ἀείραι* = "let go free" (first used of cattle dedicated to a god, allowed to go free in the *τέμενος* without bodily labour).

*τῷ ἐπιμαρτυμένῳ ἐκ τῆς ἑξέως* = "to one complaining and appealing from his decision."

*ὑπερτέρας τι* = "in some more extraordinary manner."

130. The strange burial of the daughter of Mycerinus at Saïs.

εἰκήμετι ἡσκημένῳ = "in a furnished chamber."

καταγίγνεται ἡμέραν ἡμέραν = "and they burn in sacrifice every day."

131. Another account of the wooden figures at Saïs.

οἱ δὲ τῶν λεγούσιν = "now some few say."

ὑπὸ ἀγχοῦ = "under the influence of anguish."

τάδε = Attic ἀταρ = "the very things which." The particle gives emphasis.

132. The sacred cow of the procession.

τύπτωσθαι...τὸν θεόν = "strike themselves (on the head or breast) in honour of their god." It is generally supposed that Osiris is the god here alluded to. For the secret meaning of the burial of Mycerinus' daughter in the gilded cow, see *Crenzer*.

133. The prophecy of the oracle at Buto to Mycerinus.

συνταχέμεν = "would join (with the fates) in shortening his life."

οὔτε ἡμέρας οὔτε νυκτὸς ἀνέμεν = "relaxing neither by day nor night" ("giving up," as we would say).

αἱ νύκτες ἡμέραι ποιεύμεναι = "the nights having become days." The construction is that of the *nominative absolute*.

134. Pyramid of Mycerinus.

Ῥοδόπιος = "Rosy-cheek," a pet name. From Sappho we learn that her real name was *Doricha*.

οὐδὲ εἰδότες φάινονται = "evidently in ignorance."

οἱ...ἀνέθεσαν πύργωσθαι = "and attributed to her the having erected" (force of the middle verb).

κατὰ Ἀμασιῶν = "about the time of Amasis."

ὥς διέδεξε = "as was evident."

135. The wealth of Rhodopia.

ἐπαφρόδιτος = "very fascinating." Lat. "venusta."

ὥς ἂν εἶναι Ῥοδόπῳ = "for one in the condition of Rhodopia." See *Thuc. iv. 84*.

ὅσον ἐνεχόμεν ἡ δεκάτη οἱ = "as far as the tenth part of her property went," i.e. allowed her.

τοῦτο μὲν = "this *firstly*," followed, as we might expect, by τοῦτο δέ, "and this *secondly*."

136. Asychois succeeds Mycerinus.

καὶ ἄλλων ὄψω, κ.τ.λ. = "and besides an infinite sight of buildings."

ἀμείλις χρημάτων = "a want of circulation of money."

τῆς τοῦ λαμβάνοντος θήκης = "the vault belonging to the borrower."

ἀπεργασμένων = "when dead." So Thuc. II. 34 and 98.

μή με κατασθῆς πρὸς = "do not now despise me in comparison with."

137. Anytis, the blind king.

χαρὶ πολλῇ = Lat. "multa manu" = "with a powerful force" (of soldiers). In Roman history "manus" is often used for a "band" or "force."

ἔδωγέ μ' ἄλλον = μέλιναι ἔδωγέ (Stiger).

138. Description of the temple at Bubastis.

ἰστέχουσι. This word, according to Blakesley, is used in a very peculiar sense, for Herodotus goes on particularly to remark that the canals do not run into anything, but approach one another within a certain distance, and then stop. It seems possible that in a locality full of canals, like the Delta of the Nile, the word originally used to denote direction for the purpose of communication came to be provincially applied in all cases where the appearance occurred of a channel out for the admission of water. See II. 11, and II. 121.

δένδρεσι κατέσκιος = "completely shaded with trees."

καταβῆται = "is looked down upon."

ἐγγεγραμμένη τέκταισι = "covered with figures sculptured in relief."

ἰστρωμένη ὁδοί = "a road, laid down." Compare the Latin expression "via strata."

139. Sabacos terrified by a dream.

τέλος τῆς ἀναλλαγῆς = "the consummation of the departure."

ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ ἐξεληλυθῆναι, κ.τ.λ. = "no, he would not do these things, for the time had fully passed away,—as much of it as he had been allowed by the oracle for the purpose of ruling and going out of Egypt."

ἔτεα πενήκοντα. Bunsen believes that, instead of this one monarch Sabacos, an Ethiopian dynasty of three distinct kings held Egypt for "fifty years," and their names were Schebek, Shebeh, and Thrk, i.e. Sabacos, Sebichus, and Tirhakah.

140. The blind king returns from his exile.

σὺν τοῖς Αἰθίοσι = "clam Æthiopes" = "without the knowledge of the Æthiopian."

Ἐλβᾶ. Situated in the lake now called Mensaleh.

141. Sethos, priest of Vulcan, succeeds.

βασιλεὺς Ἀραβίων. It is highly probable, says Rawlinson (Vol. I. p. 450), that the Arabians formed an important element in the popula-

tion of the Mesopotamian valley from the earliest times. There are at the least 30 distinct tribes of this race named in the Assyrian inscriptions among the dwellers upon the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates; and under the later kings of Nineveh, the Yabbur (modern Jibbur) and the Gumbuler (modern Jumbul), who held the marshy country to the south, appear to have been scarcely inferior to the Chaldeans themselves in strength and numbers. This may help to explain the statement of Herodotus (II. 141), of which Josephus complains that Sennacherib was king of "the *Arabians* and *Assyrians*," as well as the yet more remarkable passage where his army is termed exclusively "*the host of the Arabians*" (τὴν Ἀραβίων στρατὸν).

#### 142. Kings and priests from Menes to Sethos.

ἐκατέρους τοσούτους = "so many of each kind."

ἐξ ἡθέων = "out of his usual quarters."

#### 143. The catalogue of the Theban priests.

γενελογήσαντί τε ἐαυτὸν = "having given an account of his own descent."

ἀναδῆσαντι τῇ πατρὶν, κ.τ.λ. = "having traced up his own family on the father's side to a god, who was his sixteenth progenitor."

ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμήσει, κ.τ.λ. = "and they reckoned up a genealogy in opposition to his, on the ground of numbering (the statues)."

Πρωμῆς. According to Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 17, the word *rōmi* = "man," and "*pi*" = "the." Herodotus improves this by καλὸς κἀγαθὸς = "gentleman." Compare "the Indian Bhrama."

#### 144. Gods the first kings of Egypt.

καὶ τοῦτων αἰεὶ ἔτα = "and that one of these from time to time." Compare the Latin "*usque*."

καταπαύσαντα = "having completely stopped" (from being king)

#### 145. Egyptian order of the gods.

δεδηλωται μοι πρόσθε. In Chap. 43, Bk. II.

κατὰ ἐξακόσια ἔτα, κ.τ.λ. = "about 1600 years." Versneling would here alter the text, and read κατὰ ἐξήκοντα ἔτα καὶ χίλια = "about 1060 years;" as there were only five generations from Heracles to Bacchus, and these generations, according to Herodotus' own calculation (Cap. 141), make about 160 years, and there were about 900 years from Heracles to Herodotus.

τῶν Τρωϊκῶν = "the Trojan war." Thucydides and Herodotus, the best authorities, place this about 1260 B.C.

#### 146. Differences reconciled.

ἐν Νύσῳ. There were several places of this name connected with the legend of Dionysus: the most famous of these was on the Indus. Herodotus again mentions the Ethiopian Nyssa in III. 97.

ἐκεῖ ἐπαύσατο γυνάμενος = "where he betook himself after he was born."

#### 147. The oracle declares one general sovereign of Egypt.

προσέεται δέ τι, κ.τ.λ. = "and there shall be added to them something also of my own personal observation." Thus, observe, is Herodotus generally anxious to draw a clear line between that which rests on the word of others, and that which he has seen for himself.

ισχυρῶς περιστέλλοντες = "fencing them round with strong (penalties)." See III. 31, IX. 60.

ἐκτελεσθὲν σφί = "it had been declared to them by oracle."

συνελθόντες = "they were wont to assemble together."

#### 148. The building of the Labyrinth.

κατὰ Κροκοδείλων, κ.τ.λ. = "especially lying somewhere in a line with that which is called the city of crocodiles."

λόγου μέγαν = "too great for description." See Thuc. II. 50.

τὰ ἐξ Ἑλλήνων τείχεα = "the fortifications which proceeded from the Greeks," i.e. built by them.

ἔργων ἀπόδεξιν = "memorable buildings." See II. 101.

κατεστεγαι = not "roofed-in," but = "colonnaded."

ἀντίπυλοι ἀλλήλοισι = "with gates fronting each other."

εἰκήματα (dim. of οἶκος) = "chambers."

τέτων ἐγγεγλυμμένων = "figures (human) having been carved in relief upon them."

#### 149. The Lake Moëris described.

Μοίριος. Now called "Birket-Caroun."

χειροποίητος. If Herodotus meant that the lake, properly so called, was artificial, he must have been misinformed. He seems to have confounded the account of the canal with that of the lake, as is likely from Pliny's remark, "Moëridis lacus, hoc est, fossa grandis."

καὶ τὸ κατ' ὕδατος, κ.τ.λ. = "and the part under the water has been built to the same depth."

αἱ δ' ἑκατὸν ὀργυαὶ δίκαιαι = "now these hundred fathoms are precisely."

#### 150. Outlet of the Lake Moëris.

ὅπερ γὰρ. Rawlinson observes that "he is alluding to the natural lake, now Birket-el-Korn, not to the artificial Moëris. The belief in underground communication is still very prevalent in Egypt, as in other countries, to the present day, and might very reasonably arise from what we see in limestone formations."

Σαρδαναπέδδου=Juvenal's "Sardanapāna." Observe the quantity. The Assyrian name was Asshur-dan-pal.

ἐν τῷ Τίγγρι ποταμῷ. This is the usual collocation of those words in all dialects—article, name of river, river: the name having been originally an adjective and attribute merely.

151. Psammetichus fulfils the oracular prophecy.

ἐνὰ χρόνον="as time went on," or ="in the course of time."

τὴν κωτίην, ἐόθην χαλκίῳ="the helmet (lined with) dogskin, and composed of brass."

ὑπέρχῃ="held it under" that the wine might be poured into it.

οἱ ἄλλοι ἄπαντες ἐφόρεον βασιλῆες="all the other kings, without exception, were wont to wear."

βασανίζοντες="applying the touchstone (of inquiry);" (from βάσανος="the touchstone").

152. The flight of Psammetichus to Syria.

ὡς ἀπαλλάχθῃ, κ.τ.λ. Supply ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου="when he got away from Egypt on account of the appearance of a dream." ἐκ="after," and so "in consequence of."

περιυβρισμένοι="exceedingly outraged." The περι=περισσῶς, intensive. Compare Aristoph. *Knights*, 727:

ἐξελθ' ἐν' εἰδῇ: οἷα περιυβρίζομαι.

χαλκῷ="bronzes," not "brass," which is expressed by ὀρείχαλκος.

φίλα...ποιέται="he makes things friendly to;" i.e. "makes friendly overtures to."

153. Improves the temple of Vulcan at Memphis.

κρατήσας δὲ Αἰγύπτου πόσιν, κ.τ.λ.="now Psammetichus having got possession of all Egypt" (the accusative would imply rather that he held the possession of the country). This is confirmed by the close of the chapter, οὕτω ἔσκει; observe, not εἶχε.

154. The Ionians and Carians settled at Bubastis.

τοῖσι συγκατεργασάμεναι αὐτῷ="to those who helped him to complete his work."

παρέβαλεν αὐτοῖσι="and placed amongst them" (i.e. to their care). See VII. 10. 8, and Thuc. v. 113 with Güller's note.

Κάρι. Rawlinson observes that the Carians seem to have been fond of enjoying themselves as mercenary soldiers from a very early date, and to have continued the practice so long as they were their own masters. According to some commentators the expression in Homer (*Iliad*, ix. 378), ἐν Κάρῳ αἰσῶν, is to be understood in this sense. Archilochus certainly spoke of them as notorious for mercenary service, as appears from the well-known line,

καὶ δὴ ἐνίκουσι, ὥστε Κάρ, κεκλήσονται.

The Scholiast on Plato says they were the first to engage in the occupation, and quotes Ephorus as an authority.

*επὶς Ἀγυπτιῶν* = (a defence) "against the Egyptians."

155. Oracle of Latona at Buto.

*επὶς δὲ ἐνὶ λίθῳ*, κ.τ.λ. Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. III. p. 331) reckons its weight at more than 5000 tons, supposing it to be of granite, like other monolithic temples.

*τετρεῖς* = i. e. the height and breadth, thus forming a perfect cube.

*τὴν περιεσφίδα* = "the cornice."

156. A lake near the temple.

*τίθηνα ακούων* = "and I was amazed to hear it." This is our idiom; the Greeks put the fact into the participial form, and its consequence or impression produced into the purely verbal form.

*Ἀπρὰ*, κ.τ.λ. The story of the floating island of Delos, until it became the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis, was probably derived from an Egyptian source. The Egyptians, however, made Latona the nurse, not the mother of Apollo and Artemis.

*Ἀπρεμὺς δὲ Βούβαρις*. See Juvenal, XV. 8:

"Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam."

*Ἀλεχάλας*. The play here referred to is lost.

157, 158. Further deeds of Psammethichus: his son Necho.

*Ἀζερὰς*. Added (of the Holy Scriptures), a great city of the Philistines on the coast: it lay to the west of Jerusalem.

*προσεκαθήμενος*, κ.τ.λ. = "sitting down before it, he went on (Imperf.) besieging it, until he completely took it."

*Βουβάρις πόλις*. According to Wilkinson the site of this city is now occupied by Tell Basta, standing on the side of a lake, as in the time of Herodotus.

*Πάρευμεν*. This is no doubt the treasure city mentioned in the first chapter of Exodus, there called *Pithom*: it is now called Belbays according to Mannert.

*μασφάγας* = "gorgeous." Suidas: *μασφάξ, μαρεμὴ ἀρεμὴ. Καὶ μασφάγας, μαρεμῶσαι πέτραι*. See III. 117, VII. 199.

*ἐκ τῆς βορρῆς θαλάσσης* = "from the Northern Sea;" i. e. the Mediterranean.

*ἀναερί* = (speaking) "in an off-hand way." Some say "completely" (probably from *ἐκ ἀρεμὴς*).

*μερὰθ ἀρόσσων* = "during digging." Lat. "*inter fodiendum*."

## 159. Defeats the Syrians at Magdôlus, and takes Cadytis.

Μαγδόλυ. Rawlinson observes, "The place here intended seems to be Megiddo, where Josiah lost his life, between Gilgal and Mount Carmel, on the road through Syria northwards, and not Migdol (Μαγδόλως), which was in Egypt. The similarity of the two names easily led to the mistake (2 Chron. xxxv. 22). Necho had then gone "to fight against Carchemish by Euphrates," and Josiah attacked him on his march in the valley of Megiddo, "as he went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates" (2 Kings xxiii. 29). Necho is there called "Pharaoh-(Phrâ)-Necho."

Κόδων = "Jerusalem." Which was called *Kadesâ* ("the Holy" = *lepo* in *Ἱεροσόλυμα*) after Solomon built the temple. This name is seen in its Arabic form *Kil-Kôda*. See, however, Rawlinson on this passage, for a full discourse of the difficulty in identifying Jerusalem in Cadytis.

## 160. Psammis, his son invades Æthiopia.

καὶ δοκίοντες παρὰ ταῦτα, κ.τ.λ. = "and fancying that the Egyptians, who were *the wisest* of men, could not possibly have invented anything to be compared to them or to add to their completion." Observe how *αὐ* strengthens the negative here, as elsewhere, and compare the scriptural expression about Moses, who was learned "*in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.*"

πάντα τὰ κατῆκει σφίς τοῖς = "all things, without exception, which it belonged to them to do."

ἀπηγγέλλεσθαι = "having told in detail." Compare the Latin "*cautiare.*"

## 161. The wars of Apries.

Ἀπρίης. Supposed to be the Hophra of Jeremiah xlv. 30.

ἀβυκοῖσι λόγοισι, in IV. 159.

εἰ φανόμενον κακόν = "into evident ruin." Compare the phrase, *προσπτον κακόν*, Blomfield, *Gloss. in Æsch. Sept. c. Thebas.*

ἐκ τῆς ἰθείας—supply *ὁδοῦ*; exactly our "*straightway.*"

## 162. Amasis becomes leader of the rebels.

περιέθηκε ἐν κυνέῃ = "put around (his head) the helmet," the symbol of royalty. See above, the story of Psammeticus and his libation.

ἐπὶ βασιλείῃ = "for a mark of royal authority."

οὐδένᾳ λόγῳ αὐτῷ δόντα = "having given to himself no consideration." Apries is the subject; see I. 3, 4.

## 163. The Greek auxiliaries help Apries.

ἔπλεξε τοὺς ἐπικούρους = "proceeded to arm his auxiliaries." The article is here personal.

οἶχε δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν = "and he was wont to keep around him."

164, 165, 166, 167. The *castes* of Egypt.

ἐντὰ γένη. According to Diodorus Egypt was divided into three parts: the first of which belonged to the priests, the second to the kings, and the third to the soldiers. Plato in his *Timæus* divides the Egyptians into six classes, *ιερείς, δημιουργοί, νομαῖς, θηρευταί, γεωργοί*, and τὸ μάχμων γένος. See Heeren, *Refect.* Vol. II. p. 98, Isaiah xix. 7—21, and Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I. p. 236.

κατεργάζεσθαι. Blakesley here observes: "By these we must understand not the pilots of sea-going vessels, but the navigators of such craft as those described above, by whom probably the whole internal traffic of Egypt was conducted, foreign bottoms discharging their bottoms at Naucratis. It is remarkable that in the enumeration of castes *artificers* are not named; certainly an important class, as they manufactured the papyrus stem into sail cloth (II. 96) and the flax into fine linen (III. 47). See Isaiah xix. 7, 9, Ezekiel xxxvii. 7, 2 Chron. i. 16. Possibly they are not named because the Hellenic traders may have had only to do with the middle men (κάπηλοι).

ἀνίσταται = "give themselves entirely up to." (A favourite word with Herodotus; see below, ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀνιμένους = "devoted to the war." Being first used of consecrating to holy purposes, as of cattle allowed to go free in the *rémees*.)

οὗτος ὁ νομὸς ἐν νήσῳ εἰσέει. The use of the phrase, *νομὸς εἰσέει*, says Blakesley, is paralleled by *νήσω*, at *ναλοῦσι πένην ἄλδς* "Ἠλιδος ἄντρα (*Iliad*, II. 626), and to a certain extent by the address to Salamis in Sophocles:

ὁ κλεινὰ Σαλαμῖς, εὐ μέν ποιν  
ναλοῖς ἄλιπλάγκτος, εὐδαίμων,  
πᾶσι περὶφαντος δαί. (*Ajax*, 596.)

Zenodotus, however, altered the Homeric verse to *νήσω*, εἰ *ναλοῦσι*. The expression, *πόλεις εὐ ναυεταῶσας* (*Iliad*, II. 648) and *ναυεταῶσιν πόλιν ἐπύχθοντων ἀνθρώπων* (II. IV. 45) serve to show the train of thought which led to the phrase in the text.

## 168. Military tenure of lands.

ἀτελεῖς = "free from tax or impost." (τέλος = "tale" or "tax.")

† δὲ ἄρουρα. This corn-land-plot contained 10,000 cubits, or 22,500 square feet. And the twelve *aroura* given to each soldier contained more than nine acres and a half.

τάδε δὲ ἐν περιτροπῇ ἐκαρπύοντε = "now they were accustomed to enjoy the following (privileges) as they came round to them in *their* turn." See III. 69.

σταθμοὶ πέντε μύται = "five minas in weight," equal to about 5 lbs. 5 oz. with ourselves.

ταῖσι αἰὶ δορυφερέουσι = "to those who happen from time to time to be body guards."

## 169. Amasis defeats and imprisons Apries.

μῦθ' ἂν θεῶν, κ.τ.λ. See Ezekiel xxix. 3. So did Ajax, Messentius, and Capaneus impiously boast.

ἐν τῇσι πατρόεσσι ταφῆσι. Heeren (Vol. II. p. 317) says: "It was not a matter of indifference where a person was buried. Certain spots were held sacred, and preferred to all others; because, according to the tradition of the priests, they were the spots on which Osiris, ruler both in the upper and under world, was buried."

ῥεκημένη στύλοισι, κ.τ.λ. = "fitted up with columns constructed so as to resemble palm trees."

## 170, 171. Tombs in the temple of Athene at Sais.

παντὸς τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίης, κ.τ.λ. = "connected with the whole of the wall of Athene."

ἐπὶ πλέον = "more fully."

εὐστομα κείσθω. Compare Soph. *Philoct.* 102.

εὐστομ' ἔχε καὶ.

## 172. Amasis becomes king of Egypt.

Σιούφ. Now *Safi*, a short distance from Sais, according to Bähr.

ἐν οὐδεμῇ μολῶν, κ.τ.λ. = "were in the habit of considering him in no great estimation." So in L. 134, ἐν τιμῇ ἄγονται.

δημότην = "a plebeian." One of the lowest origin.

οὐκ ἀγνωμοσύνη προσηγάγετο = "it was not by senseless arrogance (Amasis) had won over to himself (the Egyptians)."

ὁμοίως αὐτὸς τῷ ποδανιπτήρι περρηγῆναι = "that he had fared exactly as the foot-pan."

ἔφη λέγων = "he went to declare."

ὥστε δικαιοῦν δουλεῦν = "so that he claimed the right of reducing them (the Egyptians) to slavery."

## 173. Habits of King Amasis.

καταστάσεις = "arrangement." Compare Lat. "dispositio."

πληθώρας ἀγορῆς. Some read πληθεύσης. See however VII. 223. It alludes to that time of the day when the market-place was full, somewhere about ten or eleven o'clock in the forenoon.

εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὰν πάντα χρόνον ἐνταταμένα εἴη, κ.τ.λ. Compare Horace's words:

"*Neque semper arcum  
tendis Apollo.*"

Indeed our word "*relaxation*" is but a metaphorical term from the loosening of the bow string. See Phaed. III. 4: "*cito rumpes arcum, semper ai tensum habueris.*"

## 174. Another custom of Amasis.

*κατεσκευασμένοι* = "in downright earnest."

*κλέπτειν & περιῶν* = "he would, in that case, go about and carry on theft."

*ἐς ἐπισκευήν* = "towards their repair." See Xen. *Anab.* v. 3. 13.

*κατέβησαν* = "convicted and condemned," as opp. to *ἀνελθεῖν*. See IV. 68, as "binding down" is opp. to "loosing from."

## 175. His building at Sais.

*ἔσων τε τὰ μέγας λίθων, κ.τ.λ.* = "of stones so great in size, and of certain kinds of stones, are (they built)."

*ἀνδριόμορφους*. These had the head of a man, with a lion's body, thus symbolizing the union of intellectual and physical strength: according to some they were placed before the temples as mysterious symbols of the Deity. The *criosphinx* had a ram's head, and the *hieracosphinx* had a hawk's head.

*κυβερνήται* = "boatmen," (see Chap. 164), who formed one of the castes.

*πυγῶν* = "the elbow," literally; yet here it is the distance from the point of the elbow to the knuckle of the little finger, which was thought to be equal to ten δάκτυλοι or five παλαισταί, palms.

*ἐθυσμὸν ποιησάμενος* = "having made it a matter of his serious consideration."

## 176. His adorning Memphis.

*τὸν ὑπτιον* = "the reclining" (colossus); an unusual position for a colossus.

*τὸ μέγεθος* = *τὸ μέτρον*.

## 177. Census of Amasis followed by Solon.

*τέτε εἰδαιμενῆσαι*. This is opposed to the Scriptural account. See Jeremiah xliv. 30, xlv. 25, 26.

*ἔθεν βιοῦν* = "whence he supports himself," i.e. his means of living.

*Σόλων*. Not he, but Draco, for Solon actually lightened the penalty.

*λαβὼν δὲ Ἀθήναι, κ.τ.λ.* Different accounts are given of the real origin of the *δίκη ἀργίας* at Athens. Heeren considers the *nomarché* a kind of police.

## 178. Amasis gives Naucratis to the commercial Greeks as a trading place.

*ναυτολαμπούσι* = "trading by sea."

*Φόρπλις*. Situated at the south-eastern extremity of the Lycian coast, near Pamphylia.

πρωτάτας τοῦ ἐμπορίου. Boeckh, in his *Public Economy of Athens*, defines ἐμπόριον = "a place for wholesale trade in commodities carried by sea." The πρωτάτης therefore of the emporium seems, as Wes-seling thinks, to have discharged the functions of the modern "consul."

μεταποιεῖνται = "busy themselves after it," i.e. lay claim to it.

179. Naucratis the old emporium of Egypt.

ἀπαμύεσθαι = "having denied on oath" (properly "to swear off," *abjure*).

οὐδ' ἔτι εἴη = "it might be possible." Literally, "things were such, as to allow of."

180. Generosity of Amasis to the Delphians.

μισθωσάμενον = "having contracted."

τοῖς Δελφοῖς δὲ ἐπίβαλλε = "it fell upon (to their share) the Delphians." See Herod. VII. 23.

ἐδωρίσας = "made an effort to collect small gifts." The verb is here in its *tentative* sense.

181. Amasis marries a Cyrenian.

μῆχος = "remedy," another form of μηχανή.

ἀπέθηκε τὴν ἐσχὴν τῇ θεῷ = "fulfilled her vow to the goddess."

ἔξω τετραμμένον, κ.τ.λ. "in the city of the Cyrenians, but turned so as to look out from it."

182. Presents of Amasis to the Greek temples.

εἰκόνα ἑαυτοῦ γραφῇ εἰκασμένον = "an image of himself imaged forth in painting."

θώρηκα λίαν. See III. 47.

οὐδὲ δὲ Κόπρος. This could not have been done without a fleet, which Egypt did not then possess: probably effected by means of the Samian auxiliaries, as Amasis was then in alliance with Polycrates.

# APPENDICES.

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## APPENDIX I.

THE OBJECT OF HERODOTUS. (From Dr Smith's *Dict. of Biogr.* Vol. II., article Herodotus.)

"THE object of Herodotus is to give an account of the struggles between the Greeks and Persians, from which the former, with the aid of the gods, came forth victorious. The subject therefore is a truly national one, but the discussion of it, especially in the early part, led the author into various digressions and episodes, as he was sometimes obliged to trace to distant times the causes of the events he had to relate, or to give a history or description of a nation or country, with which, according to his view, the reader ought to be made familiar; and having once launched out into such a digression, he usually cannot resist the temptation of telling the whole tale, so that most of his episodes form each an interesting and complete whole by itself. He traces the enmity between Europe and Asia to the mythical times. But he rapidly passes over the mythical ages, to come to Croesus, king of Lydia, who was known to have committed acts of hostility against the Greeks. This induces him to give a full history of Croesus and the kingdom of Lydia. The conquest of Lydia by the Persians under Cyrus then leads him to relate the rise of the Persian monarchy, and the subjugation of Asia Minor and Babylon. The nations which are mentioned in the course of this narrative are again discussed more or less minutely. The history of Cambyses and his expedition into Egypt induces him to enter into the detail of Egyptian history. The expedition of Darius against the Scythians causes him to speak of Scythia and the north of Europe. The kingdom of Persia now extended from Scythia to Cyrene, and an army being called in by the Cyrenians against the Persians, Herodotus proceeds to give an account of Cyrene and Libya. In the meantime the revolt of the Ionians breaks out, which eventually brings the contest between Persia and Greece to an end. An account of this insurrection and of the rise of Athens after the expulsion of the Peisistratids, is followed by what properly constitutes the principal part of the work, and the history of the Persian war now runs in a regular channel until the taking of Sestos. In this manner alone it was possible for Herodotus to give a record of the vast treasures of information which he had collected in the course of many years. But these digressions and episodes do not impair the plan and unity of the work, for one thread, as it were, runs through the whole, and the episodes are only like the branches that issue from one

and the same tree: each has its peculiar charms and beauties, and is yet manifestly no more than a part of one great whole. The whole structure of the work thus bears a strong resemblance to a grand epic poem. We remarked above that the work of Herodotus has an abrupt termination, and is probably incomplete: this opinion is strengthened on the one hand by the fact, that in one place the author promises to give the particulars of an occurrence in another part of his work, though the promise is nowhere fulfilled (VII. 213); and, on the other, by the story that a favourite of the historian, of the name of Plesirrhous, who inherited all his property, also edited the work after the author's death (Ptolem. *Heph. ap. Phot. Bibl. Cod.* 190). The division of the work into nine books, each bearing the name of a muse, was probably made by some grammarian, for there is no indication in the whole work of the division having been made by the author himself.

"There are two passages (I. 106, 184) in which Herodotus promises to write a history of Assyria, which was either to form a part of his great work, or to be an independent treatise by itself. Whether he ever carried his plan into effect is a question of considerable doubt; no ancient writer mentions such a work; but Aristotle, in his *History of Animals* (VIII. 20), not only alludes to it, but seems to have read it, for he mentions the account of the siege of Nineveh, which is the very thing that Herodotus (I. 184) promises to treat of in his Assyrian history. It is true that in most MSS. of Aristotle we there read Hesiod instead of Herodotus, but the context seems to require Herodotus. The life of Homer in the Ionic dialect, which was formerly attributed to Herodotus and is printed at the end of several editions of his work, is now universally acknowledged to be a production of a later date, though it was undoubtedly written at a comparatively early period, and contains some valuable information.

"It now remains to add a few remarks on the character of the work of Herodotus, its importance as an historical authority, and its style and language. The whole work is pervaded by a profoundly religious idea, which distinguishes Herodotus from all the other Greek historians. This idea is the strong belief in a divine power existing apart and independent of man and nature, which assigns to every being its sphere. This sphere no one is allowed to transgress without disturbing the order which has existed, from the beginning, in the moral world no less than in the physical; and by disturbing this order man brings about his own destruction. This divine power is, in the opinion of Herodotus, the cause of all external events, although he does not deny the free activity of man, or establish a blind law of fate or necessity. The divine power with him is rather the manifestation of eternal justice, which keeps all things in a proper equilibrium, assigns to each being its path, and keeps it within its bounds. Where it punishes overweening haughtiness and insolence, it assumes the character of the divine Nemesis, and nowhere in history had Nemesis overtaken and chastised the offender more obviously than in the contest between Greece and Asia. When Herodotus speaks of the envy of the gods, as he often does, we must understand this divine Nemesis, who appears sooner or later to pursue or destroy him who, in frivolous insolence and conceit, raises himself

above his proper sphere. Herodotus everywhere shows the most profound reverence for everything which he conceives as divine, and rarely ventures to express an opinion on what he considers as sacred or religious mystery, though now and then he cannot refrain from expressing a doubt in regard to the correctness of the popular belief of his countrymen, generally owing to the influence which the Egyptian priests had exercised on his mind; but in general his good sense and sagacity were too strong to allow him to be misled by vulgar notions and errors."

## APPENDIX II.

THE PELASGIANS OF HERODOTUS. (From *Muir's Greek Lit.* Vol. I. pp. 51—57.)

"THE Pelasgians were considered by the ancients as standing to the Hellenes somewhat in the same relation as the Anglo-Saxons to ourselves. The Anglo-Saxon is a dead language, and a knowledge of it, consequently, is of little practical utility in the present day. Yet its study continues to be zealously prosecuted, as well on account of its philological as of its antiquarian interest. With the Greeks the case was different. The allusions in the extant classics to the Pelasgian dialects, spoken or extinct, are so scanty or so vague, as to prove that their affinities had never suggested matter for serious scrutiny. Philological evidence, therefore, of a tangible character, bearing on our present inquiry, fails completely. The substance however of the existing notices amounts, at least, to a general understanding, on the part of the Greek public, in favour of the views expressed in the previous pages, and which may be more distinctly stated under the following heads:

"I. That the term Pelasgian indicates a primeval family of cognate tribes and dialects, from which the Hellenic people and language derived their origin.

"II. While the neighbouring shores of the Mediterranean were occupied from the earliest period by races speaking a variety of radically distinct tongues, there existed no trace or memory of any language not essentially Greek within the boundaries of Greece itself.

"III. Those portions of the Greek population who were admitted to have retained, with their primitive seats, their native character and speech unimpaired, were considered, in right of this qualification, genuine descendants of the old Pelasgic stock.

"IV. The criterion for distinguishing, beyond the limits of Greece, a Pelasgic people from other alien tribes, was the resemblance of their language to the classical Greek.

"It will here at once occur to the advocates of opposite views, that this assumed harmony on the part of the native writers is disturbed

by a passage of Herodotus, which, while the most specific that has been preserved on the subject, seems also, on first view, at variance with the above theory. It has been subjoined entire, as containing a considerable portion of matter vitally bearing on this whole train of inquiry.

“What the Pelasgian language was I cannot distinctly say; but if we may judge from the Pelasgi who inhabit the town of Creston above the Tyrrhenians (and who were once neighbours of the people now called Dorians, for they formerly possessed the country since named Thessalotis), or from the Pelasgians of Placia and Scylace on the Hellespont who were once settled among the Athenians, or from any other tribes originally Pelasgian who have adopted other names, if we may judge from these, the Pelasgians must have spoken a barbarous tongue. If, therefore, the whole Pelasgian race were of this character, the Athenian people, being Pelasgians, on being converted into Hellenes must also have changed their language. For the Crestonians and Placians, while they do not correspond in dialect with any of the surrounding tribes, correspond with each other, which shows them both to have preserved the dialectical peculiarities by which they were distinguished when they migrated into those countries.

“But the Hellenic race from its first existence has always used the same language. Being originally weak when split off from the Pelasgians it increased, advancing in power, from small beginnings to a great multitude of nations, chiefly in consequence of many other barbarous tribes uniting with it.”

“Did this passage stand alone, it might tend no doubt to invalidate the views here advocated. In connexion however with others in the same work it assumes a different aspect. Apart from its historical importance, it also possesses value, from the lively manner in which it reflects some of the characteristic peculiarities of its author. On the one hand it displays that spirit of candour and diffidence in the discussion of obscure topics which forms a principal charm of his style; on the other, a certain vagueness both of argument and conclusion, consequent on the imperfection of the critical art, which may be considered less his own fault than that of his age. Hence, however valuable in themselves, the statements it contains will be found but little in harmony with each other, and altogether at variance with those advanced in subsequent portions of his history.

“The literal value of the passage, as affecting the present question, lies chiefly in the application of the term ‘barbarous’ to the language of those Thracian communities, as compared with the classical Greek. Some commentators have understood the phrase to imply not a different language but merely a rude or corrupt Hellenic dialect. But this interpretation, though in some degree countenanced by parallel texts of Herodotus, is here scarcely admissible. The word is one indeed of very loose signification. In its origin it denotes, like some similarly expressive terms in our own tongue, simply harsh, discordant, or unintelligible. Afterwards it came to indicate whatever was opposed to Hellenic, either in speech or by a natural transition in origin or manners; and may hence, in the familiar usage of classical times, be often translated

'foreign,' as the substantive 'barbarian' denotes simply foreigner. It is also occasionally used in its more primitive signification to express anything rude or savage either in character or language, and in this sense is applied even to people of admitted Greek origin. Upon the whole, however, in the spirit of the historian's general argument, there can be little doubt of his having meant to stigmatize the dialect of these tribes as a 'foreign' tongue, in the literal sense, compared with his own. On the other hand, it is not to be supposed that his opinion was the result of any actual analysis of its structure or affinities, a task for which Herodotus was probably as little disposed as qualified; nor, consequently, is his evidence, even on the least favourable interpretation, sufficient to disprove its connexion with the Greek. The two may still have resembled each other as much as the Swedish the German or the Spanish the Italian. In each of these cases the difference is such as to constitute, in the familiar sense, the one a foreign tongue, as compared with the other, although in each the critical inquirer discovers a close affinity. The vicissitudes which these Thracian tribes had undergone, during several centuries of migration, might alone suffice to alter their dialect to such an extent as would justify the expression of Herodotus.

"In applying their case, however, to the nation at large the historian speaks somewhat diffidently. 'If,' he remarks in the sequel of the same context, 'the whole Pelasgian race were of this description, the Athenians, being Pelasgians, on adopting the Hellenic character must have changed their language.' He overlooks the question, whether it was not more likely that two petty tribes, wandering for centuries over the European continent, should have changed *their* language, than that an independent stationary Greek community should have undergone any such metamorphosis. The modern philologist must reason differently. With him the fact, admitted not only by Herodotus but by the general consent of antiquity, that the Athenians were an indigenous Pelasgian people, must amount to proof that the Pelasgic and Attic languages were substantially the same. There is no foreign element in the latter to warrant the belief of its having been subjected to any radical change not common to the other Hellenic dialects. The notion of so sudden a revolution in speech and habits as these Attic Pelasgians, with their neighbours the Aolians and Ionians, are supposed to have undergone 'on the Hellene Ion being appointed general of their army,' as elsewhere stated by the same Herodotus<sup>1</sup>, is chimerical. In historical times, examples occur of provinces attached to a great empire abandoning their own tongue, and adopting that of the dominant state. But this can only be the result of complete subjection to a conqueror of more advanced civilisation than the indigenous race. No such conquest of Attica is, however, recorded in Greek tradition. Not only do all other leading authorities<sup>2</sup> bear testimony to the pure 'Hellenism' of

<sup>1</sup> VII. 94 sq.; VIII. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Thuc. I. 2; Plato, *Menæx.* p. 245 D; Isocrat. *Panathen.* c. 132; conf. *Clint. F. H.* Vol. I. p. 37. By Plato and Isocrates the term *Hellene* is here used as synonymous with that of *Pelasgian* in Herodotus.

its inhabitants both in character and dialect; but Herodotus himself<sup>1</sup>, in his usual candid spirit of self-contradiction, describes them in the sequel as the most antient race of autochthonous 'Hellenes.' The same title to indigenous Pelasgic origin, combined with Hellenism of manners and language, is pointedly extended by both Herodotus<sup>2</sup> and Strabo<sup>3</sup> to the Arcadians. The latter author further observes<sup>4</sup> that the dialect of these mountaineers, owing to its close similarity to that which Dorian influence spread over the rest of Peloponnesus, came to be comprised under the common head of Doric. This correspondence between the language of the Pelasgian aborigines of the south, and that of the Dorian immigrants from the north, described by Herodotus as the genuine Hellenes, is in itself conclusive evidence of a primitive community of Greek character in the two races.

"Another remarkable series of passages in Herodotus abundantly proves that, amid his crude speculations on these isolated Thracian tribes, he was himself under the habitual impression, common to the mass of his countrymen, that Pelasgians and Hellenes were radically the same people. Treating of the origin of the Greek religion he observes<sup>5</sup>, that 'the names of such of the gods as were not derived from the barbarians were of Pelasgic invention.' Here, therefore, Pelasgian and Barbarian are no longer synonymous, but distinctive terms. 'The Pelasgians,' he adds<sup>6</sup>, 'formerly sacrificed to the gods under no separate names, calling them generally θεοὶ, as having placed in order (κόσμησεν) the universe.' Here the Pelasgians are made not only to use the Hellenic name for the gods, but to form it out of another Hellenic root by a subtle exercise of verbal etymology. He then relates<sup>7</sup>, among other examples of 'barbarian' influence on the early Greek religion, how 'the Phœnicians, having carried off two priestesses of the Theban Jove, sold them as slaves, the one to the Libyans, the other to the Hellenes. The Egyptian woman, on her arrival in the district of Thesprotia, now called Hellas but then Pelasgia, becoming familiar with the Hellenic tongue, communicated her mysteries to the natives.' The Dodonsian fable, where this priestess was figured by a black pigeon, he interprets as allusive to her 'barbarous speech,' which induced the natives on her arrival, 'before she had acquired the Hellenic tongue, to call her the Pigeon, those who speak a barbarous language being held to chatter as birds.' She could hardly have acquired the Hellenic tongue from a Pelasgian people, had the two languages been radically distinct. But without scrutinising details, it is plain that, throughout this whole series of passages, the terms Pelasgian and Hellene as applied to the primitive population and dialect of Greece, are so entirely synonymous with each other and opposed to barbarous, that unless Herodotus be understood, in writing this portion at least of his work, to have been under a full conviction of their virtual identity, his text is altogether nugatory. In another passage he pointedly calls

<sup>1</sup> VII. 166.<sup>2</sup> II. 171.<sup>3</sup> Pp. 221, 382.<sup>4</sup> P. 333.<sup>5</sup> II. 30.<sup>6</sup> II. 30.<sup>7</sup> II. 24 sq.

the Dodonæans Hellenes, in the most specific sense, as distinct from the barbarous races to the north<sup>1</sup>.

"The Dodonæan sanctuary was long the most revered oracular fane of the Greek nation. Both Homer and Hesiod describe it as familiarly consulted by their heroes; but it can hardly be supposed that all civilised Greece was used to receive the divine commissions in an unintelligible dialect from a barbarian priesthood. In those days, therefore, the Pelasgian ministers of the oracle must have been Greeks. Aristotle, accordingly, in recognising the identity between their title Helli and that of Hellenæ, acknowledges the common origin of the two races, describing the Dodonæan territory, with others the primitive Pelasgia, as the 'most antient Hellas<sup>2</sup>.' No classical author seems to have doubted that these ministers of Jove had, with their antient seats and privileges, maintained their language unimpaired. It is also evident, from the details given by Herodotus of his own intercourse with them, that in his time that language was Greek, as are the names of the three priestesses whom he mentions."

<sup>1</sup> IV. 33. The same is indirectly said of the Molossians (VI. 127). It need scarcely be added, that the term Pelasgian is habitually and constantly applied by the tragic poets to the aboriginal Hellenic population of Greece.

<sup>2</sup> *Metaphr.* I. 14.

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